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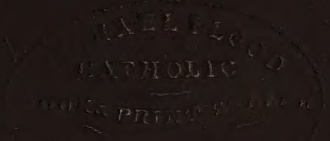

PREFACE TO THE READER.

CONTAINING SOME NECESSARY INSTRUCTIONS RELATING TO THE METHOD OBSERVED IN THIS "SECOND CONVERSATION:" AS LIKEWISE SOME REMARKS UPON THE GENTLEMAN'S UNFAIR DEALING IN THE FORMER.

THE *Case Stated* has of late years been a celebrated title. For it has already appeared at the head of four or five editions of the same book, and several changes have been rung upon it—as *Case Restated*, *Case truly Stated*, *Case farther Stated*, &c. But as men, when they have gone round the whole circle of new fashions, return many times to the old mode, so I judged it best to resume the old plain title of *Case Stated; first*, because the two *churches*, and *disputants* concerned in this *second conversation* are the very same they were in the former. 2*dly*, Because not only the subject of their discourse, but the very order and disposition of it is still the same. And 3*dly*, because the *gentleman* having here full liberty to repeat every thing he said in the *former conversation*, if the case of the *Church of England*, whose advocate he is, be there fairly stated by him, I am sure that of the *Church of Rome* (which is most shamefully misrepresented in that conversation) is now fairly stated by his *lordship* in this. And so I hope every thing will fully answer the title I have chosen.

Ac. 6815

Some will perhaps tell me, I have taken a great deal of pains to no purpose, since the *gentleman's Case Stated* (as I shall always call it, to distinguish it from this) has already been sufficiently answered, particularly by the learned author of the *Church of Christ Shewed, &c.*, and many will be apt to think we set too great a value upon the *gentleman's* performance by answering it so often. But for my part I can see no solid reason why a book should be valued the more for having been often confuted; and all that can be inferred from it is, that there are more than one of opinion, that the *gentleman's Case Stated* is very much overrated by those, who cry it up for an unanswerable piece. I own it is already sufficiently answered by the forementioned author, and even more than sufficiently. For his book may properly be called a magazine of erudition; where plenty of all sorts of controversial arms both offensive and defensive are laid up. But to many it is as a treasure locked up, and to these my answer will serve as a key to let them into it. So that I stick not to own here very frankly without fear of being called a *plagiary*, that I have borrowed many of my choicest materials of him, and it has been my principal business to put them together in such a manner, as I judged would be best accommodated to the capacity of those, whose instruction I have principally in view.

But I had other reasons to induce me to undertake this work: and that particularly by way of dialogue betwixt the same persons; 1. To convince the *gentleman* (if it be possible) that *idiot*, and *popish lord* are not synonymous terms, as he seems to suppose in the whole course of his

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dialogue, in which his *popish lord* personates the *dunce* to the life. Nay, his *lordship* seems to be brought upon the stage only to be laughed at, and set off the imaginary triumphs of his adversary. 2. Because the way of dialogue is certainly the most easy and familiar way of conveying truths to plain capacities, and even the fairest way, provided no partiality be used to the prejudice of either side, and each disputant be allowed to say as much for his cause, as it will fairly bear. All which the reader will find in this conversation, wherein the *gentleman* delivers his own sense as he did before, and his *lordship* is no longer under the tutelage of his *protestant* master.

This inclines me to think, that though the *gentleman's* book had been answered by more hands than it has, it would be no objection against this answer of mine by reason of the newness as well as usefulness of its method. For it presents the reader with *two books* in one. When he reads the *gentleman's* part in this conversation, it will be the same as if he had that author's own book before him: and when he reads his *lordship's* answer to him, as he now speaks the true sense of his church, it may come to put him in mind of an old useful proverb, viz., *that one story is good till the other be told.* In a word, the method I have confined myself to, seems to have its peculiar advantage in putting me under a necessity not only to lead the reader in an easy and familiar way through all the parts of controversy, but to do it in such a manner, as cannot but have the approbation of *both churches.* Because the *protestant* as well as *catholic* reader will here find the whole cause of religion fairly pleaded by one o

mours of those, who set a value upon every insignificant objection, and cry it up for *unanswerable*, merely because it is not answered. Now the method I have obliged myself to, permits me not to omit things, which others, who only answer the *gentleman* in the lump, may legally pass over without any unfair dealing, or deserving the severe reflections made by the *Vindicator*, or his *alter idem*, the author of the *Case farther Stated.*

I flatter myself over and above, that my answer will have its peculiar advantage in this respect, *viz.*, because it not only contains all the usual questions in dispute between us and *protestants*, but likewise several odd subjects, which being out of the common road are not usually treated by other controvertists; and though the objections relating to these subjects be not material in themselves, they have for the most part as powerful an influence upon weak minds, and vulgar capacities, as arguments of the greatest weight.

But, though I have obliged myself, as I have already acquainted the reader, to follow my adversary step by step whenever it was possible to make him repeat his words with any manner of connexion, yet I was forced sometimes to recede a little from the rigour of this method, which happens only when the *gentleman* in his *Case Stated* undertakes to confute either with serious arguments or some fine drollery the nonsense his *lordship* has uttered; that is, when his answer contains nothing, but a confutation of that nonsense. In which case it was impossible to repeat the *gentleman's* words without repeating the blunder, to which they are a direct answer. And it is

only in such occasions that any thing of the *gentleman's* part in his *Case Stated* is omitted in this conversation. And even then it is supplied by an *Advertisement*, which directs the reader to the page of the *gentleman's Case Stated*, where it may be found.

I have likewise been obliged, for the sake of connexion and clearness, to make the *gentleman* speak many things in this second conversation, which are not to be found in the former. But to convince the reader how far I am from imitating the example of my adversary, that is, from making him say any thing he may justly disown, or be ashamed of, I can confidently assure him, that the weakest things the *gentleman* says throughout this whole conversation, are all goods *of his own importing.* And therefore lest the one should be mistaken for the other, whatever belong here to the *gentleman's* part, as taken from his own *Case Stated*, has this mark ["] set before every line of it, with the *page* quoted, from whence it is taken: which mark is wholly omitted, when I dictate to him.

Very little indeed will be found here of his *lordship's* part in the *former conversation:* because he was seldom allowed to speak sense. It was this gave me the greatest difficulty, and almost disheartened me from pursuing my resolution of answering it as I now do in the way of dialogue between the same two persons. For, though this way of writing be the easiest imaginable, when the author is at full liberty to dictate to both parties as he pleases, nothing on the contrary was more puzzling to me, who was obliged to repeat whatever the *gentleman*

spoke, yet could seldom repeat any thing his *lordship* had said in the former conversation; for if I did, I adopted the blunders and nonsense, I have undertaken to correct, and without it I saw no possibility of introducing the *gentleman's* answers with the order and connexion, which the nature of dialogues indispensably requires: and though I have made a shift to do it much oftener, than I thought I could at my first setting out, I was forced to leave *gaps* here and there, and fill them up for the sake of connexion with short *Advertisement* to the reader; as likewise to apologize in the same manner for the aforesaid few omissions of pieces, which could not possibly be brought into this conversation.

I must further acquaint the reader, that when the *gentleman* in his *Case Stated* is somewhat long in his harangues, which often contain a heap of arguments huddled together in a very confused manner, I have made bold to parcel them out into several heads by frequent interruptions. *First*, to put it out of my power to overlook any thing that is material, and *2dly*, to place my answers as near as was possible to the respective objections they belong to; and so save the reader from being either lost in a labyrinth, or obliged to look back every moment to refresh his memory. All which are unquestionable proofs, that I have aimed at nothing more than to set every thing in the clearest light.

His *lordship* being supposed to be a *layman*, it was not natural to make him speak like a schoolman or profound *divine*. For which reason the reader will be troubled as little as is possible with the learned languages

of schools, nor with any more quotations, than are absolutely necessary for his *lordship* to maintain his cause. The truth of the matter is, I presume not to write for scholars, but the generality of laymen, and have therefore made it my study to express myself so intelligibly, that though perhaps I may not be always understood by the most ignorant of all, the middle sort between a *scholar* and a *ploughman*, if blessed with a good natural capacity, will easily understand me.

The motive that induced me thus to accommodate myself, as much as was possible, to the capacity of the unlearned, was to provide a proper antidote for those, who are most in danger of being poisoned by the *gentleman's* artful way of imposing upon his reader by crafty *insinuations*, pleasant *railleries*, deceitful *equivocations*, *misrepresentations*, without number, and *falsehoods* as boldly asserted, as if they were *revealed truths*. For though the learned, who search into the bottom of things, and can discern froth and noise from solid arguments, be proof against these little artifices, yet they are apt to have an influence on those, who either know nothing of the true state of the question, or are not skilful enough of themselves to distinguish between *sophistry* and *fair reasoning*, and are often more affected with a *quaint turn*, a *bold assertion*, or *pleasant banter*, than the strongest demonstration.

We cannot doubt but the *gentleman* has cooked his *Case Stated* to please these palates; and I must do him the justice to own he has done it with the most exquisite skill. I shall present the reader with a few samples of it to let him see how great an artist he is at *stating Cases*.

1. The weak part he allots to his *Roman Catholic lord* is a continued cheat upon his unlearned readers from end to end. For unless he will choose to plead ignorance (which is a very bad excuse for a *divine*) he could have no other end in it than to make his readers believe, that *Roman Catholics* have nothing better to say for their religion, than what his *lordship* says for it in the *former conversation:* which certainly is a piece of disingenuity wholly unbecoming a fair adversary.

2. He shews himself most exquisitely skilful at puzzling and perplexing a cause by mixing truth and falsehood so artfully together, that you can neither grant all without prejudice to your cause, nor deny all without wronging the truth. The use of this is to lead ignorant people into a mist, and keep out of sight the true state of the question.

3. No man is so profuse in *scripture texts*, as the *gentleman* in certain occasions, when he has a thing to set forth, which either is quite foreign to the purpose, or never was denied by any *Roman Catholic*. And what can be the design of this? There certainly lies a snake in the grass. For ignorant people will never imagine the *gentleman* would produce so much *good scripture* but to confute some *papistical error*. And will they not then take us to be the very worst of christians, since they will suppose us to deny things so plainly proved from *scripture*, and conclude the *protestant gentleman* has the whole truth of the question on his side?

4. The *gentleman* is extremely fond of *repetitions*, which, as he has managed them, turn to a very good ac-

count. But where is the harm of it? Can truth be told too often? No, but falsehood may: and there is a large difference between *saying* and *proving*. Now when the *gentleman* has once said a thing (which afterwards he commonly calls *shewing* or *proving*) and the *noble peer* has said nothing to disprove it, he reckons upon it after that as so much ground fairly gained upon the *Church of Rome*, and repeats it upon all occasions as a thing not to be contested with him any more than a first principle: not doubting but his *protestant* readers will regard him as one in a *triumph* rather than a *dispute*: nor has he any reason to fear many of them will be sagacious enough to reflect, that his *popish lord* is all the while under tutelage, and can go no farther than the length of his leading strings, which the *gentleman* keeps fast in his own hands, will permit him.

5. As to *equivocations*, the *gentleman* has managed them with the utmost dexterity. There are three choice ones, of which he has made a very good hand in the disputes about *infallibility*, *invocation of saints*, and the honour we pay to their *images* and *relics*. His double meaning of the CHURCH OF ROME, which he takes sometimes for the *whole church in communion with the see of Rome*, and very often for the particular *diocess of Rome* is very useful to him in the question of *infallibility*. For who can refuse to be of the *gentleman's* opinion, that it is no article of faith that *infallibility* was ever promised to one particular diocess more than another?

His two other favourite equivocations are grounded on the various acceptations of the words WORSHIP, and

MEANS OF GRACE; the ambiguous meaning whereof he found to be of excellent use for the ridiculing of *miracles, blessings, images, relics, holy water, &c.*, and to prove *papists* to be *idolaters* in spite of common sense.

I should be glad I had no reason to complain of *falsifications*, because the charge is foul and odious. But, as I have been obliged to make his *lordship* expose them, when they fell in his way; I shall here take notice of one, which indeed is notorious. The reader will find it in the 8th *section*, 2d *part*; the title whereof is, ST AUSTIN FALSIFIED. It contains a passage taken from that father upon the 96th *Psalm*, which, if fairly rendered bears a sense wholly different from what the *gentleman* has fixed upon it by the most unfaithful translation, that perhaps ever ventured to appear in print: and, what is very remarkable, he repeats it four or five times afterwards, and lays a singular stress upon it to prove the unlawfulness of our *invocation of saints and angels*. However I am inclined to think the *gentleman* is rather the copier, than primary author of the scandalous falsification I speak of; it being very probable he found it in the writings of his *protestant* predecessors, and took it upon trust either through want of leisure to examine it himself, or too good an opinion of the authors, from whom he transcribed it. This is the most favourable construction I can put upon this, and other unfaithful quotations, that will be hereafter laid to his charge.

But I cannot make the same apology for some notorious *untruths*, and *calumnies*, scattered up and down in the *gentleman's Case Stated*. Because there was no need of

a tedious search into authors to detect the falsehood of these. The dictates of his own conscience and reason sufficed alone to convince him of it: and he is equally inexcusable, whether he be the *forger* or *disperser* only of such slanders: I shall here mention only two. *First*, that *the scriptures and legends have the same foundation in the Church of Rome; that is, her authority: and that therefore the common people believe them both alike, and the men of sense believe neither*, p. 159; *and* 2dly, that *the Pope's supremacy is the only article in our creed to be believed explicitly. As for others, implicit will do for them all, that is, it is no matter, whether we believe them or not*, p. 197.

Is it possible a person of the *gentleman's* judgment and learning believed a word of this, when he wrote it? If he did, it is a flagrant instance, to what excessive degree prejudice will blind a man. If not, it shews how little justice *Roman Catholics* can expect from a *protestant* writer; and suffices abundantly to give the reader a just idea of what the *gentleman* himself thought of the cause, he undertook to plead. For he could not be ignorant of this received maxim, that *truth stands always firm upon its own bottom*, and needs not the little tricks of *sophistry*, much less the help of *falsehood* and *slander*, to support it. If therefore a person of his capacity durst not hazard the issue of his cause upon a fair trial, but found himself obliged to have recourse to such artifices, as I am sure a good cause stands not in need of, must we not conclude, he had himself an entire mistrust of the goodness of his cause, since he effectually judged it stood in need of these artifices, and employed them accordingly? I may there-

fore confidently say, that all the unfair and sinister ways, the *gentleman* has made use of to asperse and traduce the *Church of Rome*, are so many authentic testimonies of his own producing, that the truth is against him.

There is one thing very remarkable in the *gentleman's Case Stated.* For in the *title-page* of his book he promises to shew two things: 1. *That the doubt and danger of salvation is in the communion of the Church of Rome.* And 2*dly*, *that the certainty and safety is in the communion of the Church of England.* Now I must own he has laboured hard to prove the former. Nay he has gone much farther. For he has employed near 30 pages (I hope it will not do him much honour) to prove us as rank *idolaters* as the *heathens* ever were. And so instead of *doubt* and *danger* of salvation, he ought to have promised to shew, that nothing but *hell* and *damnation* can be hoped for in the *Church of Rome;* since these will surely be the just reward of *heathen idolatry* practised by *christians* themselves.

But as to the latter point, *viz.*, his shewing *the certainty and safety of salvation in the Church of England*, the *gentleman* has been pleased to supersede that part of his task; as judging it much easier to lampoon and traduce the *Church of Rome*, than defend his own. For there is not one single argument in the *gentleman's* whole book to convince the reader, that the communion of the *Church of England* is preferable to that of any other *reformed church.* And why then is the *Church of England* alone mentioned in the *title-page* with this pompous eulogium, *that the certainty and safety of salvation is in her communion.* Will not every one who reads this title expect to find some positive proofs to

convince him that he ought to prefer her communion before any other? And will he not be strangely disappointed to find nothing but a mere satire upon the *Church of Rome*, and not one solid argument to induce him to embrace the *gentleman's* church rather than that of *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, *&c.*, in case he either has his religion yet to choose, or is disposed to leave that, in which he has till then been educated?

If the *gentleman* had declared that his whole design was to make a *non-papist* of his *lordship*, I should have owned his book and title were exactly of a piece. For I confess I never read a more artful lampoon upon *popery* in my whole life. But to make a solemn profession of shewing *that the certainty and safety of salvation are in the communion of the Church of England*, without giving one single reason to prove her communion to be preferable to that of any *dissenting protestant church*, or offering at least one *distinctive mark* to shew her to be that *one*, *holy*, *catholic* and *apostolic church* professed in the *Nicene Creed*, is such an omission, as will not easily be excused.

What! did he design to laugh his *lordship* out of all *revealed religion?* If so, I cannot but approve of the method he has taken. But if he intended to make him a convert to the *Church of England* preferably to any other church, why did he not set forth her peculiar advantages, over other *protestant communions* all differing from one another, to the end that when his *lordship* should be resolved to renounce *popery*, he might not turn *atheist* or *deist* for want of knowing where to find the true

church of Christ? Why did he not endeavour to convince him of the *antiquity* of the *reformed Church of England;* her *perpetual visibility* from the first preaching of the gospel in *Great Britain;* her uninterrupted *succession* of *protestant bishops* derived from the *apostles* themselves; her *catholicity*, that is, her having always been a part of that church, which has *universality* both of *time* and *place;* and lastly, the wonderful *miracles* her *protestant* children have wrought in confirmation of her doctrine, as it is distinguished both from *popery*, and that of other *reformed churches?* For these are the external marks of the true *church of Christ*, which convinced St *Austin* of the truth of her doctrine. And if the *gentleman* had but remembered to shew these marks in the *Church of England*, his *lordship* could not have resisted the force of such evidence against him. I leave the reader to consider the reasons why he did not. I believe they are all comprised in his short sentence, *ultra posse non datur esse;* which may be Englished thus, *a man can do no more than he can do.*

But there seems to be another omission in the *gentleman's Case Stated.* For though the *Pope's supremacy* be the article singled out by him, against which he has employed the best part of his time and skill; though he begins and ends with it; nay though he resumes it several times, and even drags it in by head and shoulders, yet he has not vouchsafed in the whole conversation to mention so much as once the *visible head* of his own church. This surely was not fair. For suppose he should have lampooned his *lordship* into a resolution to throw off his

former head, was it not an act of justice to supply him with another? Or was he so ashamed of him that he durst not name him? For my part I will not resolve the question, but leave it to the reader to do it for me.

These are the most material things, of which I thought it necessary to inform the reader. I shall only add, that though this new conversation betwixt his *lordship* and the *gentleman* was finished a considerable time ago, there occurred reasons not necessary to be mentioned, which retarded the publication of it.

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A

CONVERSATION

BETWIXT A

ROMAN CATHOLIC LORD

AND A

GENTLEMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PART I.

THE INTRODUCTION.

Lord.—It is hard that by your last act of *parliament* I must lose my estate, or change my religion.

"*Gentleman.*—I think your *lordship* ought not to lose "your estate, till you have first considered, how far your "conscience will allow you to conform to what is required "of you."—*p.* 1.

L.—If I thought I could save my soul in the *Church of England*, I would think myself obliged to preserve my right, and my posterity.

"*G.*—Pray, my lord, what is there in the communion of "the *Church of England* should make you think your soul "in danger? Would there be any hazard of your soul, if "there were no *invocation of saints*, that are dead, in the "public offices of the church? No *pictures* or *images* of "God to be seen there? No *elevation of the host*, which was "but of late years brought into the church? No prayers "for souls out of *purgatory?* If the public prayers were in "the *vulgar tongue*, and if the *sacrament* were given in *both* "*kinds?* For these are all the differences you will find "between your public offices and ours."—*p.* 2.

L.—Sir, I must be very short sighted to find no more. For *first*, I think *preaching* is a part of the public service

of the church: and there is some difference between your sermons and ours. For I never heard our preachers either call the Pope *antichrist*, or Catholics *idolaters*, or the *Church of Rome* the *Whore of Babylon*. Neither do we ever hear them tell their congregation, with Dr *Tillotson*, that *Transubstantiation is a controversy of downright impudence against the plain meaning of Scripture, and all the senses and reason of mankind.* Ser. xxvi. p. 297. Now, to deal plainly with you, I should think my soul in danger of perishing eternally, if I communicated with a *church*, that disperses *libels* from the very *pulpit*, and preaches *calumnies* instead of the *gospel*.

But, secondly, I think the *mass* is a very substantial part of our *public office;* and I find it not mentioned in your queries. You speak indeed of the *elevation of the host:* but that is no *essential* part of the *mass;* nor is it any thing to the purpose, whether it was brought in *of late* or *of old:* though in effect it is ancienter than *your church* by above 900 years. But if the *church* should think fit to make an alteration either in that, or any other *ceremony*, as she may do if she pleases, my salvation would be upon the same footing as it is now. In like manner, if by the same authority no *pictures* or *images* were seen in our churches, if the *public prayers* were in the *vulgar tongue:* and if there were neither any *invocation of saints*, nor *prayers* for the *dead* in the *public liturgy;* finally, if the *sacrament* were given in *both kinds*, my soul would be in no danger in the communion of the *Church of Rome*. Because though her *discipline* would then be changed, her *faith* would be the same as it is now.

But my salvation would certainly suffer shipwreck, if I should separate myself from her *communion* (as the *Church of England*, and other *reformed churches* did, and continue to do) by obstinately refusing to pay a respectful submission to the *discipline* established by her. For I think it but reasonable to allow the *church* as much *authority* to regulate her own *discipline*, as the state has to make its own *laws*. And therefore as those would

be looked upon as *factious* and *seditious subjects*, who should dispute *this authority* in the *state*, so they deserve no better character, who impeach the *legislative power* of the *church*, or by refusing to submit to it, become guilty of *schism*.

Pray, Sir, do not you argue thus against the *dissenters*, when they rail at the book of *common prayer*, or accuse you of *popery* for *baptizing* with the *sign* of the *cross*, *kneeling* at the *communion*, and using many other *popish* ceremonies? And do you not charge them with *schism* for separating themselves from *your church* upon these, and other such pretences? Now, Sir, I should be glad to know how the *dissenters* can be guilty of *schism* in separating themselves from your *church*, if the *first English reformers* were free from the guilt of it, when they separated themselves from their *mother church*, the *Church of Rome;* in which they had received their *baptism;* whose *faith* they had possessed for many years, and whose *laws* they were bound to obey as being *subjects* and *members* of that church? And if *they* were *schismatics*, who first went out of their *mother church*, they who tread in the footsteps of such forefathers, and continue the *breach* they made, can be no better. This, Sir, is a sufficient reason to think my soul would be in danger in the *communion* of the *Church of England*, or any other *reformed church:* and thus your questions, which a *Lutheran*, or *Calvinist*, or *fanatic* might have asked as well as yourself, are fully answered.

But let us now suppose, there were no more difference between your *public office* and ours, than you have mentioned, pray, Sir, is there no difference between us in *articles of faith?* I heartily wish there were not. But I fear there is difference enough to condemn any man, that keeps *wilfully*, on the wrong side of the question. What do you think of *transubstantiation*, of *infallibility*, *supremacy*, the *number of sacraments*, and several others? These surely are questions of somewhat greater moment, than those about *pictures* hanging in the *church*, or what sort of language we are to say our prayers in. But I

presume they were not so well calculated for a *jest*, or to *laugh* a man out of his religion.

G.—My lord, the questions, I have put to you, are six in number. The four first are *concerning things no where enjoined by God, and yet you practise them.* The two last are concerning things, *he has expressly commanded*, (viz. *public prayers* in the *vulgar tongue*, and *communion* in *both kinds*) *and yet you forbear, and forbid them. Our worship is therefore purer, and more orthodox than yours.—Vind.*

L.—Sir, it is false, that *public prayers* in the *vulgar tongue*, and *lay communion* in *both kinds* are commanded by God; as I shall demonstrate, when we come to treat of those subjects by themselves. (Part II. Sect. 39, 53.) But as to the first four questions, which you say are concerning things *no where enjoined by God*, yet *practised by us;* pray, Sir, has the *church* no *authority* to ordain any thing, but what God has expressly enjoined? Has a *child* no obligation to obey his *parents* but in things, for which there is an express command of God? Is it lawful for *subjects* to refuse obedience to *superior powers*, unless they can prove their commands from some express *text of Scripture?* May *soldiers* lawfully disobey their *officer*, when he commands them to march, or halt, or go upon an attack unless he can produce a *text of Scripture* for it? Or has the *church* less *authority* than the *state*, or an *officer*, or *private parent* to require *obedience* in things, that are not expressly commanded by God?

Sir, I put these questions to you to place before your eyes the *frivolousness* of yours, and convince you, that we are bound to do many things, which God has not *enjoined* us by any express command, and that by consequence my soul may be in danger by refusing to obey the authority he has established. Yet a certain friend of yours has had the weakness not only to cry up your questions as *unanswerable*, but to triumph in a very indecent manner over his adversary, because he let them pass without an answer. Take this then for your final answer, that, though God has not *enjoined* the *elevation*

of the host, the hanging of *pictures* or *images* in the church, &c., by any express command, it suffices that he has commanded us to *hear* and *obey* the *church*, and not raise *schisms* by an obstinate disobedience to her laws. *God* has not enjoined you to *baptize* with *the sign of the cross, and yet you practise it:* neither has he commanded the *common prayer book, and yet you use it.* Suppose then some *fanatical dissenter* should put such questions as these to you: *Would there be any hazard of your soul's salvation, if you should baptize without the sign of the cross? If the common prayer book were not used in the public service? Or, if you laid aside the many popish ceremonies, you still retain?* Pray, Sir, would you think such questions to be *unanswerable?* Nay would you not rather think them impertinent and frivolous? In short, Sir, it is my judgment, that I cannot be saved, unless I keep in the *communion* of the *true church.*

"*G.*—I presume your *lordship* means the *communion* of "the *Church of Rome.*"—*p.* 2.

L.—Sir, I mean the whole church in communion with the *Church of Rome;* whose bishop being the successor of St *Peter* gives her the *authority* and *jurisdiction* of the *mother church* over all particular churches, which compose the great body or society of men called in the *Nicene creed* the *one, holy Catholic and apostolic church.*

SECTION I.—ROME THE MOTHER CHURCH.

"*G.*—My Lord, it is certain that *Jerusalem* was the "*mother church*, where *Christ* first planted the *gospel*, and "commanded that it should be thence propagated to all "other nations, as himself said, *beginning at Jerusalem.* Luke "xxiv. 47. And till after the vision of the sheet to St "*Peter.* Acts ii. 19. *They travelled preaching the Word to* "*none but unto the Jews only.* So that the *Jewish christian* "*church* was the only church for some time, and she it was "who converted the *Gentile* nations, and therefore was the "*mother church* to them all. And *Rome* was not the first "*Gentile church.* For the *disciples* were called *christians*

" first in *Antioch.* Acts xi. 26. And the *Greek church* was " before the *Latin:* the *New Testament* was writ in *Greek* " for their use. Therefore the *Greek church* could not be " the *daughter* of the *Latin church*, which was born after her. " If *your lordship allege that St Peter was head of the* " *church, and bishop of Rome. I answer*, This will not make " her the *mother church.* You may call her *supreme, absolute,* " *universal*, or what you please, any thing but the *mother* " *church*, to which it is impossible she should have any " title."—*pp.* 2, 3.

L.—Sir, it is not only possible but clear fact. What you have said proves indeed, that both *Jerusalem* and *Antioch*, and perhaps many other towns received the *christian faith* before the city of *Rome.* And the only consequence I can draw from it is, that *Rome* is not the *oldest* christian city, nor the most ancient *episcopal see* in the world. But you are pleased to infer likewise from it, that therefore she cannot be called the *mother church*, and your reason for it, viz., *because the mother cannot be born after the daughter*, is so very witty and pretty, that I fear I shall be thought impertinent in not yielding to the force of such solid reasoning.

However be pleased to take notice, that *mother church* is a *metaphor*, and a very proper one. But truly, Sir, we shall be forced to lay aside all *metaphors*, though never so proper and beautiful, if they must all stand the *test* of your *logic.* That is, if there must be a resemblance in all respects between what they signify *figuratively*, and the thing signified *literally* by them.

As for instance, a *crafty man* is by a very proper *metaphor* called a *fox.* But if some wiseacre should argue thus, *let him be as crafty as he will, he neither has the smell, nor colour, nor head, nor tail, nor shape of a fox*, therefore *he is no fox:* I believe he would not get the reputation of a profound wit by it. Now, Sir, your argument against my calling the *Church of Rome*, the *mother church* is much of the same force. You say, she is not of *age* to be the *mother* of all *churches.* I answer it is not *age*, that gives her that denomination. But she

has the *jurisdiction*, the *power*, and *authority* of a *mother* over other *churches :* and that suffices to give her a just claim to that title. As the late Queen *Anne* was styled the *mother* of her *people*, though she was not the *oldest woman* in the nation.

King *James* the *first* stuck not to own her title in a speech to the *parliament*, Ann. 1603. *I own* (says he) *the Church of Rome to be our mother church.* And indeed her claim to that title, particularly in relation to the *Church of England*, is unquestionable, because the whole kingdom of *England* owes its conversion from *paganism* to *christianity* to the *See* of *Rome.*

" *G.*—My lord, in the conversion of *Gentiles* to *chris-*
" *tianity* one man and one nation must receive faith before
" another. They were not all converted on a day. And as
" when one man converts another, so it is of *churches* and
" *nations*, it gives the one no *superiority* over the other, ex-
" cept that of *gratitude* and *esteem*, but nothing of *authority.*"
—*pp.* 3, 4.

L.—It is very true, Sir, that one nation converting another gives the former no *authority* over the latter. And therefore, though the *Church of Rome* deserves even upon that account the title of being the *mother church* to the *Church of England*, because she *begot her forefathers in* JESUS CHRIST *through the Gospel.* 1 Cor. iv. 15. Yet it is not on that title her claim to *superiority* is grounded. For this was the case of the *Jewish christian church*, which (as you observed before) converted the *Gentiles ;* and therefore was their *mother* indeed, but not *superior.* Nay *Jerusalem*, where the *christian faith* was first planted, is the very last of the *patriarchal sees* in the *East :* and in St *Jerome's* time had not even jurisdiction over *Palestine*, but was subject to *Cesarea* its *metropolis*, as appears from his 61. Epist. to *Pammachius.* So that, though *Jerusalem* was the *first* in the *order of time*, it became afterwards *inferior* in the *order of government.*

The title, therefore, on which the *Church of Rome* grounds her claim to *superiority* over other *churches*, is the *supremacy* of her *bishop*, who in quality of *successor* to

St *Peter* is *head* of the *Catholic*, that is, *Universal Church*. And this gives her a *spiritual jurisdiction* or *authority* over all other particular churches.

SECTION II.—ST PETER'S SUPREMACY.

"*G.*—Whatever the privileges of the *mother church* may "be, if it can be translated from the *mother* to the *daughter*, "from one church to another, from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, "and from thence to *Rome*, as you must be obliged to say, "then it may be translated from *Rome* also to some other "church, unless some positive command of *Christ* can be "produced, *first*, to fix it at *Rome*, and then a *promise*, that "it shall never be removed from thence."—*p.* 4.

L.—Sir, I perceive you go upon a mistake. For you imagine we suppose, that *towns* as well as *men* were appointed by *Christ* for the government of his flock. But I must disabuse you. For he neither made *Jerusalem*, nor *Antioch*, nor *Rome* the *seat* of St *Peter*, or his *successors;* but left them to choose the place of their residence, where they should think fit. When St *Peter* had his *seat* at *Antioch*, that was the *metropolis* or *mother church* of the christian world. When therefore he translated his *episcopal see* from thence to *Rome*, did he leave his *commission* behind him, or divest himself of the authority *Christ* had given him to govern his flock? No surely. *Rome* therefore became at that time the *mother church*, as *Antioch* had been before.

G.—It might then have also been removed from thence to any other place.

L.—I doubt not but it might. But will that any way endanger the *supremacy* either of St *Peter* or his *sucessors?* I hope, not. For, if it be not also removed from their *persons*, as I presume it never will as long as *Christ's institution* stands good, every thing is very safe, and I am in no pain about the *place* where St *Peter* might have fixed his seat. For surely his *authority* followed him, wherever he went: and if he had pleased, he might have

fixed it in any other town as well as *Rome*. For *Christ* neither made him *bishop* of *Rome*, nor *patriarch* of the west, but *head of his church*, and by consequence his *successors* after him.

Whence it appears beyond all dispute, that there is no need of producing any positive *command* or *promise* of *Christ* to fix the *papal seat* immoveably at *Rome*: but, if you will say any thing to the purpose, you must show, where *Christ* has positively forbid *Rome* to be the *seat* either of St *Peter* or his *successors*.

" *G.*—My lord, the *Church of Rome* is not once named in " all the New Testament, unless she is meant by the *church of* " *Babylon*, 1. Pet. v. 13; nor is there any promise whatsoever " made to her, or any the least intimation of her being the " *head* of the *churches*, the *standard* and *centre* of unity to " them all. Strange! if that be the *summa rei christianæ*, " as *Bellarmin* calls it (in the preface to his book *de Romano* " *Pontifice*) the *sum and foundation of the Christian Religion*." —*p.* 4.

L.—Sir, whatever you may think, it is not at all *strange* in my opinion, that the *seat* of St *Peter*, and his *successors* should be the *centre of unity*, and yet not named in the New Testament: and the reason, why it does not appear *strange* to me is, because though *Christ* appointed the *person* that was to govern his flock, he did not appoint the *place* of his *episcopal see*. However if the *Church of Rome* be not once named in all the New Testament, we are then at least secure, that *Christ* has not left any positive prohibition against its being made the *seat* of his *vicar* upon earth; for then he must have named it. Yet after all it occurs just now to my mind, that St *Paul* wrote a long epistle to the *Romans*, and in chap. i. 7, he salutes them thus. *To all, that be at Rome, beloved of God.* Which I think may be called naming the *Church of Rome*. But that is a trivial slip amongst friends; so let it pass.

" *G.*—The scriptures are wholly silent concerning the " supposed *universal supremacy* of St *Peter*, or that he was " at *Rome*, or *bishop* of *Rome*. Some after-writers have

" mentioned it. But that is far from such an *universal* " *tradition*, as is sufficient for the mighty superstructure, " which is raised upon it, but let it be granted, it signifies " nothing."—*p.* 4.

L.—It really signifies nothing to raise doubts about things as certainly known and believed as that there has been such a man as *Julius Cæsar*. *Grotius*, a learned *Protestant* writer, was not afraid to say, *that no christian ever doubted but St* Peter *was at* Rome. *In Sinapsi Criticorum*, p. 1540.

However, whether he was at *Rome*, or was *bishop* of it, or not, though the thing be unquestionable, it is a mistake to say, that any *weighty superstructure* is built upon that historical fact. For all we pretend to maintain as *essential* to the point in question, is, that St *Peter* was constituted by *Christ head* and *ruler* of his *church*, and that when he died, the church appointed him a *successor* in that high station, and has ever since done the same upon the demise of every pope; and finally, that all the successors of St *Peter* have had their *episcopal seat* at *Rome*. But as to what you say, that the *scriptures* are *silent* concerning the *supremacy* of St *Peter*, this indeed deserves a more serious consideration.

" *G.*—All is grounded upon some words said to St *Peter;* " as such: *Thou art* Peter, *feed my sheep*, &c. Which cannot " be strained to such an *universal supremacy*, as popes have " claimed: nor were so understood in the *primitive church.*" —*pp.* 4, 5.

L.—We shall examine that presently. But you are slinking away from the question, which is not what power *some popes* may perhaps have *claimed*, but what our *Saviour* gave to St *Peter* and his *successors* in the two *texts*, you have *minced*, as if you were afraid to speak out.

" *G.*—In the learned M. *du Pin, Traité de la Puissance* " *Ecclesiastique et Temporelle*, printed at *Paris*, An. 1707, " *pp.* 495—501, and *pp.* 754—765, your *lordship* will " find these two texts urged for the *supremacy* of St *Peter* " and answered in the same manner as is done by *Protestant* " writers; and it is showed how very foreign they are from " the purpose intended."—*p.* 5.

L.—Sir, M. *du Pin* no where denies the pope's *supremacy* in *spirituals*, but only in *temporals;* of which he maintains those texts to be no proof. But let us now proceed to examine the true meaning of them. I shall begin with that of St *Matthew* xvi. 18.

SECTION III.—THE TEXT OF ST MATTHEW XVI. 18 EXAMINED.

It is as follows: *And I say also unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*

I know the common answer to this text is, that by the *rock*, is meant St *Peter's faith*, and not his *person.* But though the former interpretation be true, it is far from being the only one, or excluding St *Peter's person.* Nay, the application of it to his *person* is the most obvious and natural; as is manifest from St *Jerome's* remark upon the second chapter to the *Galatians;* where he observes that both the *Greek* word *petros;* and the Hebrew *cephas* signifies the same as the *Latin* word *petra*, that is, a *rock:* and by consequence the true meaning of our Saviour's words to St *Peter* is this: *thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my church.* Suppose then our Saviour had spoken thus in *English* to St *Peter; thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my church:* could there be any doubt, whether his words were addressed to St *Peter's person?*

G.—My lord, you interrupted me, when I spoke last; for I was just going to tell you, that the

"*Rock*, upon which *Christ* said *he would build his church*, "was not *Peter*, but the *faith* which *Peter* then confessed. "Your lordship may see the current sense of the *fathers*, "and consult at your leisure, *St Austin de Verbo Domini*, "Ser. 13. *Nazian.* de *Veteri Test.* St *Cyril* de Trin. l. iv. St "*Chrysost.* Hom. 55. in Matth. St *Ambrose* Comment. in "Eph. ii. Hilary de Trin. l. ii. c. 6. and others."—*p.* 5.

L.—Sir, you may quote as many *fathers* as you please,

and they shall say as often as you please, that the *rock*, upon which *Christ* promised to *build his church*, was St *Peter's faith*. But can they not explain the text in one sense without excluding the other? This, Sir, is the real case. For they applied it just as their subject lead them, sometimes to his *faith*, and sometimes to his *person*; as will appear from the following quotation, in which it is applied to his *person* only.

Origen in Exod. Hom. 5. writes thus: *Hear what is said, to the great foundation of the church, and to the solid rock, upon which Christ built his church, O man of little faith why hast thou doubted!*

Tertullian puts this question. *Was any thing concealed from Peter, who was called the rock of the foundation of the church?* L. de Præscrip. c. 32.

St *Cyprian* epist. 71. *Peter, whom our Lord chose the first, and* ON WHOM *he built his church.* He repeats the same expression L. de *bono patientiæ.* And L. *de disciplina et habitu virginum* he writes thus: *Peter, to whom our Lord recommends the care of his sheep, and* UPON WHOM *he built and founded his church.*

But St *Jerome's* words (in Cap. xvi. Matth. Tom. vi. Edit. Paris. Vet. p. 73.) are very remarkable. *To Simon* (says he) *who believed in Christ the rock, he gave the name of Peter, and according to the metaphor of the rock,* IT IS PROPERLY SAID TO HIM, ON THEE WILL I BUILD MY CHURCH.

St *Austin* likewise, who is the very first of the fathers you referred me to, speaks as plainly as the former for St *Peter's* person. *Count* (says he) *the priests even in St Peter's see: observe the succession in that rank of fathers, that is the rock, which the proud gates of hell do not overcome.* Aug. in Psal. *contra partem Donati.* And again in Psal. lxix. Sect. 4. he writes thus: *Peter, the chief of the apostles, door-keeper of heaven; Peter who for his confession was named the rock,* ON WHOM *the church was to be built.*

Methinks, Sir, the *current* of *antiquity* begins to run somewhat favourably for St *Peter's verson.* But, since

one good turn deserves another, as you sent me to rummage amongst old books, I shall return your favour with interest, and desire you likewise to consult at your leisure the *Fathers* quoted by the author of *the church of Christ showed, &c.* Part III. Chap. ii. Sect. 3, where, besides those already quoted, you will find above double the number of those you referred me to, who all apply the *text* of St *Matthew* to St *Peter's person.* For the question between you and me is, not whether some of them have applied that text to St *Peter's faith*, which nobody denies; but whether they positively exclude his *person?* And the passages you will be referred to by the forementioned author, will convince you they have not.

G.—I hope your *lordship* will not deny, that St *Cyril* of *Alex.* positively excludes his *person.*

L.—Sir, I shall make bold to deny it.

G.—Does he not say expressly *Dial.* 4. de *Trin.* that *Christ gave the name of the rock to nothing else but the constant and unshaken faith of the disciple?*

L.—He does so. But unless you will make him contradict himself, his meaning can be no other, than *that St Peter merited that title by nothing else but his faith.* Pray, Sir, does not St *Jerome*, Epist. 61. ad *Pammachium.* Tom. ii. p. 254, say as expressly, that it was not St *Peter's body*, but his *faith*, that walked upon the water. *Super aquas non corpus Petri ambulasse sed fidem.* And will you conclude from thence, that it was St *Jerome's* opinion, that St *Peter's body* or *person* did not walk upon the waters?

But nothing can be fairer than to let St *Cyril* speak for himself: for surely he understood his own meaning best. His words (l. ii. in Joh. Ed. Par. an. 1638. tom. iv. p. 131) are these. *He* (Christ) *foretold he should no more be called Simon, but Peter. Signifying by that word most properly, that he intended to build his church* UPON HIM, *as upon a most firm and solid rock.* Now, Sir, you cannot save him from manifestly contradicting himself, unless you join with me in saying that St *Peter,*

according to this father, *merited* the title (which *Christ* bestowed upon him) by his *faith alone*, and received it *in his person.*

G.—But, my lord, take it now for granted, that the text of St *Matthew* is meant of St *Peter's person*, what advantage can you make of it for the proof of his *supremacy?* For you can infer no more from it than that the *church* was to be *built* upon St *Peter.* And so it was to be built upon the rest of the *apostles* according to St *Paul.* Eph. v. 20. *Ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.* This plainly puts them all upon the level. *Vind.*

L.—How industrious are men to deceive themselves when interest and passion inclines them to it! You argue thus: St *Paul* says, *the church is built upon all the other apostles jointly with St Peter*, therefore *they are all upon the level.* But I deny your consequence. For, though she be built upon them *all*, it does not follow that she is built upon them all *in the same manner:* but she may be built upon one in a more *eminent manner* than the rest. The frame of the *English* government is built upon *king* and *parliament.* But does that put them upon the level? or hinder the *king* from being the *supreme head* of all?

But let us hear St *Paul*, Eph. iv. 11, 12. *And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the* EDIFYING *of the body of Christ.* Here ordinary *pastors* and *teachers* are joined with *apostles, prophets*, and *evangelists.* And it is equally said of them all, that *Christ* gave them for the EDIFYING of his *mystical body:* that is, the *building* of his *church.* And will you infer from thence, that the church is built in the *same degree* upon ordinary *pastors* and *teachers* as upon the *apostles* themselves? Or that she is not built in a more *eminent manner* upon *bishops*, than the *inferior clergy?* Will you conclude from it, that the *apostles* had no *jurisdiction* over those, whom St

Paul calls *pastors* and *teachers*, but that they were all upon the level? If not, neither can you conclude that St *Peter* had no *jurisdiction* over the rest of the *apostles* from St *Paul's* saying, that *the church is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.*

G.—My lord, though I maintain, that the other *apostles* were the *foundation stones* in the *ecclesiastical building* jointly with St *Peter*, *I do not deny but he was more remarkably so, than the rest of them. For it may easily be granted, that a peculiar privilege was designed him in these words, and that by him after our blessed Saviour the foundation of the church should be laid for the other apostles to build upon amongst both* Jews *and* Gentiles: *and if this were what our Lord intended, it was accordingly verified, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles.* For he converted 3000 Jews by his first sermon. Acts ii. 41. *So that here was now a church, and this church in an especial manner built upon St Peter according to our Saviour's promise. But then he was to lay the foundation of the Gentile church too as well as the Jewish. For he admitted* Cornelius *a Roman centurion into the number of christians,* Acts x. 19; *and preached the gospel at* Cesarea. *So that here was a perfect completion of our Saviour's promise to St* Peter *so far as it contained any prerogative peculiar to himself.* And therefore *Christ's* promise *that he would build his church upon him*, means no more than that St *Peter* should *first* after *Christ*, build his church; which implies no *superiority* over the other *apostles.* Vind. pp. 19, 20.

L.—This, Sir, looks like the last effort of a person resolved to persist in the wrong in spite of the strongest conviction. However I am glad to hear you own, *that St Peter was more remarkably the foundation stone in the building of the church than the other apostles*, and *that it was built upon him in a special manner.* But I deny that our Saviour's promise to St *Peter* implies no more than *that he should lay the first foundation of his church.*

1. Because *Christ* promised to St *Peter* Matt. xvi. what he conferred upon him *John* xxi. after his *Resurrec-*

tion. But the *commission* he then delivered to him was not barely *to lay the first foundation of the church*, but to take care of, and govern his *whole flock;* therefore his *laying the foundation* of the church amongst both *Jews* and *Gentiles* was not a full and adequate accomplishment of *Christ's* promise.

2. There appears a manifest difference between these two propositions, *thou shalt build my church*, and, *my church shall be built upon thee*, though both may be verified of one and the same person. The former imports no more than a *transient action*, but the latter a *continual dependence.* Because every building, nay every part of it has a *continual dependence* upon its *foundation.* Whence it follows that our Saviour's promise of building his church upon St *Peter* (and that *in a special manner*) imported nothing less, than that *every part* of his *church* should have a *continual dependence* upon him during his life, and upon his *successors* after his death: because the *church government* once established by *Christ* can never be altered without a special order and commission from him.

SECTION IV.—ST PETER'S SUPREMACY PROVED FROM ST JOHN XXI. 15, &c.

I come now to the text of St *John.* For though the *supremacy* was promised to St *Peter* before our Saviour's *passion*, his commission was not given him till after his *death* and *resurrection.*

G.—I presume your *lordship* means in those words, *feed my sheep.*

L.—I do so. But though you have clipped them to make them lose some part of their weight, I shall make bold to quote the whole text as it lies, and make my observations upon it.

Christ on the very day of his *resurrection* had confirmed St *Peter* and the other *apostles* in their *apostolical* charge. John xx. 21. *As my father sent me, so I send you, &c.* And it is certain they all received here an

equal *apostolical* charge or *jurisdiction.* But *Christ* appearing afterwards to St *Peter*, St *John*, St *James*, St *Thomas*, and some of the disciples, after he had eaten with them, he addressed himself thus to St *Peter: Simon son of Jonas lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, yea Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, feed my lambs. He saith unto him again the second time, Simon of Jonas lovest thou me? He saith unto him, yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, feed my lambs. He saith to him the third time, Simon son of Jonas lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, lovest thou me? And he said, Lord, thou knowest all things, and thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, feed my sheep.* John xxi. 15, 16, &c.

I observe here an unusual ceremony, such as is no where else to be found in the whole New Testament. St *Peter* is singled out from the rest of the company, *Christ* asks him, *lovest thou me more than these?* He asks him a second and third time, *lovest thou me?* And after each answer and assurance of his love, *Christ* gives him an *unlimited* commission to *feed his flock.* Whoever can see nothing here attributed peculiarly to St *Peter*, must shut his eyes wilfully against the strongest light.

G.—I own, my lord, I have not eyes to see it. For *it was the necessary duty of all the apostles during their time, and of their successors in all following generations, to feed our Saviour's lambs and sheep. And if St Peter was required to do the same, this implies no more jurisdiction in him, than in the other apostles; on each of which this duty was no less incumbent than on him.* I add, *that if the words themselves do not convey any such paramount jurisdiction, the repetition of them can never do it.*—Vind. pp. 21, 22.

L.—It is true, that a repetition of words does not change their literal signification. But no reasonable man will say, it does not enforce their weight; or that it does not mark out a more than ordinary *importance* of the *duty*, or injunction contained in words, that are thus repeated;

especially when it is done by a person of the greatest authority. And therefore our Saviour's *threefold* repetition both of the question put to St *Peter*, and the command laid upon him *to feed his lambs and sheep* was doubtless intended to imprint in his mind an idea of some extraordinary injunction. The question itself, *lovest thou me more than these?* manifestly imports that *Christ* required a greater love of St *Peter*, than the other *Apostles.* And why so?

G.—My lord, perhaps our *Saviour* only put this question to him to put him in mind of his former profession of a singular love above the other *apostles.**

L.—What, Sir! to put him in mind of it without requiring it of him! The question plainly implies the contrary, and I ask the reason of it. So pray, Sir, guess once more.

G.—Perhaps it was only to humble him under the sense of his dreadful fall and thus to quicken his care, and excite his zeal by the remembrance of his past miscarriage.†

L.—This guess, Sir, is as unlucky as the former. For if *Christ* only intended to humble him under the sense of his dreadful fall, it would have sufficed to have asked him *dost thou love me?* Or *dost thou love me* AS MUCH *as these?* By way of insinuation, that *they* had not denied him, as he had done; which would have been very *humbling.* But *Christ* asked him, *lovest thou me* MORE *than these?* So this guess is likewise unsatisfactory.

G.—However I have St *Ambrose* for my voucher, who writes thus. *For he, who had denied his Lord thrice, confesses him thrice, and obtains grace by loving as often as he contracted the guilt of sin by his fall.* Serm. 48.‡

L.—Sir, St *Ambrose* makes here only a comparison between St *Peter's* triple *profession* of love, and his threefold *denial* of *Christ:* but says not a word of the reason why *Christ* asked him, *if he loved him* MORE *than these?* And so his words do not in the least favour your guess. I shall therefore endeavour to give a better reason for it, and it is this. Because the higher a person is raised in

* Case farther stated, p. 27. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

the *ministry* of the *gospel*, the greater his love ought to be for *Christ* to enable him to fulfil his trust. And therefore since *Christ* demanded a greater love of St *Peter* than the other *apostles*, even the beloved disciple St *John*, who was present, it is more than a guess to conclude from it, that the command he then laid upon him to *feed his lambs and sheep* raised him to a higher station than the other *apostles*. Neither was this intended as a lesson to St *Peter* alone, but to all his *successors*, who without an extraordinary love of God, and zeal for his *Church*, can never be fitly qualified to discharge their important trust of *feeding both the lambs and sheep of Christ;* that is, of governing his *whole flock:* which is the true meaning of that text.

G.—But pray, my lord, was it not the necessary duty of *all* the apostles to *feed our Saviour's lambs and sheep?* Vind. p. 21.

L.—Not in the same *unlimited* sense as St *Peter* was charged with it. But least this may appear to be *gratis dictum*, it is here necessary to observe, that the same words may either have a more *restrained*, or *ample* signification according to the *circumstances* they are spoken in, or the *persons* they are applied to: and nothing is more *sophistical*, than to infer from their signification in reference to one person, that they bear the same sense in reference to another. As for instance, *Christ* calls himself *the light of the world*, John viii. 12, and he calls his Apostles *the light of the world*, Matt. v. 14. Now if any one should argue thus, The *apostles* are called the *light of the world* as well as *Christ*, therefore this implies nothing in *Christ above* the *apostles:* would he not deserve to be pitied rather than answered? In like manner, all that are empowered to *preach* the *gospel*, *catechise*, or *instruct*, are properly commissioned to *feed the flock of Christ*, but does it therefore follow, that their *jurisdiction* is equal to what *Christ* gave to St *Peter?* If not; neither can we conclude, that he had not a more *ample jurisdiction* than the other *apostles*, who certainly were all commissioned *to feed the flock of Christ.* In effect,

the *other* apostles had no jurisdiction over one another; but St *Peter's jurisdiction* reached them all by virtue of those words.

G.—My lord, this is the very point, you are to prove: for I shall not believe it upon your bare word.

L.—Sir, I have already begun to prove it, *first* from our *Saviour's* demanding a greater degree of love of St *Peter* than the other *apostles:* which was a natural *preamble* to his laying a greater charge upon him. I have likewise proved it from the peculiar *ceremony* and *solemnity* with which this action was performed; which, as it is without example in the New Testament, and as the whole ceremony regarded St *Peter's person* alone, as distinguished from the other *apostles*, so it is but congruous to common sense to infer from it, that it conveyed something to him above the rest.

I prove it 3dly thus; the fact, we have under debate, happened at our Saviour's *third* apparition to his *disciples*, John xxi. 14. Now *Christ* had installed both St *Peter*, and the *other apostles* in the common exercise of their *apostleship* or *mission* at his very *first* apparition to them, *John* xx. 21, *&c.*, when he gave *them all* their full *powers* and *credentials* to *preach* the *gospel* to all nations. This then was already done: and there needed not a *new* and *extraordinary* ceremony to install St *Peter* in an employment already bestowed upon him in common with the other *apostles;* or to *renew* his commission any more than that of all the rest. And why then did our *Saviour* address himself to St *Peter* alone, and not likewise to the other *apostles* then present, if it was not to charge him with something, that was not to be common to all, and in which they were to have no share with him? When you give a direct rational answer to this question, you will say something to the purpose.

G.—My lord, *Christ* only commanded St *Peter* to *feed his flock.* Now according to St *Bernard*, l. iv. c. 3. de Consid. to *preach* the *gospel* is to *feed.**

L.—Sir, this does not answer but decline the ques-

* Case farther stated, p. 37.

tion. To *preach* the *gospel* was the charge of all the *apostles* in common, for which they had already received their *commission.* And my question is, what need there was of *renewing* St *Peter's commission* any more than that of all the rest? My question is, why our *Saviour* addressed himself to St *Peter alone* in the presence of other *apostles,* if it was not to charge him with something that was not to be common to all? This question is yet unanswered.

G.—My lord, St *Peter* was certainly the *apostle* of the *Jews* in a particular manner; and the *Jews* are likewise in a peculiar manner styled in scripture *God's sheep.* And why then might not these be the *sheep,* he was here commissioned to feed.*

L.—What, Sir, did our Saviour then intend by those words to restrain St *Peter's former commission,* and *limit* it to the *Jews* alone! Was this the thing meant by that *unusual* and *extraordinary* ceremony! Was it for this *Christ* asked him, whether he loved him *more* than the other *apostles,* and charged him in such a particular manner to *feed* his *lambs* and *sheep?* Truly, Sir, when a man of sense is driven to such an answer as this, it is a sign, he is hard put to it.

But let us see, whether venerable antiquity ever gave any of these pretty turns to our *Saviour's* words. St *Eucherius,* bishop of *Lyons,* who lived in the beginning of the 5th age, wrote thus upon the eve of St *Peter's* feast. *First, Christ entrusted him with his lambs, next, with his sheep: because he made him not only a shepherd, but* THE SHEPHERD OF SHEPHERDS. *Peter then feeds the lambs, he also feeds the sheep. He feeds both the young and their mothers.* HE RULES BOTH SUBJECTS AND PRELATES. HE IS THEREFORE A SHEPHERD OVER ALL. *For besides lambs and sheep there is nothing in the church.*

This I think is very plain. And we cannot doubt but this ancient father delivered the current doctrine of the *Church* in his time, and so is an authentic witness of it. His words confirm my observation upon the *unlimited*

* Case farther stated, p. 30.

commission given to St *Peter* in the text in question, and answer all your arbitrary explanations of it.

But let us hear St *Chrysostom* next, who, treating of the election of St *Mathias*, Hom. 3. in Act. writes thus of St *Peter*. *See how he acknowledges the flock entrusted to him. How he is the prince of the choire. He had reason to act here the first of all* WITH AUTHORITY, *having them all delivered into his hands.*

Here my observation on St *John* is again inforced, and St *Peter* is expressly declared to have acted *the first of all with authority*. And why? Because (says St *Chrysostom*) *he had them all delivered into his hands.*

Origen upon St *Paul's* Epist. to the *Romans*, cap. vi. p. 639, speaks the same language. *Petro cum summa rerum de pascendis ovibus traderetur, et super ipsum velut super Petram fundaretur ecclesia, &c.* That is, *when the* CHIEF POWER *of feeding the sheep was given to Peter, and the Church was built* UPON HIM *as upon a Rock; the profession of no other virtue was required of him than that of love.* Here both texts are joined together for proof of St *Peter's supremacy.*

It is true a friend of yours, Sir, carps at the translation of this last piece. But if a jury of grammarians were impannelled, I believe they would give their verdict against him.

G.—Pray, my lord, be not tedious in your quotations; for we have no time to lose.

L.—Well, Sir, then for brevity's sake I refer you for about half a score fathers more to *the church of Christ shewed, &c.* Part III. Chap. ii. Sect. 1. And from them all I think we may soberly conclude, that Dr *Tillotson* had a forehead of brass, and a seared conscience, when he told his reader in his *preface* to Dr *Barrow's* book of *Supremacy*, that *the pope's supremacy is not only an indefensible, but an impudent cause.* That *there is not a tolerable argument for it, but there are a thousand invincible reasons against it.* That *the past and present state of Christendom, the histories and records of all ages, are a perpetual demonstration against it.* That *there is no ground in the*

world for it. But that now of a long time it has been by the pope's janizaries boldly asserted, and stiffly contended for without reason.

If strutting and swaggering will do the work, the poor *pope* is lost without remedy. But he has still some good old troops of *janizaries* to stand by him. The *fathers* I have quoted, and referred you to, are of the number, and they have two good *generals* at the head of them, namely St *Matthew* and St *John*. So I dare venture them against the *doctor;* who indeed had nothing so much at heart as to write *good English*, or make a *flourish:* but left truth to shift for itself.

SECTION V.—THE GENTLEMAN'S OBJECTIONS AGAINST ST PETER'S SUPREMACY ANSWERED.

"*G.*—My lord, nothing that was said of St *Peter* is so "express for an *universal supremacy*, as what St *Paul* said of "himself, 2 Cor. xi. 28, *that the care of all churches lay upon* "*him.* And again, 1 Cor. vii. 17. *So I ordain in all churches.* "If such a *decretal* could be produced of St *Peter's*, I doubt "not it would have been made use of towards proving his "*universal supremacy.*"—p. 5.

L.—If nothing be so express for St *Peter's supremacy*, as the *two texts* you have quoted are for St *Paul's*, pray, Sir, how comes it to pass, that not one of the ancient fathers has produced those texts in favour of St *Paul*, and such a *cloud* of those venerable witnesses have urged the two former texts from St *Matthew* and St *John* in favour of St *Peter?* Let me tell you, Sir, this looks a little scurvily; and I fear you will have some difficulty to give a satisfactory answer to it. For it is apt to make a man conclude, there is some better *decretal* for St *Peter's* supremacy than for St *Paul's*.

But let us consider the *texts* themselves. You say St *Paul* says of himself, 2 Cor. xi. 28, *That the care of all churches lay upon him.* But let us hear the whole text, and it will explain itself. He writes thus. *In weariness*

and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches. Who is weak, and I am not weak? Here St *Paul* makes an enumeration of all his troubles and pains both in *body* and *mind;* and tells us, that besides the *bodily* sufferings enumerated by him, he was continually oppressed in mind with *care* and *solicitude* for all the churches; which shows indeed that he was a most excellent *apostle*, filled with *zeal* and *charity* for the *whole church of Christ*, as doubtless all the *apostles* were; and if either St *Peter*, or any other amongst them had said the same of himself, how it should be strained into a *decretal* for any *superiority* over the rest, is beyond my comprehension.

Your second text, *so I ordain in all churches*, is still less to the purpose. It is plain, it cannot be literally extended to all particular churches whatsoever. As the churches of *Parthia*, *Ethiopia*, *India*, or *Scythia*: in which the gospel was preached by St *Thomas*, St *Bartholomew* and St *Andrew;* but not by St *Paul*. Nor did he ever write to any of those churches.

G.—What means then his saying, *So I ordained in all churches?*

L.—Sir, it means, that St *Paul* was *uniform* in his orders and instructions. It means, that what he *ordained* in the church of *Corinth*, he likewise *ordained* in all the *other churches*, that were under his immediate direction. For though every *apostle* had a *general commission* to teach *all nations*, and a *jurisdiction* over all the *churches*, yet their labours were divided, and *every apostle* did not in person teach *every nation*, but only that, which fell to his particular lot. So that St *Paul's* saying, *and so I ordained in all churches*, cannot be understood of *churches* which he never instructed either by *letter*, or by *word of mouth*, but such as were particularly under his inspection. And is it not then very likely, that if St *Peter* had said as much of himself, we should have improved it into an argument for his *superiority* over the other *apostles?* You

tell me, however, that *if we had such a decretal for St Peter's supremacy we should make good use of it.* Then, Sir, it is very lucky for us that we have it not; for it might have tempted us to trifle as some of our neighbours do.

**G.*—But pray, my lord, *is this your way of answering? The apostle positively declares,* So I ordained in all churches. *And you make bold to contradict him, and tell him, he had nothing to do to issue forth his orders for any but those under his more immediate inspection. As if St* Paul *did not understand his own business, and the extent of his power, till you came to direct him, and settle it for him.*

L.—Really, Sir, though I am far from presuming to contradict St *Paul,* or question his understanding perfectly well his *own business,* and the *extent* of his *power;* yet I am still of opinion, *first,* that he never either *travelled* or *sent letters* into *Parthia, Æthiopia, India,* or *Scythia.* And 2*dly,* that he could not *ordain* things in *churches,* he neither ever saw, nor ever writ to. So pray, Sir, be not so uppish till you be sure at least, that you speak sense.

"*G.*—My lord, in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* it is told, that "St *Paul* was at *Rome* preaching the gospel two whole years "together. *Acts* xxviii. 30. But not a word of St *Peter's* "being there."—*pp.* 5, 6.

L.—To the best of my knowledge, Sir, and I am sure of yours too, the *Acts* are a history of St *Paul's* life, and not of St *Peter's.* And is it such a wonder, that an historian writing the life of one man, should not run astray from his subject to insist upon particulars relating to another.

"*G.*—As St *Paul* planted the gospel at *Rome,* so he "wrote to the church there as his particular charge. For "he says, *Rom.* xi. 13, *I speak to you Gentiles, in as much as* "*I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify my office.*"—*p.* 6.

L.—Good, Sir, did St *Paul* plant the gospel at *Rome* before he ever was there? That is news indeed. The gospel then had been planted at *Rome* some years before

* Vind. p. 37.

he wrote his epistle to the *Romans;* which was 15 years after St *Peter* had fixed his seat there. And to show he never had been there, he writes thus to them. *Now I would not have you be ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you, but was let hitherto.* Rom. i. 13. In effect, it was towards the end of his life he came to *Rome;* and when he was there, he contributed very much towards the increase of Christ's flock by his continual preaching for the space of two years amongst them.

" *G.*—My lord, as St *Paul* was the *apostle* of the *Gentiles,* " so St *Peter* was the *apostle* of the *Jews;* they were his " particular charge; and he himself allowed *that the gospel of* " *the uncircumcision was committed to* Paul, *as the gospel of* " *circumcision was to himself.* Gal. ii. 7—9. And accordingly " he directed his epistle to the *Jews* of the dispersion " throughout *Pontus, Galatia, Capadocia, Asia,* and *Bithynia.* " But he wrote not to the *Gentiles,* particularly not to " *Rome;* which would seem strange, if he had been *bishop* " of *Rome,* and that had been his chief and principal charge." —*p.* 6.

L.—Pray, Sir, is it so very strange he should not write particularly to those, amongst whom he resided for the most part? Did St *James* direct his *canonical epistle* to the church of *Jerusalem,* whereof he was bishop? And why then is it so strange, that St *Peter* should not write to the *Romans?*

But as to what you say, that St *Paul* was the *apostle* of the *Gentiles,* and St *Peter* of the *Jews:* I answer, that as *Christ* was a *minister of the circumcision,* Rom. xv. 8. so his chief *vicar* took that part of the vineyard to cultivate in a more particular manner to his share. But neither was his jurisdiction confined to the *Jews,* nor St *Paul's* to the *Gentiles.* Did not *God choose that the Gentiles by Peter's mouth should hear the word of God, and believe?* Acts xv. 7; by whom even the first *Gentiles* were baptized at *Cesarea,* Acts x. 48. So we find St *Paul* preaching in the *synagogue.* Acts xiii. 2; xviii. 4, 11, *as a chosen vessel to bear Christ's name before the Gentiles, and kings, and children of Israel.* Acts xi. 15. In a word, St

Peter and St *Paul*, and the other apostles as well as they had *jurisdiction* over all *christian churches*, whether of converted *Jews* or *Gentiles;* though their labours were divided, according as occasion required, or as they were directed by the *Divine Spirit.* All which is no proof, that St *Peter* was not the *head* of the *apostles.*

" *G.*—St *Paul's* bold *withstanding him to the face* before " the whole church of *Antioch* in behalf of the *Gentiles.* " whom he had misled, *fearing them who were of the circum-* " *cision*, shows the care St *Paul* took of those, who were " more particularly his charge; and seems a behaviour not " very suitable to the *supreme head* of the *church* both *Jews* " and *Gentiles*, if St *Paul* had known any thing of St *Peter's* " being so constituted by *Christ.*"—p. 6.

L.—Sir, his *bold withstanding* is a mark indeed of his *zeal;* but neither of his *superiority*, nor *equality* to St *Peter* in the *college* of the *apostles.* Is not the *council* bound to withstand the *king*, if he proposes any thing contrary to law, or the natural liberties and properties of the subject? And will you infer from thence, that the *king* has no *superiority* or *authority* over his *council?* Suppose the bishop of *Canterbury* should preach or write any thing to the prejudice of the *Church of England*, would a *private doctor* think it a presumption to withstand his *superior*, and write boldly against him?

But let St *Austin* answer for me. *St Peter* (says he) *in whom the primacy of the apostles appeared with so surpassing a grace, was reprehended by a latter apostle.* L. 2. de Bap. c. i. And though St *Paul's* zeal is to be admired, St *Peter's* humility in this occasion is far more extolled by some of the fathers. St *Gregory's* words are remarkable. *He became* (says St Greg.) *the follower of one less than himself, that even here he might go before him: to the end, that he, who was first in the highest dignity of the apostleship, might also be the first in humility.* In *Latin* thus: *Atque in eadem re factus est sequens* MINORIS SUI, *etiam ut in hoc præiret. Quatenus qui* PRIMUS *erat in apostolatus culmine, esset et primus in humilitate.* Hom. 18. in Ezek. tom. ii. p. 1180. This puts

it beyond dispute, what these two fathers thought of St *Peter's supremacy*, and makes it plain that a *superior* may be reprehended by an *inferior* without prejudice to his *authority*.

" *G.*—Methinks, my lord, it did not become the other " *apostles* to send their *sovereign* upon business, as they sent " *Peter* to *Samaria*. Acts viii. 14."—p. 6.

L.—Indeed, Sir, your stock of arguments grows very low, when this must serve for one. Is it such an unusual thing for the *whole body* to depute their *superior upon* business, wherein the common cause is concerned? A *bishop* may be deputed by his *diocess*, a *chancellor* by the *University*, and even a *prince* by the *senate*. As the Jews sent their high priest *Ismael* with other ambassadors to *Nero*. Jos. l. 20. Ant. c. 7.

" *G.*—If it be true, as some say, that St *Peter* was *bishop* " of the *Jewish* converts at *Rome*, and St *Paul* of the *Gen-* " *tiles* there, St *Paul* would have had a much greater flock " than St *Peter*, and the *successors* of St *Paul* and not of St " *Peter*, must have been *bishops* there; because the church of " *Rome* is now, and has long been all of the *Gentiles*."—p. 7.

L.—*All of the Gentiles*, Sir? How do you know that? But let that be as it will, though the personal application, or immediate inspection of the two apostles was perhaps divided, whilst they were together, their *jurisdiction* was not: and it is nothing to the purpose, which of the two had the greater number to instruct: for the whole flock belonged to them both in quality of *apostles*. But let us suppose St *Paul* was also bishop of *Rome*, all that will follow from it, is, that the *popes* succeeded both St *Peter* and St *Paul* in the government of the *Roman diocess;* which will not hinder their succeeding St *Peter* alone in the government of the *whole church*. However it was a thing unknown to antiquity to call the bishop of *Rome*, the successor of St *Paul*.

" *G.*—My lord, the surest way to find out the truth is by " fact, and not straining expressions which may have several " meanings. The *eastern* monarchs have used to give them- " selves mighty titles, as son of the sun, and brother of the " stars, and king of all the kings of the earth, &c. But will

" any believe, that any of them was the universal monarch " for all this contrary to plain fact?"—*p.* 7.

L.—No, Sir, what then?

" *G.*—Then let me ask you, do you think one could write " the history of a king, suppose of king *Charles* the 2d, and " in all the history neither call him *King*, mention his re- " storation, coronation, or tell one *regal* act, he ever did, as " calling a Parliament, or presiding in it, sending, or re- " ceiving an ambassador, or granting a commission, &c. And " so of a *pope*, could his history be wrote without calling " him *pope*, or telling of one *papal* act of his?"—*p.* 7.

L.—No, Sir, no more than St *Paul's* life can be writ without calling him *Paul*. But the life of St *Paul* may be writ without a recital of the particulars of St *Peter's* life.

" *G.*—Pray, my lord, let me apply what I have said. We " have the history of the *Acts of the Apostles* in which St " *Peter* has a great share, though not so much as St *Paul*."

And there is a Council.—*pp.* 7, 8.

L.—Hold, Sir, you shall tell your story out immediately. But I desire you to answer me first. Are the *Acts* a history of *all* the *apostles?*

G.—No, my lord. But St *Peter* has a great share in them, as I told you.

L.—And I shall let you know how great a share he has. St *Luke*, the author of the *Acts*, was St *Paul's* disciple; and the *Acts* are properly a history of his life from his *conversion* till his coming to *Rome*, where St *Luke* also takes leave of him. Nay many of the apostles, as St *Andrew*, St *Thomas*, St *Bartholomew*, &c. are but once named before the descent of the *Holy Ghost*, and never after. And St *Peter's* life and actions are no farther related than was necessary to give a succinct account of the first planting of the *gospel*, and the progress it made in the first year after our *Saviour's* passion; in which indeed St *Peter* had the greatest share, and acted on all occasions like the *master-workman;* particularly in the election of St *Mathias*, as St *Chrysostom* has observed, Hom. 3. in Act. So that we have but one year of St *Peter's* life in the *Acts*. After the 12th chapter St

Luke speaks no more of him but occasionally in the 15th, because the history of his master, St *Paul*, required it; whose labours and sufferings are the whole subject of the last 16 chapters of the *Acts*. And so it is no greater wonder that we know no more of St *Peter* than that we know nothing at all of the greatest part of the *apostles*. And the reason of both is, because St *Luke's* principal design was to relate the apostolical labours of St *Paul*, whose life was very instructive, because he had been a violent persecutor of the church. Now, Sir, you may make your application, if you please. But your market is pretty well forestalled.

SECTION VI.—THE OBJECTIONS FROM THE COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM ANSWERED.

"*G.*—I was going to tell you, my lord, that there is a "*Council* mentioned, wherein both St *Peter* and St *Paul* "were present: and there is not a tittle of any *superiority* of "St *Peter* over St *Paul*, or any of the other *apostles*, either "in that *council;* or any where else throughout the whole "history; which is impossible, if St *Peter* had that *supre-*"*macy*, which the *popes* have claimed as his *successors*. This "is so demonstrative a proof, that the writers on your side "think it necessary for them to endeavour some solution to "it. But the weakness of their answer is a yet greater con-"firmation on our side."—*p.* 8.

L.—It seems, however, the writers on our side do not think it insolvable; and I am of their mind. But, Sir, your memory fails you in telling me, there is not any thing concerning St *Peter's superiority* over the apostles *throughout the whole history of the Acts*. For I told you just now of the *election* of St *Mathias*, which was the first thing done by the *apostles* after our Saviour's *ascension;* and wherein St *Peter* acted as *head* according to St *Chrysostom's* observation: and I do not find it mentioned in the *Acts* that when St *Paul* was called to the *apostleship*, St *Peter* either *abdicated*, or was *deposed* by his *fellow apostles*.

"*G.*—My lord, your divines can find no other way to get "some *superiority* to St *Peter* in this *council* than to suppose "that he opened it, because, as they say, he spoke first; "which would not infer the *supremacy* they pretend, if it "were true. But it is plainly otherwise. For it is said, "Acts xv. 7, *and when there had been much disputing, Peter "rose up and said, &c.* Nor did he speak last. For after "he had done, *Paul* and *Barnabas* declared the conversion "of the *Gentiles* by their means without putting them under "the *law*, which was the point in debate. And after they "had held their peace, St *James*, who was bishop of *Jerusa-"lem*, where the *council* was held, did, as *president*, resume "what had been said by St *Peter* and others, and gave his "definitive sentence upon the whole, *wherefore my sentence is.* "And the decree of the council was drawn up in the words "of St *James*. So that it is plain he closed the *council*, who-"ever opened it, or spoke first, which is not so material as "to be told in this account of that *council*. But dismissing "the *council*, and putting an end to it, seems of greater "*authority*. If what is here said of St *James* had been said "of St *Peter*, I question not it would have been made use "of as a full proof of his *supremacy*, and *presiding* in the "*council*."—pp. 8, 9.

L.—Sir, *your not questioning* and *my not questioning* are of equal weight: that is none at all. Let us then consider the merits of the cause, which is more to the purpose.

All you have said centres in this one point, *viz.*, that it was not St *Peter*, but St *James*, who *presided* in the *council;* which to the best of my judgment cannot be made evident from the *Acts*.

You say St *Peter* neither spoke *first* nor *last;* that is more than either you or I can tell. For St *Luke* has let neither of us into the secret. It is certain St *Peter's* discourse is first recorded. But you answer, that before St *Peter* spoke, *there had been much disputing*. Acts xv. 7. Very right. But I ask, who opened that debate?

G.—St *Luke* is silent as to that particular.

L.—Is he so, Sir? And how then have you the assurance to tell me, it is plain from the *Acts*, that St *Peter* did not open the *council?* In effect, St *Luke* has left us in the dark, and St *Peter* may have opened it as

president for ought we know. Therefore it is not evident from the *Acts*, that he was not the man.

But you have a second string to your bow, *viz.*, that though St *Peter* should be allowed to have *opened* the council, it is plain to you, that St *James closed* it. But it is not so very plain to me: neither can it be so to you from the history of the *Acts*. It is true, St *James's* discourse is recited last by St *Luke:* but where does he tell us, that none of the apostles spoke after him? St *Luke* relates not a word of what was said before St *Peter's* speech, and yet it is plain a great deal was spoke before it. Besides, it is certain that St *John* the *evangelist* was at the *council:* and St *Chrysostom*, Hom. 33. in Act. doubts not but there were other apostles besides; yet not a single word is specified of what they said. And must we then conclude they sat like mutes, when the faith of the church was concerned? It is not natural to suppose it.

You say, St *James* resumed as *president* what St *Peter* had said. But why as *president?* That is begging the question: for any man may resume what another has said before him without acting *as president*, and others, for ought we know, resumed after St *James* what he had said. In effect, it was not St *Luke's* business to gratify the reader's curiosity with what every body said, or who spoke *first* or *last*, or who *presided;* but to come the shortest way to the grand point, that is, the decree relating to the matter under debate; because that was a full justification of his master St *Paul.*

G.—But, my lord, St *James* pronounced the *definitive sentence.* For he said, *therefore my sentence is.*

L.—Sir, I answer *first*, this is an unfair translation of the *Greek*, which is the *original text.* For κρίνω in *Greek* is the same as *judico* in *Latin*, and so it is rendered by St *Jerome*, which imports the same as if St *James* had said, *this is my judgment* or *opinion.* And so I find it likewise in an old *French protestant* translation of the *Bible* put forth anno 1540, where it is rendered thus, *pour laquelle chose je suis d'avis, &c.*, which is no more a *definitive sentence* than what St *Peter* had pronounced

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before him in these words: *Wherefore why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?* Acts xv. 10, for there he plainly delivered his opinion.

But suppose your translation of the text were exact, as it is not, how can you make St *James's* saying, *therefore my sentence is*, a proof of his *presiding?* For surely you will not question but every *bishop* in a *council* has a *definitive vote*, and may say, *this is my sentence.* Therefore since every *apostle* or *bishop* present at the *council* of *Jerusalem* had an undoubted right to give a *definitive sentence*, it can be no proof of any one's *presiding.*

G.—My lord, St *James* also dismissed the *council* and put an end to it, which is an act of authority.

L.—It is more, Sir, than you can make out from the *Acts.* For after the end of his speech St *Luke* writes thus: *Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole church to send chosen men of their own company to* Antioch *with* Paul *and* Barnabas, &c. Acts xv. 22. Whence it rather appears, that when the business, upon which they had met was ended, they parted by mutual consent: and there was not the least hint given, that they were dismissed by St *James*, or indeed by any single person acting as *president* of the *council.*

G.—However, my lord, it seems very surprising the *Acts* should be so silent concerning St *Peter's supremacy*, since it is a point of that importance.

L.—Why so, Sir? Must the *scriptures* say every thing in every place? Or is it so surprising that an historian should omit things foreign to his main design? St *Peter's supremacy* is sufficiently established in other parts of *scripture*, and it needs not be repeated in every chapter. But pray, Sir, in what chapter of the New Testament is the *spiritual supremacy* of the *secular prince* mentioned? Let me tell you, Sir, this is an ugly question, and so I will not press it.

But if the negative argument, you insist so much upon, be a demonstration (as you call it) against St *Peter's supremacy*, then, Sir, all the following articles, *viz.*, the

validity of *infant baptism* against *anabaptists*, the lawfulness of translating the *sabbath-day* to *sunday* against the *Jews*, the *divine revelation* of all the *canonical* books of *scripture* against the *deists*, and several other articles of great importance have, according to your way of arguing, *demonstrations* against them: because the *scriptures* are not only very barren, but wholly *silent* in the determination of these points. Nay, *eating blood* will be as criminal as *fornication*: because both are equally prohibited by St *James's* definitive sentence in the *council* of *Jerusalem*: and there is not a word on record, by which this prohibition was ever revoked.

The truth of the whole matter is this. The short relation given by St *Luke* of the *council* at *Jerusalem* affords no argument of any weight either *for* or *against* the *supremacy* of St *Peter*. But you are willing to make the best of a bad market, and play small game rather than stick out. The *current* of *antiquity* is against you; and so are the two texts of St *Matthew* and St *John*. This puts you under a necessity of picking up something to counterbalance, as well as you can, the evidence of those two texts.

SECTION VII.—OTHER OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

"*G.*—My lord, none of those *texts* are so express as those "I have quoted of St *Paul*."—*p.* 6.

L.—It is very strange then that so many of the *ancient fathers* should allege those *two texts* for St *Peter's* supremacy, and not one single *father* should take notice of those you have quoted for St *Paul*.

"*G.*—My lord, if the texts you boast of were meant in "that extent, for which you have produced them, it is im- "possible, but that must appear in the *facts* of St *Peter*, "especially in the part he bore in the *council* at *Jerusalem*, "and *facts* are the surest explanation of *words*."—p. 9.

L.—Then, Sir, the very first *fact* of the *apostles* related by St *Luke*, Acts, i. I mean the *election* of St *Mathias*, decides the question against you. For it is

manifest to any unbiassed reader, that St *Peter* acted in that important occasion as *head* of the whole assembly. Hear the words of St *Chrysostom* once more; they carry weight, and cannot be repeated too often. *See* (says he) *how he acknowledges the flock entrusted to him. He is the prince of the choire. He had reason to act here the first of all with authority, having them all delivered into his hands.* Here, Sir, is an undeniable fact. Whereas the fact, you boast so much of, amounts to no more, than that St *Luke* (who has omitted innumerable other facts) has not declared in express terms, either that St *Peter* did or did not *preside* in the *council* at *Jerusalem:* which in reality was not a material circumstance in the subject of that historical passage. How *unjust* are prejudiced *men in their balances!*

But there are some other things very remarkable in the Scriptures. 1. That whenever the apostles are named together St *Peter* is always named in the first place. 2. That after the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* he was the first that signalized himself in a sermon to the *Jews;* and when the *apostles* were reflected upon by the people, he stood up and undertook their defence. *Acts* ii. 3*dly*. He wrought the first miracle in confirmation of the *gospel.* Acts ii. 4*thly*. He was the first, that preached it to the *Gentiles.* Acts x. And 5*thly*. He was the first to whom their *vocation* was revealed. *Ibid.*

These, Sir, are *facts*, and very considerable ones in a narrative, which was not intended for a history of St *Peter's* life, but of St *Paul's.* And though they be not demonstrative proofs of St *Peter's supremacy*, yet they contain circumstances, which very much corroborate the positive *texts* for it, and naturally lead an impartial reader to an idea of it.

"*G.*—My lord, we discourse now only of *authority.* What "*authority* one *apostle* had over another. For that is the "point, wherein we are concerned."—*p.* 9.

L.—Very right, Sir.

"*G.*—We speak not of other *gifts* and *graces*, or their "labours in propagating the *gospel*, wherein one might be

" more eminent and successful than another. But this gave " no *authority* over the others."—*p.* 9.

L.—All this is very true.

" *G.*—But in this also St *Paul* had the preference. For " *he laboured more abundantly than all.* 1 Cor. xv. 10. And " all the *epistles* almost are his to the several churches. And " his *miracles* and *conversions* of infidels take up a much " greater part in the *Acts of the Apostles* than those of St " *Peter.*"—pp. 9, 10.

L.—A most wonderful discovery! That the actions of a person, whose life is expressly writ, should take up the greatest part in such a history! But to convince you, Sir, from your own principle, that this cannot be wrested into any argument for the lessening of St *Peter;* it is your opinion that all the *apostles* were equal; yet seven of the twelve are but once named in the *Acts;* and not one particular action of theirs is related by St *Luke*, though his book be entitled *the Acts of the Apostles.* Either therefore your mentioning, that the actions of St *Paul* take up the greatest part in those *acts* is a trifling observation; or, if it has any force against St *Peter*, we must conclude, that the greatest number of the apostles were mere *cyphers* in the opinion of St *Luke.*

" *G.*—My lord, I have said so much of this matter, because " the supposed *supremacy* of St *Peter*, his being at *Rome*, " and *bishop* of *Rome*, is the whole foundation of that *supre-* " *macy* claimed by the *bishop* and *church* of *Rome.* And if " that be so essential a point, and upon which the *unity* of " the *church* depends, in so much that without it there is no " *church* at all according to the scheme drawn by modern " *Rome*, it is inconceivable the *Scriptures* should be so wholly " silent in it; nay showing the very contrary in fact, as I " have said already concerning St *Peter.*"—p. 10.

L.—Sir, *saying* and *proving* are two very different things. You have *said* it indeed, but you have no reason to boast of it, unless a good assurance be a virtue. I grant then that the *supremacy* of St *Peter* is an *essential point*, and it is clearly determined by the *word of God*, if plain *words* and *facts* may be depended upon. The *scriptures* therefore are not *silent* in it. But it is your mistake,

and not our doctrine, that St *Peter's being at Rome*, and *bishop of Rome* are any part of the *essential* point of his *supremacy*. For, though the facts be as unquestionable, as any historical facts can be, yet neither St *Peter's supremacy*, nor that of his *successors* has any dependence upon them. Because St *Peter* would have been *head* of the *church*, though he had never been at *Rome*: and his *successors* would be the same, and have the same *authority*, though he had chosen any other city for his episcopal see.

"*G.*—My lord, when the *direct question* was put to our "*blessed Saviour* upon the contest among the apostles, *which* "*of them should be the greatest*, Luke xxii. 24, I say, if this "was so material a point, as to the very *being* of the *church*, "it is inconceivable he should not have determined it, but "by his answer rather checked the error of their thoughts, "and left them all upon the level."—*p.* 10.

L.—Sir, I have but three things to say to this objection. 1. You have first misrepresented the *text*. 2. Though I should allow it to be fairly represented, it can render you no manner of service, and 3. the *context* is against you.

1. The *text* is thus: *And there was also a strife among them, which of them should be accounted the greatest.* Luke xxii. 24. Here indeed we are plainly told, that there was a contest *among themselves*, but not a word of any *direct question* put to our *blessed Saviour*; and is it then so very unconceivable that there should be no *direct answer*, when no *direct question* was put?

2. But suppose the *direct question* had been put to our *Saviour*, is it so very unconceivable, that he should not take that occasion to determine the matter? For was not *Christ* fittest to judge, what time was most proper to place a *superior* over his *apostles*, as he did in effect not long before his *ascension?* John xxi. 15, 16, &c. Or was he bound to gratify their ambitious curiosity with a positive determination upon the very spot? On the contrary they deserved even a severer check, than he gave them. However it was perfectly adapted to the nature of their fault. For instead of determining their contest, he gave

them a lecture of *humility* to cure them of their *pride*. Yet at the same time he insinuated very plainly, that there was to be a *superior* amongst them; though he did not think fit to nominate the person at that time. Which makes good what I said.

3. That the *context* is against you. Our *Saviour's* words are these: *And he said unto them, the kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them, are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so. But he, that is* GREATEST *among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is* CHIEF, *as he that does serve.* Luke xxii. 25, 26. Is not this a clear insinuation that there was to be a *chief* among them, joined with an instruction, with what *humility* he was to behave himself? So that the *text* you have quoted, makes nothing against St *Peter's supremacy*, and its context makes for it. Unless you can name me some other appointed by *Christ* to be the *head* of his *church*, and *centre* of *unity*; for there is but *one church* of *Christ* upon earth.

SECTION VIII.—THE CHURCH'S UNITY, AND SUPREMACY OF THE POPE.

"*G.*—Your lordship may add, and in *heaven* too: for all "are *one church* to *Christ*, of which he alone is the *head*. "And one part being *militant*, the other *triumphant*, makes "them not *two churches*, but two *states* of the same *church*, "which is called *one family in heaven and earth*. Eph. iii. 15. "In like manner *heaven*, *earth*, and *hell* are one *kingdom* to "the great *creator*; for *his kingdom ruleth over all*. And of "the *earth* it is said, *the kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the* "*Governor among the nations*. Psalm xxii. 28. All the "*nations* are *one kingdom* to him."—*p.* 11.

L.—Sir, no man doubts, but the *church militant* and *triumphant* are but *one church* to *Christ*, who is the sole *supreme* and *independent*, but *invisible head* of the *church militant* upon earth. But the question between us is, whether he has not deputed a *visible head* to govern this *church* under him?

" *G.*—My lord, he has appointed no *universal monarch* as " his *deputy* of his *kingdom* of the earth. But each nation " is governed by their respective *rulers*, who are independent " of each other. For so his wisdom has disposed according " to the capacity of his creatures. For what man would be " sufficient to govern the whole world? And where must " the *seat* be of this *universal monarch?* Must he not have " as many or more *deputies* under him, as there are now " *kings* or *nations?* And what prudence could prevent " defections and rebellions in far distant provinces? This " has overthrown great monarchies, which have fallen with " their own weight. What then could support an *universal* " *monarchy?* When nations go to war, other neighbouring " *kings* and *states* may interpose, or assist the oppressed by " *mediators* and *guarantees* of peace. But this could not be " in case of defection from the *universal monarch.* For who " assist *rebels*, are *rebels* themselves: and such wars could " not but end in the utter destruction of the one side or the " other. Therefore God has consulted best for the peace " and safety of mankind in distributing the world into several " independent governments, rather than put all under the " dominion of one."—*pp.* 11, 12.

L.—Sir, you have taken a great deal of pains to prove a thing, which no man ever denied, *viz.*, that God has not established an *universal monarchy* or *monarch* upon earth. And therefore though the several *kingdoms* upon earth be *one kingdom* to *God*, yet they are not *one* among themselves, even when in *peace*, but much less when they are at *war.*

" *G.*—My lord, the *unity* of *kingdoms* is indeed disturbed, " when they are at *war;* but it is not totally dissolved. For " there are *laws* of war, wherein all agree. There are still " what we call the *law of nations*, which as it maintains " commerce in peace, so it regulates the fury of war. And " there is one *unity*, which nothing can dissolve; that is, " *God having made of one blood all nations upon the earth.* " So that here is an *unity* of *relation*, of *humanity*, and of " *common principles*, which all retain."—*p.* 12.

L.—However an *unity*, which does not hinder people from cutting one another's throats, is but a very slender one.

" *G.*—It is not as it should be; but it is so as is consistent

" with our *fallen state*, and the corruptions of mankind. It " is not such an *unity*, as is in God's kingdom in *heaven*, " which yet was once disturbed by *rebellion*."—p. 12.

L.—But, Sir, the *rebels* were banished out of *heaven;* and so all *heretics*, who are *rebels* against the *church*, are cut off from her *communion*. For it is as impossible for *heretics* to be members of *Christ's church militant* upon earth, as for the *devil* and his *apostate angels* to be members of the *church triumphant* in heaven. But, surely, Sir, you will allow a *stricter unity* in the *church* of *Christ* upon earth, than there is among *nations*, that are at *war* with one another?

" *G.*—I wish it were so. But, alas, it is not. And the " frailty of man shows itself in the *church* as well as in the " *state*. The many *heresies* and *divisions* in the *church* have " rent her to pieces, and broke her *unity* as much as *wars* " have that of the *temporal* world."—*p.* 12.

L.—Is it then possible, that there should be no greater *unity* in the *church* of *Christ*, than there is among *kingdoms*, that are tearing and devouring one another! If this be all the *unity* we are capable of in our fallen state, then the *church of Christ* is a mere *Babel*, and his *kingdom* a realm of confusion.

You say, *the many heresies, that are in the church have rent her to pieces*. If you mean, Sir, that they have torn many limbs off from her, I grant it. But they remain not *in* the *catholic church:* they are cast out of her, as *Lucifer* and his *apostate angels* were cast out of *heaven:* and she remains truly *one* (or else the *Nicene creed* deceives us) that is, *one* in *faith: one* in the participation of *sacraments;* and *one* in the union of all her members under *one visible head*, *Christ's vicar* upon earth. So that they, who by their pride, and obstinacy separated themselves from this *head*, to which they were once united, are accountable to God for the *divisions* you complain of.

" *G.*—No, my lord, it is the pretence to *universal supre-* " *macy* in the *church of Rome* has been the great cause of " these *divisions*. It has procured peace in the *church* just as " setting up an *universal monarchy* would in the *world*, that " is, filled it with more confusion and bloodshed, than ever

" was in it, or could otherwise possibly be. For which reason " God has appointed no *universal monarch* in the *church* " more than in the *state*."—p. 13.

L.—To speak properly, Sir, the *pope* as such, is no *monarch* at all, much less the *universal one*. The reason is, because the word *monarch* is properly taken for *one*, to whom all others placed in authority are but as *vicars*, *deputies*, or *vice-regents*. In which sense *Christ* is the only *universal monarch* both of the *world*, and the *church*. For all *bishops* are his *vicars*, and all *princes* his *vice-regents*. And this cannot be attributed to the *pope*. But I am sensible that *universal monarch* is an odious name, and therefore very proper to supply the want of argument against the *pope's supremacy*; which in reality means no more than that he is the supreme visible governor of the whole *church* of *Christ*.

If therefore you pretend to maintain, that the *pope's supremacy*, or his being chief governor of the *catholic* or *universal* church, is as improper an expedient to procure its *unity* and *peace*, as a man's setting himself up for *universal monarch* would be to establish *peace* in the *world*, I can see nothing but a mere jingle of words to support the comparison, and the difference is obvious to common sense.

1. Because the strength of the *civil government* consists in *money*, *arms*, and *men*; which cannot be easily dispatched to all parts of the world. But *church government* stands quite upon another bottom. *The weapons of our warfare* (says St *Paul*, 2 Cor. x. 4, 6) *are not carnal, but mighty through Christ. And having in a readiness to revenge all disobedience.* These are *censures*, *excommunications*, *suspensions*, *depositions*, *interdicts*, *&c.*, which neither distance nor opposition renders ineffectual, but have their force in the *court of conscience*, which it is in vain to oppose.

2. It is certain God has not established an *universal monarchy*, in the world: and therefore any man's setting himself up for *universal monarch* must of necessity cause opposition, and bloodshed. But it is no less certain, that

Christ has established an *universal church.* For what does the word *catholic* else mean? It means undoubtedly, that the *Church* of *Christ* is not limited to this or that nation in particular, but is the *church* of all nations according to scripture language, *go ye and teach all nations.* Matt. xxviii. 19. And therefore as there is but *one church* in all the nations of the world, where the true faith is received, so Christ was pleased to appoint *one head* for the government of it.

SECTION IX.—ST. GREGORY'S JUDGMENT RELATING TO THE MATTER UNDER DEBATE.

" *G.*—My lord, *Gregory* the *great* said to *John* bishop of " *Constantinople* (who upon the seat of the empire being " translated thither set up for an *universal supremacy* in the " church) *if the church should come to depend upon one, it* " *must suddenly fall.* And *Cyprian*———."—p. 13.

L.—Hold, Sir, let me answer this first. You are under a very great, and I fear a wilful mistake in saying that *John* bishop of *Constantinople*, set up for the *universal supremacy* in the church.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius will justify what I say. For in the preface to his *Latin* translation of the 7th general council addressed to pope *John* the 8th, he writes thus: *Being at Constantinople, I often blamed the Greeks for this title* [viz. *oecumenical*, or *universal* patriarch] *as a mark of pride or arrogancy, to which they answered, that they did not call their patriarch* oecumenical, *as if he had the primacy of all the world, but that he was over a part, inhabited by christians.* Meaning the *eastern* church. *Non quod universi orbis teneat præsulatum, sed quod cuidam parti præsit orbis, quæ à christianis inhabitatur.* Tom. vii. Conc. p. 30.

It is certain therefore, that the title of *oecumenical patriarch*, which *John* of *Constantinople* assumed, was understood by him and the other *Greeks* in a very innocent sense, and only signified, that he was the *first patriarch* of the *east:* as Monsieur du *Pin* likewise testifies,

Cen. 6, p. 67, where he tells us, *that John of Capadocia sirnamed the Faster was sharply reprehended by St Gregory for taking upon him the title of oecumenical patriarch. Because this pope looked upon this title as a mark of ambition, though in the sense of the Greeks it was innocent, and signified nothing less than what St Gregory thought.*

However as that *saint* understood it, the title was unjustifiable on several accounts. *First*, because it seemed to import a *jurisdiction* over the whole church, which did not belong to the bishop of *Constantinople*, nor was indeed challenged by him. And 2*dly*, because it seemed to import that he was the *only bishop*, or, at least that all other bishops were his *deputies ;* a dignity belonging to *Christ* alone. It is manifest at least that St *Gregory* understood it so; as appears from his own writings, and particularly his words to the empress *Constantina*, to whom he complains thus: *It is a lamentable thing* (says he) *to be forced to bear, that my brother and fellow-bishop John despising all others, endeavours to be called the only bishop.* L. v. Ep. 21.

Now then, let us consider the words you pretend to quote from him, viz. *If the church should come to depend upon one, it must suddenly fall.* But, Sir, his true words are these: *Universa ergo ecclesia, quod absit, a statu suo corruit, quando is qui vocatur universalis cadit ;* which I think ought to be Englished thus: *Wherefore the universal church (which God forbid) falls from its state, when he, who is called universal falls.* L. v. Epist. 20, *last Paris edition.* Now though this passage may be said to have some resemblance with the words you have quoted, the sense of it is very different, and true enough as St *Gregory* understood the title assumed by *John* of *Constantinople.* For if there were but *one bishop* in the church, and he fell into *heresy*, the whole *episcopal order*, and *prelatic church* would fall with him. But what is this to the *pope?* For though the whole church be governed by him, and by consequence *depends on him* in that sense, how can it be true, that if he should fall, the whole church would fall with him? We may as well say: that if he dies, the whole church must die with him.

G.—But what do you say to these words of St *Gregory*, L. vi. Epist. 30, ad Imperat: *I boldly affirm, that whosoever calls himself universal bishop, or desires to be called so by others, shews himself by such his haughtiness to be a forerunner of antichrist, in as much as he proudly advances himself above all others.*

L.—I answer that the title of *universal bishop*, as St *Gregory* understood it, was a title of *pride* and *blasphemy*. And if *John* of *Constantinople* had assumed it in that sense, he might have been properly called a forerunner of *antichrist*. For all *heretics* are called *antichrists* by St *John*. 1 John ii. 18. And St *Jerome*, Epist. 57, gives the same title to all that wilfully separate themselves from St *Peter's chair*; which would have been the case of *John* of *Constantinople*.

The truth of the whole matter is, St *Gregory* was a very humble man, and the title of *universal bishop* or *patriarch* seemed to him too pompous and haughty to be assumed by any man. It was certainly capable of a double meaning, and he took it in the worst, and in that sense opposed it with all his zeal: and, to set others a pattern of humility, he chose to style himself *the servant of the servants of God*. But did that hinder him from asserting the *supremacy* either of St *Peter*, or of his own *see*, which is the point we have now under examination? He was so far from it, that he maintained both the one and the other with the greatest vigour.

First, as to the *supremacy* of St *Peter*, in the very time of his dispute with *John* of *Constantinople* he wrote thus: *It is evident to all that know the gospel, that the care of the whole church was by our Lord's voice committed to the apostle St Peter prince of the apostles. For to him it is said*, Peter, lovest thou me? feed my sheep. *To him it is said*, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall nôt prevail against it. *Behold the care and primacy of the whole church is committed to him, and yet he is not called the universal apostle. And my holy brother and fellow-bishop John endeavours to be called universal bishop.* Lib. v. Epist.

20, p. 748, ult. edit. This I think is a plain decision of what St *Gregory* thought of St *Peter's supremacy.*

As to the *supremacy* of his own *see*, let us also hear this great man speak for himself. *First*, (Lib. xi. Epist. 56, Vet. Edit.) he writes thus concerning a bishop, who pretended to be exempt from the *jurisdiction* of his *metropolitan*: *If it be pretended that the bishop has neither a metropolitan, nor patriarch, I answer, that then his cause is to be heard and decided by the see apostolic, which is the head of all churches.* This surely is plain and decisive.

But 2dly, he writes thus to the bishop of *Syracusa*: *As to what they write of the church of Constantinople who doubts but that it is subject to the see apostolic?* Lib. ix. Epist. 59, p. 976. Now *Constantinople* was neither under the *Roman bishop* as its *metropolitan*, nor as its *patriarch*: since therefore St *Gregory* thought it subject to him, he must necessarily suppose his *see* had a spiritual *supremacy* over the whole church.

Lastly, if this had not been his judgment, how could he pretend to give to St *Austin* the first bishop of *Canterbury* that *jurisdiction*, which the *see* of *Canterbury* still challenges over all the *British bishops?* This one action speaks his thoughts more clearly, than any words whatsoever. And I hope you will not accuse him of *tyranny* and *usurpation*, since Dr *Barrow*, your great champion against the *supremacy*, styles him a *prudent, meek*, and *humble* man, p. 18. And is it not then a most surprising discovery, that such a zealous advocate for the *supremacy* is at length found out to be an enemy to it? Or rather does it not plainly shew, how destitute you are of friends amongst the *fathers*, when the very person you pretend to bring in as a chief evidence for you has professed himself, both by words and actions, to be a most zealous defender of the cause you oppose?

But pray take notice, Sir, that the question now between us is not, what weight St *Gregory's* authority has with you, or any other *protestant*; but what his opinion was concerning the *supremacy*; for you pretend he is on the *protestant side.* It is therefore impertinent to an-

swer (as a certain friend of yours does) that a pope speaks here for himself. For whether St *Gregory* was *pope*, or *no pope* is nothing to the purpose: but if it be plain matter of fact, that he maintained the *supremacy* both of St *Peter* and his *successors*, the question is fully decided against you. So you may proceed now if you please to what you were going to say concerning St *Cyprian*.

SECTION X.—ST CYPRIAN'S JUDGMENT RELATING TO THE SUBJECT UNDER DEBATE.

"*G.*—St *Cyprian* said that *Christ therefore made the col-*
"*lege of bishops numerous, that if one should fall, or turn he-*
"*retical the rest might interpose for the saving of the flock.*"

L.—Well, what then?

"*G.*—He also says, *there is but one flock, and one epis-*
"*copat, of which every bishop has the whole in partnership with*
"*the rest.* Episcopatus unus est, cujus est à singulis in so-
"lidum pars tenetur. This was the frame of the *church* in
"his days, and before from the *apostles*. This was the very
"state of the *apostles* themselves, who thus shared the *apos-*
"*tolat*, the whole of which was given to each in partnership
"or in common with the rest."—*p.* 13.

L.—Sir, it is certain, there is but one *episcopacy*; that is, but one *episcopal order* or *character*, which is common to all. For one bishop is as truly a bishop as another, though their *jurisdictions* be divided, and many times subordinate to one another, and all under one head.

And this was truly the frame of the church in St *Cyprian's* days, and even from the time of the *apostles*; who, though they were equal to St *Peter* in the *apostolate* (as all *bishops* are in their *episcopal character* to the *pope*) yet were not left like *independents* without a *head*. And so it is beyond my comprehension, how St *Cyprian's* words can do you any manner of service.

G.—St *Cyprian* said to his bishops present in the council of *Carthage*. *None of us makes himself bishop of bishops, or compels his colleagues by a tyrannical power to*

a necessity of obeying. Seeing every bishop is at his own disposal upon the account of his liberty and power, and can no more be judged by another, than he can judge another.

L.—Surely, Sir, you do not imagine it was St *Cyprian's* opinion, that there is no subordination of any one bishop to another, of *diocesans*, for example, to their *metropolitan* or *primate?* And if that be not his meaning, to what purpose have you produced his words? But let St *Austin* give the direct answer: *I suppose* (says he) *he meant in questions of this kind, which are not fully and thoroughly discussed. For he knew how perplexed a controversy it was, which the church was then disputing, and canvassing on all sides. And he gave free liberty of seeking, that by the inquiry truth might be discovered.* L. iii. de. Bap. C. 3.

Now the question, St *Austin* speaks of, was concerning the *rebaptization* of those, who had been baptized by *heretics*, which had been very warmly disputed between *pope Stephen* and St *Cyprian*. And since it was a controversy, in which the *church* had not yet interposed her *authority*, as she did afterwards, St *Cyprian* told the bishops assembled at *Carthage*, that no one could be compelled to recede from his own private opinion, but all were free to examine the matter, and deliver their judgment upon it. And what does that make against the *pope's supremacy?*

G.—St *Cyprian* (de Unit. Eccl.) positively attests, *that what St Peter was, the same also were the apostles, endued with a like partnership of honour and power.*

L.—But, Sir, why do you suppress both his foregoing words, and those that follow immediately after? I can see no other reason for it, but because they spoil your market entirely. St *Cyprian's* words immediately foregoing are these: *Yet Christ to show the unity of the church ordered by his own authority the origin of that unity beginning from one*, viz., St *Peter*, whom he mentioned just before. And his words immediately following are these: *But the beginning springs from an unity, that the church may be showed to be one.* Now joining all these together with the words you have objected, St *Cyprian's*

meaning appears plainly to be this, *viz.*, that though all the *apostles* were *equal* in the *honour* and *power* of the *apostolate*, which we do not deny, yet for the preservation of *unity*, *Christ* thought fit to make one of them the *origin* or *source* of *unity* to all the rest. Which instead of being an objection against St *Peter's supremacy*, is a confirmation of it.

St *Cyprian* expresses himself in the same manner in his epistle to pope *Cornelius*. Where taking notice of the boldness of certain *schismatics*, that fled to *Rome*, he writes thus: *Moreover they dare to pass the seas, and carry letters from their faction to the chair of St Peter, and the principal church, from which the unity of priesthood is risen.* Epist. 55.

Here the *see* of *Rome* is both called the *chair* of St *Peter*, and the *principal church*, *from which the unity of priesthood is risen:* which in the foregoing passage he calls the *origin* or *source* of *unity*. And pray, Sir, what difference is there between these two expressions, and calling it the *centre of unity?* I confess I am not subtle enough to distinguish between them. And it is a plain case, that St *Cyprian* is as little in the *protestant* interest as St *Gregory*.

SECTION XI.—THE BELIEF OF COMMON CHRISTIANITY IS NOT A SUFFICIENT UNITY OF FAITH.

But, Sir, it is no wonder you should not see, with St *Cyprian*, the necessity of a *supreme head* to unite together all the members of *Christ's mystical* body, since, according to the large principle you have laid down, there is no greater *unity* in the *church* than among *nations* that are at *war* together. So that as the *unity* of the *world* consists in the *unity* of *blood*, and the *common principles*, which we call the *law* of *nations*, so in like manner, according to your system, the *unity* of the *church* consists in the *common christianity* wherein all agree.

"*G.*—Why, my lord, is not every one, who believes in

" ***Christ* a *christian*, as every one, who believes in *Mahomet* " is a *Mahometan*?—p. 14.**

L.—Yes, Sir, but every one, who believes in *Christ*, is not a *Catholic christian*. For if he were, no *christian* could be an *heretic;* and to believe in *Christ* would be the only *article* of *faith* requisite to salvation.

" *G.*—No, my lord, we must obey his *commandments* too, " which oblige us to live peaceably and quietly as *members* " of that *body* or *church*, whereto we appertain, with *christian* " love and fellowship with all others, and not to make *schisms* " and *divisions* by breaking *communion*, where nothing sinful " is required as a condition of it. And when such disorderly " persons are cast out of the *church*, or cut themselves off by " a causeless *separation*, though they are no longer of the " *church*, yet they cease not to be *christians*, (that is a *nos-* " *trum* of the *Church* of *Rome*) and they must answer for " their *schism* as for other sins, all which are *damnable* in " their own nature without *repentance:* and yet allowances " are made for invincible *ignorance* occasioned by the preju- " dices of *education*, *&c.* but not for *obstinacy*. No society of " men would bear such perverse *members* amongst them." " —*p.* 14.

L.—I fear, Sir, you have here pronounced the condemnation not only of the *first reformers*, who were the *ringleaders* of the *schism*, or *separation* from their *mother church*, but of all men of learning persisting in that *schism*. For these can never plead *invincible ignorance*.

As to what you insinuate, that we take ourselves to be the *only christians* in the world, is a gross mistake. That is not *a nostrum of the Church of Rome*. For though we take ourselves to be the *only Catholics*, we are but too fully convinced, that there are *heretical christians*, and *christian heretics*. What you add, viz., *that they who are cast out of the church, or cut themselves off by a causeless separation, are no longer of the church;* is most certainly true: but, Sir, you ramble from the principal question in your answer to me. For the question we have now upon the anvil, is not whether *love* and *charity*, or *keeping the commandments* be necessary to salvation; this no man doubts of: but, what sort of *faith* is neces-

sary to salvation? The question is, whether our *belief* in *Christ alone* suffices to denominate us *members* of the *true church?*

" *G.*—My lord, a *church* is a society professing such or " such a *religion*, be it *true* or *false*. Thus there is a *church* " of the *Jews*, of *heathens*, of *christians*, and *Mahometans*. " And I would ask your lordship, which is any of these " *churches?* For instance, which is the church of the *Ma-* " *hometans*."—pp. 14, 15.

L.—That's a puzzling question indeed. However I enture to answer, that the *church* of the *Mahometans* since you will needs call it so) is a *compound* or *aggregate* of all the several *sects* that worship *Mahomet*.

" *G.*—Yet there is no *chief priest* over all these. But every " *church* as *nation* is *independent* of each other. And thus " among the several *nations* and *churches* of the *heathens*." —p. 15.

L.—Sir, when you convince me that there is a multiplicity either of *sects* (as among *Mahometans*) or of *gods* (as among *heathens*) in the communion of the *holy Catholic Church*, then it will be time enough to provide *several heads* to govern a *body* composed of such *opposite* and *jarring* members. But as long as there is but *one God* worshipped, and but *one faith* professed, *one head* under *Christ* is as proper to govern his *church*, as one *high priest* under God was to govern the *Jewish synagogue*.

" *G.*—The *Jews* were but one nation and a small one; " therefore they had as *one king*, so one *high priest*. There " was something like this in that part of the *christian church*, " which was within the *Roman empire*.—

L.—Somewhat like it, do you say, Sir? Really you make me smile. But, pray, go on.

" *G.*—But to extend the *supremacy* of the bishop of *Rome* " beyond the limits of the *emperor* of *Rome*, even to all *chris-* " *tian churches* in the world, is a fancy never came into the " heads of any mortals; and is not necessary to denominate " *many churches* professing the same *religion* to be *one church*. " As of the *heathens* and *Mahometans*, all which are called the " *heathen*, or the *Mahometan church* or *churches*, without any " *common head* over them all."—*p.* 15.

L.—What pity is it, that *christians* never thought of sending an honourable deputation to the *heathen* and *Mahometan* churches to receive from them some better *model* of *church government*, than *Christ* has established! This indeed is a fancy, which (God be praised) *never came into the heads of any mortals.* But it has been, I will not say the *fancy*, but the *faith* of all ages, that the *church of Christ*, though never so far extended, even beyond the limits of the empire, never was but in *one communion*, professing *one faith*, and united under *one head*, according to Christ's own institution.

" *G.*—My lord, there is not one word in *scripture* appoint-
" ing such an *universal head* in the *christian church*, or altering
" the common sense of mankind as to the meaning of the word
" *church*, or taking it in any other sense, than commonly un-
" derstood by all the world."—*p.* 15.

L.—What, Sir, is there not a word in *scripture* appointing a *supreme head* of the *universal church* of *Christ!* Then I presume the 16th of St *Matthew* 18 and 21st, of St *John* 15—17, are no part of *scripture.* For I have clearly shewed a *supreme pastor* promised in the former, and established in the latter of those texts. It is true indeed those texts have not *altered the texts of mankind as to the meaning of the word church*, but on the contrary they have established it: and all *orthodox christians*, that ever were in the world, have been convinced by them, that the *church* of *Christ* cannot be but in *one communion*, and that *Christ* appointed one *visible head* to govern her.

" *G.*—My lord, in our way of speaking, when we say the
" *fathers of the church*, or the *primitive church*, we mean not any
" *particular church*, but the whole *body* or *church* of *christians*,
" though divided into many *nations* or *churches.*"—pp. 15, 16.

L.—It is true, Sir, we mean not any *particular diocess*, or even *national church.* Neither do we mean a ridiculous *compound* of all sorts of *christians*, whether *orthodox*, *heretics*, or *schismatics.* But we mean precisely the *whole body* or *church* of *Catholics:* which, though divided into many *nations* or *churches* are all in *one communion;* that is, profess *one faith*, and are united to, and governed by *one head* who is St *Peter's successor*, and bishop of *Rome.*

" *G.*—What! were they united to the *bishop* of *Rome* be-
" fore there was a *Church of Rome?* For there were *christian*
" *churches* before, as I have told you."—*p.* 16.

L.—No, Sir, but they were united to St *Peter* both before and after he was bishop of *Rome.* And though there were *christian churches* before the particular *church*, that is, the *diocess* of *Rome*, yet I think there was no *christian church* more ancient than St *Peter.* And as the *Catholic Church* was in *communion* with St *Peter* both before and after he was bishop of *Rome*, so has she always been in communion with his *successors*, who, as I told you, actually are, and have always been, *bishops* of *Rome.* Nay, St *Cyprian* made no difference between being in the communion of the *bishop* of *Rome*, and the communion of the *Catholic Church*, for in his 52d letter to *Antonianus* he says, *a letter was writ to Pope* Cornelius *to let him know that you were in his communion*, THAT IS, *in the communion of the Catholic Church.*

G.—Is not then the *whole body* of *christians* truly and properly the *church of Christ?*

L.—Sir, the *whole body* of *orthodox* or *catholic christians* is truly and properly the *church of Christ.* But *heretical* and *schismatical christians* are members cut off, and belong not to *Christ's mystical body* the *church.* As St *Austin* teaches in these express terms: *Nec hæretici pertinent ad ecclesiam catholicam, nec schismatici* [de fide et symbolo] that is, *neither heretics nor schismatics belong to the Catholic Church.* And therefore we say not in the creed, *I believe the christian*, but *I believe the Catholic Church.* For though all *catholics* be *christians*, all *christians* are not *catholics;* nor have I ever heard of *catholic heretics* in my whole life.

But what need of many words? Let us bring an unquestionable instance from *antiquity.* The *Novatians* and *Donatists* were unquestionably *christians*, and by consequence within the pale of what you call *common christianity.* Yet how were they treated by the ancient *fathers?* Did they ever allow them to be *members* of the *Catholic Church*, or capable of *salvation?* Nothing less. For they wrote

whole volumes to convince them of the contrary. I shall only quote two passages from St *Austin*, to avoid being tedious.

They (says he) *who believe the incarnation, passion, resurrection, and divinity of Christ, yet if they do not communicate with the whole, wheresoever it is spread—it is evident, they are not in the Catholic Church.* L. de Unit. Eccl. C. 4.

And in the 3d chap. of the same book he expresses himself more fully thus: *All those, who believe in Jesus Christ what faith teaches, but differ about his body the church; so that their communion if not with the body, but with some separate part, it is manifest they are not in the Catholic Church.—Both of us have baptism; in that we are united. We have the same gospel, in this we are also united. They celebrate with us the feast of Martyrs, in this we also agree.—But they are not with us in all things. They are not with us in their schism, they are not with us in their heresy. And by reason of those few things, in which they are not with us, the many things, in which they are with us, avail them nothing.*

This was St *Austin's* language, and indeed the language of all the *ancient fathers*, when they wrote against the *heretics* or *schismatics* of their times. They were wholly strangers to your large notion of the *church's unity* consisting in *common christianity*. A *body* without a *head*, and composed of *jarring heterogeneous parts* appeared so monstrous to them, that they would never allow any *heretic* or *schismatic* to be a *member* of the *church* of *Christ*, or capable of *salvation*, though he believed all the *fundamentals* of *christianity*. And how then had you just now the assurance to insinuate, *that we have altered the common sense of mankind as to the meaning of the word church, or take it in a sense different from the whole world?*

SECTION XII.—THE SUPREMACY RESUMED, WITH A TOUCH UPON UNITY.

" *G.*—My lord, after there was a *church* at *Rome*, the *bishops* " and *fathers* of those times knew nothing of its *supremacy*—

L.—Stoutly said, Sir.

" *G.*—Much less *infallibility.* Nor ever appealed to it in " their disputes with *heretics,* which had been the shortest " and surest way, and impossible to have been forgot, had " it been known, and received as the current *faith,* or but " opinion of the *church.*"—p. 16.

L.—Sir, though the pope's *supremacy* always was, his *infallibility* has never been an article of the *church's faith;* and so it is no wonder, it was not appealed to in disputes with *heretics.* But suppose it had been appealed to, how could this have been the shortest and surest way to end disputes, unless you likewise suppose that *heretics* were always ready to acknowledge it, and submit to it? Whereas they have always disowned even the *church's infallibility,* which if they would acknowledge, then indeed appealing to *her authority* would be the shortest and surest way to terminate all disputes.

" *G.*—My lord, other *churches* have contended with that " of *Rome,* and asserted their own liberties, and indepen- " dency upon her, when her encroachments began to arise, " and disturb the *peace* and *unity* of the *church,* which I shall " show you presently. But this only to let you see, that the " *unity* of the *church* was then understood, not as being united " under any one *supreme bishop* or *church;* but in the con- " cord and good agreement of the several *churches* among " themselves, and in the *unity* of the *common faith.*"—p. 16.

L.—I presume, Sir, you mean the *common faith,* you spoke of before, *viz.,* the belief of *common christianity.* But pray remember the instance I produced just now concerning the *Novatians* and *Donatists:* and judge by that, whether there be any colour of truth in what you say.

You tell me, *other churches have contended with that of Rome, and asserted their own liberties, and independency upon her.* And so have also many *rebels* disputed the *crown* with their *true* and *lawful sovereign:* yet I hope that is no proof of the *nullity* of his *title* to it. But if you mean no more, than that *particular churches* have stood up for their just *rights* and *liberties* against *real* or *supposed encroachments* of the *pope,* this is no more than what *subjects* do when they go to law with the *king*

which I presume they may do lawfully, and without impeaching, or disowning his *regal authority*. And so many *particular churches* maintain their *liberties* and *rights*, provided they keep within the bounds of *decency* and *respect;* which are always due to a *superior*.

Thus a *son* may go to law with his *father*, if he pretends to wrong him. But he must still remember that as he is his *father*, he owes him a *subjection* by the law of *God* and *nature*. And so it is with *particular churches*. The *pope* is their *common father jure divino;* and all *bishops* are his *spiritual children*, and as such subject to him. But they are neither his *vicars* nor *slaves*. And therefore, if he should carry his pretensions too high, they may oppose him without any breach of *filial duty*, or derogating from his *jure divino*. And this has generally been the case in disputes between *particular churches* and the *pope*. So that, what you have alleged is far from answering your intended purpose: and you must lend me a better pair of eyes to make me see, *that the unity of the church was not then understood of her being united under one supreme head*. In a word, Sir, all we mean by the *pope's supremacy* is contained in the two following articles.

First, that *Christ* after his *resurrection*, to preserve the *unity* of the *church*, gave to St *Peter* a *superintendency* or *jurisdiction* over his *whole flock*.

2*dly*, That this office, according to *Christ's institution*, was after St *Peter's* decease to pass to his *successors* appointed by the *church;* and these have always been *bishops* of *Rome*, though they might have been *bishops* of any other *diocess*, if St *Peter* had fixed the *papal seat* in any other place.

St *Austin* joined both these together, when he said, *a succession of bishops from the see of St Peter, to whom Christ after his resurrection committed his flock to the present episcopacy holds me in the Catholic Church.* L. contra Epist. Fund. C. 4.

And St *Jerome* writing to pope *Damasus: I am joined* (says he) *in communion with your holiness, that is, with*

the chair of St Peter. Upon that rock I know the church is built. Whoever eats the lamb out of this house is profane. If any one be not in the ark, he will perish in the deluge. —I know not Vitalis, *I refuse* Meletius, *I am a stranger to* Paulinus. *Whoever gathers not with thee, scatters* [quicunque tecum non colligit, spargit], *that is, he who is not Christ's, is Antichrist.* Epist. 57.

What two rank *papists* were St *Austin*, and St *Jerome!* One would think *Bellarmin* had dictated to them. In effect, Sir, if *antiquity*, and the sense of the most eminent *pillars* of the *church* be of any weight, these two passages alone are a full confutation of every thing you have hitherto said against the *pope's* supremacy, and particularly of that bold and groundless assertion, viz., *that the ancient bishops and fathers knew nothing of the supremacy of the see of Rome.* Truly, Sir, when a man talks at this wild rate, he seems resolved to outface the strongest evidence. But we shall have more of this hereafter.

" *G.*—St *Paul*, Eph. iv. 3—5, describes the *unity* of the " *church* by having all *one lord, one faith, one baptism*, and *one* " *spirit*, from which they are called *one body.* The *unity* of " the *spirit* is their *unity* with *God*, and the *bond* of *peace* is " the *unity* of the *churches* with each other as *members* of the " same *body.* And this is a much stricter and closer *union* " than that of the *secular world.*"—pp. 16, 17.

L.—Sir, St *Paul's* words, when quoted full at length, are their own best interpreters. They are as follows: *I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called. With all lowliness and meekness, with long suffering, forbearing one another in love: endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one spirit, even as you are called to one hope of your calling; one lord, one faith, one baptism.* Eph. iv. 1, 2, &c. These are St *Paul's* words; and it is manifest from them, that it was his main drift to exhort the *Ephesians* to mutual love and charity, which he calls the *unity of spirit*, and *bond* of *peace.* But does the *unity of the spirit*, and the *bond of the peace* exclude our being under *one head?* On

the contrary, does not that render the union of the faithful still more perfect, and cement them more closely together? You cannot therefore draw any consequence from St *Paul's* words either against the *pope's supremacy*, or in favour of your large system of the *church's unity of faith* consisting in the bare belief of *common christianity*. Nay his words plainly insinuate the contrary. For *first*, he tells the *Ephesians* that the church of Christ is but *one body*, which shews that she is in *one communion*; and 2dly, he tells them, that the *church of Christ* has but *one faith*. And how will this agree to a *church* of your *large size*, which takes in all societies of *christians* whatsoever? For there are *Lutheran christians*, and *Calvinian christians*, and *Puritan christians*, and *Anabaptist christians*, and *Church of England christians*, and *Popish christians* too I hope. And pray, Sir, have these all *one faith?* It is very strange if they have, since they have been *disputing* and *fighting about religion* for near two hundred years. It is plain then that St *Paul's* idea of the *church's unity* is not of the same *large size* with yours: and you have been very unlucky to put me in mind of his words.

SECTION XIII.—OF NEW ARTICLES OF FAITH, AND THE SACRAMENTS.

"*G.*—My lord, all churches agree in that summary of faith "called the *Apostles' creed:* and the *Church of Rome* herself must "think this sufficient for salvation, because she requires no "other profession of faith in *baptism*, or for being admitted "into the church. But the 12 new articles of faith, which "the council of *Trent* has added to the 12 of the apostles, "which are called *Pope Pius's creed*, and is required to be "professed by *converts*, has made many contests and divisions "in the church. And I have not yet met with any *Roman* "*catholic* so hardy as to say, that the belief of all those is "necessary to salvation, only that we should not deny or oppose "them, such as *purgatory*, the *invocation of saints*," &c.—*p.* 17.

L.—Sir, you tell me first, *that all churches agree in that summary of faith called the Apostles' creed.* But I must

beg your pardon. For none of your churches agree with us in that *creed*. Because agreeing with us is agreeing in the sense of every article of that *creed* as well as in the words it contains. Now you disagree with us in the sense of the article concerning the *Catholic Church*, which we with all former ages place in *one communion*, but you in *many*. Because the small extent of your church being too narrow to make it pass for *universal*, forces you to link it with many other *heretical* churches, and by this rare invention to enlarge the bounds of it.

But you seem dissatisfied with our church for judging the *Apostles' creed* sufficient for *infants*, and yet requiring more of *converts*. Sir, she requires no more *faith* of the one, than of the other. But only a more ample declaration of it. For she demands an entire faith of infants, and but an entire faith of converts, though under a longer or shorter form of words as she sees occasion. And the reason why she demands it of converts in a longer form of words than of infants, is, because there can be no doubt of the sincerity of infants: but that of new converts cannot be so securely depended upon: whom therefore she obliges to profess *explicitly* the same truths of faith, which infants profess *implicitly* by professing to believe the *Catholic Church*.

You tell me likewise the *Trent articles, or Pope Pius's creed, has made many contests or divisions in the church*. But you may say the same of the articles or *creed* of the great *council* of *Nice*, which defined the *consubstantiality* of the *Son* against the Arians. For as that council only explained the ancient faith of the church, so the council of *Trent* and Pope *Pius's creed* have done no more. And therefore as the long *contests* and *divisions* occasioned by the *Nicene creed* was wholly owing to the pride and obstinacy of the *Arians*, who refused to submit to the decision of that council; so your *first reformers*, who had the pride to set up their *private judgment* against the doctrine of the *universal church*, and continued obstinate in it, are alone accountable for the contests and divisions you speak of.

Lastly, you tell me *you never met with any catholic so hardy as to say, that the belief of all Pope Pius's articles is necessary to salvation, only that we should not deny or oppose them.* Then, Sir, I must tell you plainly, it never yet was your good fortune to meet a *Roman catholic*, that understood his religion. But I presume you judge of our church by your own, which proposes her 39 Articles without any obligation to believe them, according to bishop *Brambal* in his *Schism Guarded*, p. 190, where he writes thus: *We do not look upon the Articles of the Church of England as essentials of saving faith, or legacies of Christ and his apostles: but in a mean, as pious opinions fitted for the preservation of unity. Neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them.* But our church is not so complaisant, as to set forth professions of faith, which nobody is bound to believe: or to be content with such a *unity*, as allows *diversity* of *faiths* at pleasure, and makes men turn hypocrites in professing one thing, and believing another. Therefore every *Roman catholic*, who understands the principles of his religion, will inform you, that though indeed the knowledge of all revealed truths be no more necessary to salvation, than the knowledge of the *whole Bible*, yet every revealed truth, when *duly proposed*, is to be believed. And it is not sufficient not to deny or oppose any such truth, but a positive inward assent is to be given to it.

G.—It seems then that the church has a charter to impose as many *new creeds* as she pleases.

L.—Sir, if by *new creeds* you mean nothing else but *new explanations* of the *ancient faith*, for her defence against new heresies, the church has certainly full power to set forth such *creeds*, and oblige her children to a belief of the articles they contain. This power was exercised by the two first general councils: that of *Nice*, and that of *Constantinople*, both received by the *Church of England.* The council of *Nice* added to the *apostles' creed* the following article: *I believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, born of the Father before all worlds; God of God, Light of Light true God of true God; be-*

gotten, not made, consubstantial to the Father. And whoever refused to assent to this additional article, was not acknowledged for a member of the *Catholic Church.*

The council of *Constantinople* made likewise an addition to the *Nicene creed* in this article against the *Macedonians*, viz., *and in the Holy Ghost the Lord and giver of life; who proceeds from the Father and the Son, together is adored and glorified, who spoke by the prophets.* It also added this article, *begotten of the Father before all worlds*, against *Photinus:* and this other, *whose kingdom shall have no end*, against the *Millenarians.* All which are actually a part of the *Nicene creed.*

After this appeared the *Athanasian creed*, containing many articles concerning the *trinity*, the *persons*, and the *processions* of them: whereof there is no express mention either in the *Apostles' creed*, or that of *Nice.* And it was received by the whole *Catholic Church:* and what is very remarkable, it begins and ends with this article: *except every one keep that faith whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish eternally.*

The church therefore has always had power to make an addition of such articles, as she judged would be a necessary antidote to hinder the poison of new heresies against the ancient faith from spreading. And you yourself, Sir, cannot deny this without renouncing the 8th *Article of Religion*, which is thus: *The three creeds, Nice creed, Athanasius's creed, and that, which is commonly called the apostles' creed ought thoroughly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrant of holy scripture.* Here, Sir, your own church requires a belief of two *new creeds* over and above that of the *apostles*, and acknowledges a full power in the church to make such *creeds* according to the exigencies of times, and oblige the faithful not only to an explicit profession, but inward belief of the articles they contain.

G.—Can the church then coin *new articles* of faith?

L.—No, Sir; but she may add *new articles* to explain the *ancient creed*, or faith.

"*G.*—Pray, my lord, what article in the *apostles' creed*

" does *transubstantiation* explain? For there is nothing of " all the *sacraments* in that *creed*."—p. 17.

L.—Very right, Sir; there is nothing of the *sacraments* in that *creed*. But does not this confute your false notion of that creed's expressing all necessary truths of faith? For are the *sacraments*, as likewise the *canonical books* of scripture, and the *precepts* of a christian life, no objects of your faith, because they are not expressed in the *creed?* I doubt not but they are. It is therefore evident against you, that the *apostles' creed* neither expresses, nor was intended to express all necessary truths of faith, but only the principal ones: as for the rest, they are all contained in general under the article of the *Catholic Church;* in as much as believing the church implies believing her whole doctrine.

" *G.*—My lord, the *sacraments* are the *signs* or *seals* of " our faith, as *circumcision* was called, *Rom.* iv. 11, but not " the faith itself; and therefore are not put into the summary " of our faith."—*p.* 17.

L.—Sir, you have made a wonderful discovery in telling me, *that the sacraments are not the faith itself.* But though they be not the *faith itself* (which is a *theological virtue*, and the act of it an inward assent of the mind) are they not the objects of christian faith as well as the *signs* or *seals* of it? Is there nothing revealed concerning *baptism* or the *Lord's supper*, which we are bound to believe? This would be pleasing doctrine to *Quakers:* but I presume no christian divine will relish it.

" *G.*—They are generally necessary, as our *catechism* words " it: that is, to be reverently used, when they may be had: " but they are not absolutely necessary. So that if our " circumstances or places where we live be such, as not to " afford us the opportunity of receiving the sacraments we " should be damned for want of them. I think none will " say this. They are means of God's appointment; therefore " to be used when we can have them. We are tied to this. " But God is not tied to those means to which he ties us. " He can save us without them. Even of those five, which " you have more than we, you cannot say they are so much " as generally necessary to salvation: because none can par- " take of them all. For your *sacrament* of *orders* excludes " all the laity, and that of *marriage* the clergy."—*p.* 18.

L.—I perceive, Sir, you are disposed to be upon the ramble. For supposing all you have said to be strictly true (whereas it is liable to several exceptions) what connexion has it with the matter under debate? Our dispute was, whether the *sacraments* be not properly the *objects* of *faith*, though they be not mentioned in the *creed?* But instead of keeping to the point in question, you have made an harangue to prove that the *use* of them is not *absolutely necessary to salvation.* Suppose it be not, what then? Is there therefore nothing to be believed of them? The truth of the matter is, you know not well what you are bound to believe, what not. For where there are no principles, or those very principles are a *seed* of *division*, there can be no steadiness or uniformity in faith. And this is the reason, why there are so many *sects* and *divisions* amongst you, all spawned from the *reformation.*

SECTION XIV.—OF SECTS AND DIVISIONS.

"*G.*—My lord, not so many with us as with you."—*p.* 18.

L.—Stoutly said, Sir; and I promise to be of your opinion, when you can make out these three things: 1st, That *scripture* interpreted by *private judgment* is our *rule of faith.* 2d, That we agree with you in your *latitudinarian* notion of the *church's unity* consisting in the bare belief of *common christianity;* and 3d, that we call *Presbyterians, Puritans, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, &c.*, or any *separate communion* our *catholic brethren;* as you call most of them your *protestant brethren.* Nay the very fundamental principle of the *reformation*, as *such*, obliges you to call even those your *brethren*, who are immediately gone out from you, and broke off from your communion. Because they have all broke off from you upon the very same principles, on which you grounded your separation from the *Church of Rome.* For, as you accused her of *superstition*, so they repay you in your own coin. And as you appealed from your *mother church* to *scriptures* interpreted by your own darling *private judgment*, so they

attack you with the very same weapon. And therefore you are answerable for all the *sects*, that ever have divided, or ever will divide themselves from you.

"*G.*—If a church be answerable for all that break off "from her, then you have all the *sects*, you have named, to "reckon for, and us too, which is one more. And if you are "not answerable for those that broke off from you, neither "are we answerable for those that broke off from us."—*p.* 19.

L.—No, Sir! I shall convince you of your mistake. If either the *Church of England*, or any other *sect*, had broke off from us upon a *principle acknowledged by us*, then we should be responsible for their *separation*. But since we disown and detest any such principle, the guilt of their *schism* lies at their own doors, and cannot be charged upon the *Church of Rome*. But the case is not so with you. For you maintain a *principle*, which cannot but produce *sects* and *divisions*. You make the *scriptures* interpreted by *private judgment* the *rule* of your *faith*: and *private judgment* is the fruitful mother of *heresies* and *schisms*. And it is the true reason, why no *heresy* ever came into the world without a litter of *sects* in the belly of it. A rotten dunghill is not so fruitful in breeding vermin, as *private judgment* interpreting *scriptures* by its own light is in producing *sects*. Yet by this rule you guided yourselves in your separation from the *Church of Rome*.

You have therefore set the pattern to *Presbyterians*, *Puritans*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, *Freethinkers*, and other *sects*, that have swarmed from you. They do but follow your example: they are your faithful disciples, and true *protestant* brethren in that very *principle*, which divided them from you. So that you cannot blame their *separation* from the *Church of England* without condemning your own *separation* from the *Church of Rome*, and you are fully answerable both for their *schism*, and your own: because it is the fruit of a tree of your own planting, and the natural consequence of a *principle*, you constantly maintain. But we have no such principle, or *seed* of *division* in our church, which makes us perfectly *one* among ourselves in all *articles of faith*.

" *G.*—So is every *church* or *sect.* That is, those who " agree among themselves, do agree. So that this is no " more a mark of *unity*, than every *division* of men can plead, " and every *sect.*"—p. 19.

L.—Sir, nothing is more certain, than *that they, who agree among themselves, do agree.* But you will have some difficulty to convince me, that there can be the same harmony and agreement in any *sect*, or *body* of *men*, the very foundation of whose religion is a *principle*, or *seed* of *division*, as there is in a church, which abhors *that principle.* Can there be the same agreement among those who are guided by their own *private judgment*, as among those who are bound to submit to the authority of a *supreme tribunal*, from which there is no *appeal?*

Your mistake then lies here, *viz.*, in imagining, that all the members of any *sect* of this or that *denomination* agree in the same *system* of religion, which is morally impossible. Because whoever makes *private judgment* the *guide* of his *faith*, may change it with every change of the moon. Nay, what seems *reason* to-day, may seem otherwise to-morrow: and so he will be incoherent not only with other members of the *same sect*, but even with himself. Nay, upon the same principle, it is not impossible, but a *sect* of the same *external denomination* may be divided into as *many religions* as it has *families* belonging to it, because their *private judgments* may all differ, and they have no *principle* of *unity* to cement them: whereas the *rule of faith* among *Roman catholics* (which is the *word of God*, as *interpreted* by the *church*, whose *decrees* all are bound to submit to) unites them all in the same belief; notwithstanding their prodigious *numbers*, the diversity of their *interests*, *customs*, and *languages;* and though they be the *great body* of *christians*, from which all went forth.

" *G.*—No, my lord, not *half*, nor ever were. The *Greek* " *church* is an *elder* church than yours: so that you rather " broke off from her by setting up your *universal supremacy;* " which she never owned; nor the many other numerous " churches of *Asia*, nor the great and once famous churches " of *Africa*, nor the *empire* of *Russia* of vast extent in *Europe*,

" once a part of the *Greek church*. These never owned the " *supremacy* of *Rome*, and by far out-numbered all, that ever " did own it, or were of her communion as such. And con- " sidering how many *nations* and *kingdoms* have broke off from " her since the *reformation*, her communion is now reduced " to a small part of the christian church in comparison of " those that differ from her."—*pp.* 19, 20.

L.—Sir, there are but three material and notorious falsehoods in what you have now said, as I shall endeavour to convince you. 1st, That the *Church of Rome* rather broke off from the *Greek church*, than the *Greek church* from the *Church of Rome*. 2d, That neither the *Greek church*, nor the other churches mentioned by you, ever acknowledged the *supremacy* of the bishop of *Rome*. And 3d, that the church in communion with the *see of Rome* never was one half of the *great body of christians*, whence all went forth. As to what you add concerning our present numbers, which is a fourth falsehood of less consequence, I shall have occasion to speak of it hereafter.

But before I undertake to shew the falsehood of the three facts, you have asserted, I fairly challenge you to mark me out any one *separate society* of *christians* upon earth, but what either went out immediately from us, or spawned from those that did, or, what is equivalent, received their religion from them; as the *Muscovites* did from the *Greeks*: who, as I shall now prove, went out immediately from us. For, if you cannot shew me any such society of christians, then it is an uncontestable truth what I have said, *viz., that the church in communion with the see of Rome is the great and standing body of christians, whence all went forth.* I shall begin with examining your first assertion, and put it to the test of a plain narrative of the fact, whereof I am sure you cannot disapprove the least tittle.

SECTION XV.—THE GREEK CHURCH BROKE OFF FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME.

In the year 841 *Michael* the 3d, being very young, succeeded his father *Theophilus* in the *Oriental empire*,

under the guardianship of his mother *Theodora.* Bu *Bardas* the emperor's uncle had a share in the government. This man was desperately in love with his daughter-in-law, with whom he held a secret commerce. St *Ignatius*, then *patriarch* of *Constantinople*, checked him for it, and finding his admonitions ineffectual refused to give him the *sacrament* on the feast of the *Epiphany.*

Bardas, who was of a furious and cruel temper, incensed at this, persuades the young emperor to send away his mother and sister into a monastery, and commit the execution of it to the *patriarch;* who refusing to obey so unjust a command was loaded with calumnies, and banished to the isle of *Terebinthus.*

Photius, principal secretary of state, and captain of the guards, was put in his place. He was made a *monk* the first day, *reader* the next, and the following days *subdeacon*, *deacon*, and *priest.* So that in six days' time (the true *patriarch* being yet alive) he invaded the *patriarchal* throne on *Christmas-day*, An. 858. The bishop by whom he was ordained was excommunicated upon it by St *Ignatius*, who also accused him to the *Pope.* Whereupon *the Pope required of Ignatius, that he should send some person to Rome to give him a full information of that affair, which he did accordingly, sending one* Lazarus. *And the point being duly examined by Pope* Benedict, *the next successor to* Leo, Ignatius's *sentence was approved by the holy see.* [Du Pin. Cent. 9. *p.* 86.]

Nicholas I. succeeded to *Benedict:* to whom *Photius*, that his election might be confirmed at *Rome*, sent an embassy with a false account of St *Ignatius*, viz., that by reason of his age he had voluntarily quitted the *patriarchal see*, had retired into a monastery of a certain island, and was in great esteem both of the prince and people. Soon after he procured his condemnation in a *packed council* of *Oriental* bishops; when the injured *patriarch* drew up a petition by way of appeal to the *Pope*, begging his assistance, in imitation of his predecessors, *Fabian*, *Julius*, *Innocent*, *Leo.* The Pope undertook the defence of persecuted innocence: and *Photius*, because he could

not prevail upon him to be an abetter of his crime, forsook his communion.

This is the fact as far as is to our purpose fairly related: and let any impartial man judge from it, whether the *Pope* broke off from *Photius* rather than *Photius* from the *Pope*. We have here a wicked courtier, supported by the authority of a prince as bad as himself, invading the *patriarchal throne* by the violent deposition of the *legal possessor*. He applies himself to the *Pope* to approve his *intrusion;* but finding his virtue proof against flattery and threats, he disowns that very *authority*, to which at first he thought it necessary to have recourse; withdraws himself from the Pope's *communion*, and by degrees engages a great part of the *Greek church* in his quarrel. If this man, and his adherents were not guilty of *schism*, there never was such a thing in the world. But it is an easy matter to guess, what makes you so zealous for the *Greeks*. *Henry* the 8th and bishop *Cranmer* only copied after the pattern set them by the wicked *emperor* and *patriarch* of *Constantinople*, and they cannot possibly be acquitted of the guilt of *schism*, unless *Photius* be first cleared, or at least a fact called in question, which never admitted of any dispute.

G.—But is not the *Greek church* older than the *Church of Rome?* And if it be so, does it not follow that the *Church of Rome* rather broke off from her?

L.—A stout argument indeed! But it will do no execution unless you make it appear, that *age* and *jurisdiction* always go together. Sir, there are several *bishoprics* in *Great Britain* more ancient than *Canterbury;* yet the bishop of that see is their *primate*. And if they should pretend to withdraw their subjection, he would not be satisfied with their telling him, that since their churches are *elder* than his, he rather breaks off from them, than they from him.

I shall conclude this matter with a *dilemma*, which is decisive against you. The principal article, which the *Greeks* objected against the *Latins* was, their having inserted into the *Nicene creed*, that *the Holy Ghost proceeds*

from the Father and the Son. And this is likewise professed in your 5th *Article of Religion.* The rest were all trifling things relating to *discipline.*

Now then, after the breach between the two churches, either the *Church of Rome* adhered to the *ancient faith,* or not. If not, you must renounce the 5th *Article* of *Religion,* and the *Nicene creed* into the bargain. If she did, then the *Church of Rome* remained where she was before, and by consequence the *Greek church* broke off from her.

SECTION XVI.—THE GREEK CHURCH FORMERLY OWNED THE POPE'S SUPREMACY.

I come now to the 2d *notorious falsehood* asserted by you, *viz.*, that neither the *Greek church,* nor the churches of *Asia,* nor *Africa,* nor *Russia,* ever acknowledged the Pope's *supremacy.* I wonder *America* was not put in to make up the number. For when a man's hand is in, he ought to go thorough-stitch.

However you have managed the matter craftily enough in setting the *churches* of *Asia, Africa,* and *Russia* upon separate bottoms, as if none of them were a part of the *Greek church:* whereas by that church is properly meant the whole collection of churches under the *jurisdiction* of the four *eastern patriarchats:* the first whereof, *viz.*, *Constantinople* is in *Europe,* and the *primate,* as well as other bishops of *Russia,* are under its jurisdiction. The 2d, namely, that of *Alexandria* is in *Africa;* and the two others of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem* are in *Asia.* So that your saying that neither the *Greek church,* nor the numerous churches of *Asia,* nor the famous churches of *Africa,* nor the great church of *Russia* ever owned the *supremacy* of *Rome* is the same ridiculous *gasconade,* as if any one should say, that neither the *church* of *Great Britain,* nor the *numerous churches* of *England,* nor the *church* of *Scotland,* nor the *famous churches* of *Wales* own the *Pope's supremacy.*

But this little politic stratagem was needful to set off the number of our enemies, by a shew of bringing all *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Russia* besides the *Greek church* into the field against us: though in reality a great part of the *churches* of *Africa*, when they were *christian churches*, were under the jurisdiction of the *patriarch* of the *west*. And thus the true *English* of this pompous catalogue of churches is little more than saying, that the *Greek church* never owned the Pope's *supremacy*; the manifest falsehood whereof I shall now demonstrate from several unquestionable historical facts.

First, in the famous cause of St *Athanasius* bishop of *Alexandria*, the second *patriarchal* see of the *Greek church*, concerning which *Theodoret* gives this account: *The* Eusebians *wrote the calumnies they had forged against* Athanasius *to* Julius *bishop of* Rome. *But he, according to the canons, both commanded the* Eusebians *to come to* Rome, *and appointed* Athanasius *a day to have his cause tried.* Theod. L. ii. Hist. C. 3. Tom. iii. p. 586.

The same is attested by the *Pope's* own letter related by St *Athanasius*. For (says the Pope) *Athanasius did not come of his own accord, but as cited, and having received our letters.* In Apol. Adv. Ari. Sect. 29, p. 148.

Relating to the same matter the *Greek* historians, *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, tell us, that both St *Athanasius* and other *oriental* bishops being accused by the *Eusebians*, and violently deprived of their respective *sees*, were restored by the *authority* of the bishop of *Rome*.

Sozomen, speaking of *Marcellus*, *Asclepas*, St *Lucius* bishop of *Adrianople*, and St *Paul* bishop of *Constantinople*, says, *the bishop of Rome having taken cognizance of their cause, received them into his communion. And because,* BY REASON OF THE DIGNITY OF HIS SEE, THE CARE OF ALL BELONGED TO HIM, *he restored them to their respective bishoprics.* Soz. L. iii. C. 8, p. 507.

And *Socrates* writes thus: *When* Athanasius, Paulus, Asclepas, Marcellus *and* Lucius *had opened their cause to* Julius, *he* ACCORDING TO THE PREROGATIVE OF THE ROMAN SEE, *sent them back into the east with the pro-*

tection of his letters, and restored to each of them his see. L. ii. C. 15, p. 91.

Here we see the *supreme ecclesiastical authority* exercised by the bishop of *Rome:* acknowledged by the *Arians* themselves, submitted to by the *two first patriarchs*, and other bishops of the *east*, and finally attested by three *Greek* historians. And can you then say, the *supremacy* was never owned by the *Greek church?*

I prove it *secondly* from three of the four first *general councils.* In that of *Constantinople* none but *oriental* bishops were present: yet the *fathers* of that *council* in their *synodical* letter to Pope *Damasus* thank him for *calling* them to a council *as his members:* and *Damasus* in his answer styles them his most honourable *children.* Apud. Theod. L. v. Hist. C. 9, 10.

In the general council of *Ephesus* Pope *Celestine's* legate told the council *that his master was their head, and the successor of St Peter, whose place and authority the bishop of Rome held.* Against which not one in the council made the least objection. Act. 2. T. 3. Conc. p. 619. Act. 3. p. 626.

Lastly, the *general council* of *Calcedon*, in its *synodical* letter to Pope *Leo*, after having told him, that they were an assembly of 520 bishops over whom he had *presided* as HEAD, they complain of the insolence of *Dioscorus patriarch* of *Alexandria* in these terms: *Moreover he let loose his madness even against him, who was by our Saviour entrusted with the care of the vineyard; that is, against your apostolical highness.* And they conclude with desiring the Pope to honour their judgment with his decree. *Conc. Calced. in Epist. ad Leonem.* Tom. iv. If this be not owning the Pope's supremacy, no king was ever owned by his subjects. And it is to be observed, that these are three of the four general councils approved and received by the *Church of England.*

Add to all this the above-mentioned testimony of St *Gregory*, declaring it to be a thing which nobody doubted of, *viz.*, that *Constantinople* was subject to the *apostolic see.* L. ix. Epist. 59, p. 976. And both St *Cyprian* and St *Austin*, two *African* bishops, whom I have already

quoted for the supremacy both of St *Peter* and his successors, are authentic witnesses that the *African churches* acknowledged both the one and the other.

SECTION XVII.—WHETHER THE CHURCH IN COMMUNION WITH THE SEE OF ROME NEVER WAS ONE HALF OF THE GREAT BODY OF CHRISTIANS IN THE WORLD?

G.—But your *lordship* has not yet taken any notice of my saying, that the *Church of Rome* neither is, nor ever was, one half of the great body of christians in the world.

L.—Sir, that is the third falsehood I have accused you of. And I shall observe certain epochas of time in order to make good my charge, and place it in the clearest light.

1*stly*, then, when St *Paul* wrote his epistle to the *Romans*, which was 15 years after St *Peter* had fixed his *episcopal* seat at *Rome*, it is undeniable, that the *great body* of *christians* all the world over was in communion with that *see*. For otherwise he could not have told them, *that he thanked God, for that their faith was spoken throughout the whole world*. Rom. i. 8. And though there were several *heresies* broached in the three first centuries, the *great body* of christians was always closely united to the bishop of *Rome* as to its *head*. Witness St *Irenaus*, who wrote in the 2d century thus: *For to this church, by reason of its most powerful principality, it is necessary that all churches have recourse, that is, the faithful on all sides.* L. iii. C. 3. It is therefore false that there never was a time, wherein the church in communion with the *see of Rome* was *one half* of the *great body* of *christians* in the world.

2*dly*, The first great *general council* of *Nice* was certainly in communion with *Pope Sylvester*. And was that august assembly the representatives of *not one half* of the *great body* of *christians* in the world?

3*dly*, The *Greek schism* began only in the 9th century, and since a *schism* is nothing else but a *breach* of *communion*, it follows, that the whole *Greek church* was before that *schism* in *communion* with the *Church of Rome*. I desire you then to let me know, in what communion the

great body of christians was before that fatal rupture, if the church in communion with the *see* of *Rome* was not *one half* of that body? I assure you, Sir, unless you can answer me this question, you will be in danger of passing for a very unfaithful *stater* of *cases*.

But 4*thly*, and lastly, to come down nearer to the *epocha* of the *reformation*, how will your words agree with *Martin Luther's* primo solus eram, *at first I was alone?* [preface to his works] or with *Calvin's* saying, Epist. 141, that the *reformed churches* broke off from the communion of the whole world, *à toto orbe discessionem facere coacti sumus?* Or finally, with your *Homily-book*, the authority whereof is so great amongst you, that the 35th *article* orders it to be read in churches, as containing a *godly and wholesome doctrine*.

Now the *Homily* against the *peril of idolatry*, 3d Part, *London* 1687, p. 251, has these remarkable words: *Laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects and degrees of men, women and children of whole christendom have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry—and that for the space of* 800 *years and more*. If this be *godly* and *wholesome* doctrine, *viz.* that *whole Christendom* was for 800 years drowned in *abominable idolatry* (whereby *popery*, according to *protestant* language, is plainly marked out), then your asserting, *that the church in communion with the see of Rome, never was one half of the great body of christians*, which is a flat contradiction to it, is not only false, but *ungodly* and *pernicious* doctrine.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*It appears plainly from this and the* two *former* Sections, *how much there was to be said to the* gentleman's *last words, C. S. pp.* 19, 20, *yet the good peaceable lord only answered this one line to it. L.*—But those other churches do not communicate with each other, *p.* 20, *to which the* gentleman *replies thus*:

" *G.*—Nor *Rome* with any of them. So that she stands " by herself, as other churches do. And the most irrecon- " cilably of any. Because by her principles she cannot " communicate with any, who will not own her *supremacy*, " which, as it never was done by the greatest part of the " *Catholic Church*, so there is little appearance that it ever " will be: for it is observable that no nation, that broke

" off from *Rome*, did ever return to her again. It is a hard " matter for one that has escaped out of a snare, to be " inveigled thither again. So that it is very visible *Rome* has " been upon the losing hand about these 200 years past. And " that not only as to those who have quite forsaken her, " but as to the change of *principles*, and *lowering* her *supre-* " *macy*, and *infallibility* amongst those who still remain in " her communion; which I shall shew your *lordship* presently; " and that *old* and *new popery* are very different things, and " that *Rome* itself has in some measure been reformed by " our *reformation*."—p. 20.

L.—Sir, I shall give a very brief answer to the good-natured things you have said: *First*, you tell me, *that the Church of Rome stands by herself as other churches do.* She does so: and it is much better to be alone than in bad company. Nay, the *true church* must stand by herself, whether she will or no: because she would not be the *true church*, if *heretics* were in her communion. Thus *heaven* will stand by itself for all eternity, excluding every thing that is defiled. But I hope this is no exception against it.

2d, You say, *that by her principles she cannot communicate with any, who will not own her supremacy.* Very true, Sir. But you add immediately, *that this was never done by the greatest part of the Catholic Church;* which is false. For *heretics* and *schismatics* (whom you mean by your *greatest part of the Catholic Church*) are no part of her, as I have fully proved, and shall prove farther hereafter 1 p. Sect. 54. However I shall now ask a few questions to lead you to a clear sight of your mistake Pray, Sir, is not *schism* a *breach* of *communion?*

G.—Who doubts it?

L.—And can *communion* be broke where there never was any?

G.—No, my lord. For as a breach of peace supposes that there was a peace, so a *breach* of *communion* must necessarily suppose that there was a *communion.*

L.—Very good, Sir. And did not then the *Greek church*, and all other churches now *reformed* communicate with the *see of Rome*, before they forsook her communion.

G.—I cannot deny it. But what do you infer from thence?

L.—Sir, I infer *first*, that therefore *all these churches* once owned the *supremacy* of the *see of Rome:* because according to your own saying, *the Church of Rome cannot communicate with any, who will not own her supremacy.* And I infer 2*dly*, that you contradict yourself in the very same breath by adding immediately, *that the greatest part of the Catholic Church* (as you call it) *never owned her supremacy.*

You tell me next, *that no nation, which broke off from Rome, did ever return to her again.* Whence you conclude, *that she has been upon the losing hand about these* 200 *years past.* To which I answer, that if she has been a *loser* in *Europe*, she has been a *gainer* in other parts of the world. As in *China*, the *Philippine* Islands, in *Goa;* and the large kingdoms of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Brazil* in *America.* However you are pleased to give a very obliging reason, why *no nation which broke off from Rome ever returned to her again;* viz.: *Because it is a hard matter for one, that has escaped out of a snare, to be inveigled thither again.* But I can furnish you with two much better reasons for it. *First*, because *obstinacy* is the darling quality of all true *heretics;* and *the perverse* or *obstinate are hard to be corrected.* Eccles. i. 15. 2*dly*, because the *reformed churches* have their peculiar charms to keep men fast, which the *Church of Rome* does not pretend to. For *liberty* and *ease* are much prettier things than *fasting*, or *confessing* one's sins, and doing *penance* for them. So that it is no wonder that they, who have once tasted the sweetness of true *protestant liberty*, should not be fond of returning to *popish restraints.*

But the next thing you tell me is a piece of news I never heard of before: viz., *that the Church of Rome has changed her principles, and lowered her supremacy and infallibility among those who still remain in her communion.* Now indeed the poor *Church of Rome* is undone to all intents and purposes, if you can make good this charge against her. But you think fit to remain in my debt for the

proof of it: and I believe it will prove one of those desperate debts, which are all to be paid at the *Greek Calends.*

Lastly, you tell me, *that Rome itself has in some measure been reformed by the reformation.* Truly, Sir, I am of too generous a nature to disown any obligation. And therefore since it is certain, that the opposition of *heretics* has always been a spur to learning, and the frequent temptations of the *devil* make *christians* more watchful; I cannot without being guilty of ingratitude disown, that the *reformation* has *reformed* the *Church of Rome* just as the *devil* reforms *christians* by obliging them to be upon their guard. Now, Sir, go on.

"*G.*—I know nothing should hinder me from communi-
" cating with the *Greek church*, if I were there, while nothing
" *sinful* were required of me as a condition of communion,
" nor new *creeds* to be imposed on me: and so of the churches
" of St *Thomas*, the *Jacobits*, and others in the *east* of *Asia*,
" of whom we have very imperfect and uncertain accounts:
" and so of the *Abissines*, the *Cophtes*, and other churches in
" *Africa*, and the great church of *Russia* in *Europe*. But
" *Rome*, while she pretends to *universal supremacy*, can com-
" municate with none but herself. So that our communion
" is more *extended*, or *extendable*, than that of *Rome*. And
" this *universal supremacy* is that, which most of any one
" thing in the world hinders the union, or communion of
" *christian* churches."—*pp.* 20, 21.

L.—Sir, we covet not the union or communion of *heretical christian churches* upon any other condition than that of an entire submission to the authority which Christ has established. And so it is very true what you say, viz., *that the Church of Rome cannot communicate with any but herself:* as *light* cannot communicate with *darkness*, nor *Christ* with *belial.* And therefore if by taking in the whole rif-raff of *heretics* you render your church more extendable than ours, much good may it do you.

Now as to what you tell me, *that nothing should hinder you from communicating with the Greek church, or the other churches mentioned by you, while nothing sinful wer required of you as a condition of communion, nor new*

creeds imposed upon you: I hope, Sir, the *Church of Rome* may have a share in your good graces upon the same terms. But what trifling stuff is this! For you may as well tell me, that nothing should hinder you from communicating with the *Turkish Mufty*, or the *Jewish Rabbies*, or the *Indian Brachmans*, if *nothing sinful were required of you as a condition of communion.* But I must acquaint you, Sir, that if you will communicate with the *Greek* or *Russian church*, of which you are so fond, you must first abjure your 5th *Article* of *Religion* concerning the *procession of the Holy Ghost*; and 2dly, you must subscribe to every article of Pope *Pius's profession of faith*, the *supremacy* alone excepted. For in every thing else the *Greeks* and *Muscovites* agree with us.

SECTION XVIII.—MR DU PIN EXPLAINED.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*After the* gentleman's *last words in his* Case Stated, *his* lordship *is made to answer thus:* But though one church be supreme, yet the best part of Roman Catholics place not the infallibility there, but in a general, or oecumenical council, where all churches meet. *Now by these last words,* where ALL CHURCHES meet, *is meant (according to the* gentleman's *intention) not only the representatives of the whole* Catholic church, *but of all* separate communions, *that is, of all* heretical *and* schismatical churches; *conformably to the* large system *of the* church's unity *established by him. And, according to this wild notion, he answers as follows:*

"*G.*—My lord, there never was such a council. The "*Roman empire* had the vanity to call itself the *oicumene*, "which we translate, *all the world.* Luke ii. 1. Hence the "councils called within the *empire* styled themselves *oecume-*"*nical*, but no more truly so, than the *Roman empire* was all "the world. But the *Latin church* was not so much as the "*oicumene* of that *empire.* For *Greece*, and other parts of "the *Greek church* in *Asia* were in it; especially after the "seat of the empire was translated to *Constantinople*, when "they contended with *Rome* for the *supremacy:* and the "*Latin church* was not then called by the name of the *Church* "*of Rome.* As the learned *Du Pin* says, in his *Traité de la* "*Puissance Ecclesiastique*, &c. p. 551: *It is true* (says he) "*that at present the name of the Church of Rome is given to*

" *the Catholic church, and that these two terms pass for synoni*
" *mous. But in antiquity no more was intended by the name*
" *of the Church of Rome, than the church of the city of Rome.*
" *The Greek schismatics seem to be the first, who gave the name*
" *of the Church of Rome to all the churches of the west. Whence*
" *the Latins made use of this to distinguish the churches, which*
" *communicated with the Church of Rome, from the Greeks,*
" *who were separated from her communion. From this came*
" *the custom to give the name of the Church of Rome to the*
" *Catholic church. But the other churches did not for this lose*
" *the name, or their authority, &c.* Then he goes on to vin-
" dicate the *rights* of every *national church* independent of
" the *Church* of *Rome* and past her power to control or
" alter."—*pp.* 21, 22.

L.—Sir, I have already told you (but you are somewhat forgetful) that if Popes should pretend to invade the *just rights* or *privileges* of particular churches, they may lawfully maintain them, and the learned *Du Pin* may be their advocate, if he pleases, without derogating from the *supremacy* of St *Peter*, or his *successors*. But, as to the long passage, you have quoted from him, there is not a word in it can do you any service; unless you become guilty of the old equivocation in confounding the *diocess* or *patriarchat* of *Rome* with the whole church in communion with that *see*.

It is true (says *Du Pin*) *that at present the name of the Church of Rome is given to the Catholic church, and these terms pass for synonimous.* I answer, that *Du Pin* certainly means the *whole church* in communion with the *see of Rome.* For the learned *Du Pin* is not such a blunderer as to say, that the *diocess of Rome*, and the *Catholic church* pass for synonimous terms.

He goes on: *But in antiquity no more was intended by the name of the Church of Rome, than the church of the city of Rome. And the Popes in their subscriptions, or superscriptions took simply the quality of bishop of Rome.*

Very right, Sir. But cannot custom enlarge the signification of words? Or must *Du Pin* be our monitor to tell us, that the *diocess of Rome* was not formerly the whole *Catholic Church?* Or that the *Catholic Church* was

not always called by the name of the *Church* of *Rome?* The *Latin church* was not always called by that name, yet I think the *Latin church* was always the *Latin church*, as the *Greek church* was always the *Greek church*, though it had not always that name; and as *christians* were always *christians*, though they were not called so till there was a church founded at *Antioch*. What therefore *Du Pin* says concerning the occasion of the different appellations to distinguish the two *churches* from one another, is nothing to the purpose. If he had said, that *the whole church in communion with the see of Rome was not anciently the Catholic Church*, this indeed would have been a sweet bit for you. But *Du Pin* is too good a *papist* to write in that extravagant manner.

As to the *subscriptions* or *superscriptions* used by Popes, I presume you would not have them fill up whole pages with pompous titles like the *grand seignior;* or kings of *Persia*. Nay, every Pope since St *Gregory's* time has only styled himself, *the servant of the servants of God*. But this never hindered them from asserting their *supremacy* against any one, that offered to attack it. Thus much then for *Du Pin's* words. Let us now consider what you have said yourself.

You tell me, *there never was a general council*. Sir, if you speak the usual language of *christendom*, you have it entirely against you. Nay, your own church allows of the four *first general councils*, and calls them by that name. But if you coin notions, which no man ever thought of, what you say may be true, but I am sure it is nothing to the purpose.

You add, that *because the Roman empire had the vanity to call itself the oicumene, hence the councils called within that empire styled themselves oecumenical, or general*. But I should be glad to know, where you learned this piece of profound erudition. For pray, Sir, were there not innumerable *national* and *provincial* councils held within the *empire*, which yet never styled themselves *oecumenical* or *general?* The true reason therefore why the other councils were so styled, was because the *Catholic* bishops

of *all nations* were invited to them; and there was a sufficient number present at them to make them the *representatives* of the whole *Catholic Church.*

Your observation, *that the Latin church was not so much as the oicumene of the empire*, is just as much to the purpose, as if you should tell me that *Greece* is not in *Italy*, or that it was not subject to the *patriarchat* of *Rome;* which no man ever dreamt of. For the *Popes* pretend not to the *supremacy* either as *bishops* or *patriarchs* of *Rome*, but as *successors* of St *Peter*. And so the question is not, how far the *patriarchal jurisdiction* of *Rome* (which is commonly called the *Latin church*) is extended; but whether the *bishop* of *Rome* be not the *head* of the *Catholic Church*, precisely as he is the *successor* of St *Peter?*

As to what you add, viz., *that after the empire was translated to Constantinople, the Greek church contended with Rome for the supremacy*, I have already showed the falsehood of it. Sec. 9. So you may now proceed, if you please.

SECTION XIX.—MR TALON'S SPEECH IN THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS AGAINST INNOCENT XI. MISREPRESENTED.

" *G.*—The *proceedings* of the *parliament* of *Paris* (Appen. " *pp.* 39, 40.) tells the Pope, that his *bishopric* extends only " to the *diocess* of *Rome*, and his *patriarchat* to the provinces " called *suburbicarial.* And that by taking upon him to " excommunicate others unjustly, and where his power did " not reach, he had excommunicated himself. And then he " was so far from being *head*, that he was not so much as a " *member* of the church. And they mind him, as likewise " *Du Pin*, in the treatise above-mentioned, *p.* 263, of the " stout resistance made by the bishops of *France* to the Pope " who threatened to excommunicate all of them, that would " not submit to his decision. But they resolutely answered, " that they would not submit to his will; and that if he " came to excommunicate them, he should go back excom- " municated himself. *Si excommunicaturus veniret, excom-*

" *municatus abiret.* Now what is that *head*, can be excom-
" municated by its *members?* What is that *supremacy* can
" be limited, and controlled by its *subjects?* And of which
" they are the judges, and can say to it as God to the sea:
" *hitherto shalt thou come and no farther, here shall thy proud*
" *waves be stayed?*"—pp. 22, 23.

ADVERTISEMENT—*N. B. That the piece here quoted by the* gentleman *is printed in the* appendix *of his* Case Stated. *Beginning* p. 39, *and ending* p. 52. *And though it be the harangue of an* advocate-general *in defence of the* franchises *of the* Gallicane *church, filled with many warm expressions, but too usual in the heat of disputes, yet the* gentleman *is pleased to lay as much stress upon it as if it were a* dogmatical *piece approved by all* catholic divines. *But, what is still more surprising, though the* gentleman *had the piece before him, yet in the small part he has quoted of it, he is guilty of two* falsifications: *whether voluntary, or involuntary I refer to the reader.*

L.—Sir, we have the *proceedings* of the *parliament* of *Paris* here before us: that is, Mr *Talon's* warm speech against the bull of *Innocent* XI. But you have made him say more, than he really did, or ever thought of.

For *first*, you say he tells the Pope, *that his bishopric extends only to the diocess of Rome, and his patriarchat to the provinces called suburbicarial.* Whereas Mr *Talon's* words are no more than an expostulatory interrogation, and can bear no such meaning, any more than a child can be said to disown the *authority* of his *father*, if thinking himself injured he should ask him in an expostulatory way, *whether he meant to renounce that title?*

Mr *Talon's* words are these: *Is it that the Pope means to have no more commerce with France? Is he persuaded that his power reaches no farther than the diocess of Rome, and his patriarchship than the neighbouring provinces styled suburbicarial? Does he intend to renounce the quality of head of the church and common father of the faithful?* (Appen. pp. 43, 44.) Now let any man judge whether you have quoted him fairly. Nay his last words imply no less, than an acknowledgment of the Pope's being the *head of the church*, and *common father of the faithful:* which in reality is the point in question betwixt us. For what is it to the purpose how far the *bishopric* or *patriarchat*

of *Rome* is extended? Our question is precisely concerning the Pope's *supremacy*, to which he has no title but precisely as he is the *successor* of St *Peter*. And this Mr *Talon* acknowledges, *p.* 49. App., and promises that the *Gallicane church* will always maintain *communion* with the *see* of *Rome:* which you know very well is impracticable without owning the *supremacy*.

2*dly*, You quote that part of Mr *Talon's* speech, where he puts the Pope in mind of the stout resistance made by the bishops of *France* in the reign of *Lewis the debonnaire* against Pope *Gregory* IV. who threatened to excommunicate them, *if they did not close with his designs*, as it is expressed in the *App. p.* 42, though you express it, *if they would not submit to his decision:* I presume, this was to insinuate, that they refused to submit to some *decision* of *faith*, whereas the whole dispute was about a mere *party-cause*. But they resolutely answered, *that if he came to excommunicate them, he should himself return excommunicated.*

It is very true, that Mr *Talon* quotes this bold answer of the *French* bishops to *Gregory* IV. But you are not content with this, but likewise tell me, that in the *proceedings* of the *parliament* of *Paris* the same language is used to *Innocent* XI. For your words are these. *And the proceedings of the parliament of Paris tell the Pope* [i. e. *Innocent XI.*] *that his bishopric, &c.——And that by taking upon him to excommunicate others unjustly, and where his power did not reach, he had excommunicated himself.* Yet there is not a word of all this in Mr *Talon's* speech; as every one may be satisfied, that will but give himself the trouble to read your *Appendix*.

Nay you make the *French advocate-general* far outdo the *French* bishops. For *Gregory* IV. was by them only threatened, *that if he came to excommunicate them he should himself return excommunicated.* The harshness of which expression is very much mollified by M. *Talon* himself Appen. pp. 42, 43. But poor *Innocent* XI. (if you can make good your quotation) is by the *advocate-general* positively declared excommunicated *for having taken upon*

him to excommunicate others unjustly, and where his power did not reach. And you make this smart reflection upon it; *that he was then so far from being head, that he was not so much as a member of the church.* But since the reflection is grounded upon a fact of your own fruitful invention (which I assure you will not make you pass for the nicest lover of truth in the world) we may piously hope, that *Innocent* XI. died not only a member, but the *head* of the *Catholic Church.*

But the *French* bishops telling Pope *Gregory*, that *if he came to excommunicate them, he should himself return excommunicated*, puts you upon these vehement interrogatories. *Now what is that head can be excommunicated by its members? What is that supremacy can be limited and controlled by its subjects?* Which I shall endeavour to match with some interrogatories of the same kind. viz. *What head both of church and state is that man, whose head can be cut off by his subjects? And what is that sovereignty, which can be limited and controlled by laws?* Now whatever answer you will give to these impertinent questions of mine, will probably serve to answer yours.

But, to return to what we were saying before concerning *councils*, though the *supremacy* was given to St *Peter*, and by consequence to his *successors* in order to perpetuate the form of *church government* established by *Christ*, yet it is no article of faith with us, that St *Peter's infallibility*, which he had in common with the other *apostles*, was likewise to be transmitted to his *successors.* And therefore we are only sure, that *Christ* has promised *infallibility* to his *church*, the representative whereof is a *general council.*

SECTION XX.—OF GENERAL COUNCILS.

"*G.*—Which as I told you, never was, and is next to "impossible ever should be. And what you have said gives "up your whole foundation. For the *Popes*, and not *councils*, "pretend to be the *successors* of St *Peter*, and heirs of all the "promises made to him."—*p.* 23.

L.—Not of *all* with your good leave, Sir. For *Christ* promised St *Peter*, that he should be a *martyr*. John xxi. 18. But all Popes pretend not to be *martyrs*. The Popes are therefore the *successors* of St *Peter*, and as such the *supreme governors* of the church. But *general councils* are the *representatives* of this church, and to her *Christ* promised *infallibility*. So that you are grievously out in saying, *that we give up the whole foundation* in not lodging the *infallibility* as well as *supremacy* in the *Pope*. For this is a question disputed amongst our divines, and the negative as well as *affirmative* may be held without endangering the *foundation* of the church.

As to your repeating, *that there never was a general council*, I refer you to my former answer, and am sorry you can entertain the same whim so long together.

"*G.*—My lord, you are not agreed among yourselves "concerning *general councils*. *Bellarmin* (de Conc. L. i. C. "6.) gives a list of *general councils*, which are to be rejected. "*Concilia generalia reprobata*. Some for not being approved "by the *Pope;* some for *heresy*, and some (he might have "said all) as not being received by the *universal church*. But "he meant only the *Church of Rome*."—p. 23.

L.—Under favour, Sir, he meant the *whole church* in communion with the *see of Rome;* which is called the *Catholic* or *universal Church* not only by *Bellarmin*, but also by St *Austin* (contra Epist. fund. C. 4.) and indeed the whole current of *orthodox fathers*. And this church has received a great many *general councils;* the decrees whereof in doctrinal points are infallible rules of faith. But pray, go on.

"*G.*—Ch. 7. is of *general councils* partly *confirmed* and "partly *reprobated*. And Chap. 8. is of *general councils* "neither manifestly *approved*, nor manfestly *rejected*. This "is going through all the degrees of uncertainty. And "Chap. 5. and *de Rom. Pont.* L. iv. C. 11. he says, that "several things in those *councils* allowed to be *general* were "foisted in by *heretics*, he knows not how. This was to get "rid of some objections against *those councils*, he could not "answer otherwise——"

L.—Sir, you should have said, *against some private*

opinions of his own. But let us hear out the rest of your story.

"*G.*—And (*de Eccl. Milit.* C. 16.) he quotes the last "*council* of *Lateran* condemning the council of *Basil*, which "he says was at first a true *oecumenical* council, and infallible, "but afterwards turned into a *schismatical conventicle*, and "was of no authority at all."—*pp.* 23, 24.

L.—Well, Sir, the sum of all this is, that *Bellarmin* rejects some councils *absolutely* which falsely styled themselves *general.* As that of *Sardica* consisting of seventy-six *Arian* bishops, who separated themselves from the *true council* of *Sardica*, yet called themselves by that name, and condemned St *Athanasius.* The other *reprobate general councils* mentioned by *Bellarmin* are of the same kidney; but I hope you do not imagine we place the *infallibility* in such councils as these. He likewise says that the authority of some councils called *general* is *doubtful*, and that some are partly *approved*, and partly *rejected;* which you say *is going through all the degrees of uncertainty.* But what do you pretend to infer from thence?

G.—My lord, I infer from it that no *infallibility* can be placed in *general councils.*

L.—Sir, if we had no councils but of a *suspected* and *uncertain* authority, I should easily subscribe to what you say. But have we not *general councils* enough unanimously received and approved by the whole body of the *Catholic Church*, and in which all doctrinal points of controversy are fully and clearly determined? These then are the councils, the decisions whereof we regard as *infallible* rules of *faith:* because they are the true *representatives* of that church, to which *Christ* has promised his *perpetual assistance*, and which in all ages is the *pillar and ground of truth* no less than she was in the first age of christianity. So that the *spuriousness* or *uncertainty* of some councils styled *general*, and the *illegality* of some part of others cannot be turned into an argument of any weight against the *certainty* and *infallibility* of other councils universally received and approved, any more

than the *authority* of legal *parliaments* can be questioned, because there have been some very *illegal* ones, some partly *legal*, and partly *illegal*, and others of a *doubtful* authority.

But, to instance in a case exactly parallel, Sir, there were *spurious gospels* handed about even in the time of the apostles. And Dr *Walton* an eminent *protestant* writer assures us positively (for the fact is unquestionable) *that the Book of Revelations, and some other parts of the New Testament were doubted of for some ages.* In Proleg. C. iv. Sec. 6. *p.* 31. Thus likewise the Books of *Ezra* are partly *canonical*, and partly *apocryphal* in the judgment of your church as well as ours: nay you have likewise *split* the Prophecy of *Daniel*, the two last chapters whereof are wholly omitted in your *Bible*. Here then we have certain *spurious* scriptures *entirely rejected*, some of the *canonical* ones *doubted* of for several ages, and others *partly approved* and *partly rejected*: yet I hope no *christian* will make these parallel facts an objection against the *certainty* and *infallibility* of *scriptures*. And, if these be no objections against *scriptures*, as most certainly they are not, neither are those you have collected from *Bellarmin*, of any moment against *general councils*. For whatever you answer to these, is a full answer to your own objection, which by proving too much, proves nothing at all. And what else then have you done by starting this objection but furnished the enemies of *christianity* with arms against it? For they cannot be so stupid as not to see, that what you say to weaken the *authority* of *councils*, strikes with equal force at the *authority* of *scriptures*.

But what must we then rely securely upon both as to *scriptures* and *councils*? Sir, if St *Paul* has not deceived us in calling the *Catholic Church* the *pillar and ground of truth*, 1 Tim. iii. 13, the weight and authority of her judgment is our only security, and alone sufficient to remove all reasonable doubts. So that whatever disputes are yet remaining either concerning *scriptures* or *councils*, the *Catholic Church* alone has full power given her

by *Christ* to determine them: and *he, that does not hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican.* Matt. xviii. 17.

As to what you say concerning the *council* of *Basil*, it was at first a regular council, assembled by, and united to its *head*, till the 25th *session;* when there arose a dispute concerning removing the council to a more convenient place for a treaty with the *Greeks*. The greatest part of the bishops stuck to their *head*. But a small number of bishops, and many of the inferior *clergy* remained at *Basil*, and continued to style themselves the *general council* of that place; but were no more the true council than if a few members remaining at *Westminster* would be the true *parliament*, if the king by his authority should remove it to another place.

"*G.*—My lord, the church of *France* receives the councils "of *Basil* and *Constance* wholly and throughout. But the "*Church* of *Rome* rejects both in part."—*p.* 24.

L.—Sir, you are under a mistake in saying, that the *Church of France* receives the *council of Basil* wholly and throughout. For *Charles* VII. who was then king of *France*, as likewise the *emperor*, and other princes, rejected the decree of that council against Pope *Eugenius*, continuing still to acknowledge him for Pope. *Du Pin*, Cent. 15. p. 48. And the whole church has received both the council of *Basil* and *Constance* as to all their decrees relating to *faith*. When I say the *whole church*, I mean neither *heretics*, nor *schismatics*, who are cut off from the *Catholic Church*.

G.—My lord, since there are these disputes about *councils*, it follows that "they, who place the *infallibility* in *councils*, "will need another *infallible* judge to determine these dis- "putes concerning *councils;* which are *truly general*, and "which not: and which are *partly* so, and which *throughout:* "and what part of those, that are *throughout*, have been "corrupted by *heretics;* if that can be called true *throughout*, "which is corrupted *in any part:* and when one council con- "demns another, which shall we believe?"—*p.* 24.

L.—Sir, all these points will be fully cleared by only shewing the mistake of your first proposition, viz., *that*

they, who place the infallibility in councils, will need another infallible judge to determine these disputes concerning the councils. Which I deny. Because every *supreme tribunal*, from which there is no *appeal*, is the *only judge* in all cases relating to itself. Thus a *legal parliament*, which is the *supreme tribunal* of *Great Britain* is the only judge that can decide all *parliamentary* disputes. As, whether it was legally convened: what number is requisite to make it a *representative* of the nation: whether the *rump-parliament* was truly a *parliament:* whether the *long-parliament*, which was called by *Charles* I., and at length cut off his head, was a true parliament *throughout*, or only *in part:* and finally, when one *parliament* condemns another (whereof there are instances enough) which of them had reason on its side and which not? As therefore it is false to say, that they who place the *supreme authority* of the nation in a *legal parliament*, will need another *supreme tribunal* to determine *parliamentary* disputes, so it is no less false to say, that they who place the *infallibility* in a *general council* (which is the *representative* of the *Catholic Church*, to which *Christ* has promised *infallibility*) will need another *infallible judge* to determine disputes concerning *councils*. For the case is exactly parallel.

As to your pleasant reflection concerning true *general councils throughout*, yet corrupted *in some part;* I have already told you, that no *general council* is corrupted in any thing relating to *faith:* which is a sufficient answer to it.

"*G.*—If we must not believe every council, that calls it-
"self *oecumenical*, we can believe no other council against it
"for the same reason."—*p.* 24.

L.—No, Sir! that is very strange. For according to this logic every *schismatical* assembly, that but dubs itself *council*, is of the same authority as the great *council of Nice*.

"*G.*—The 2d council of *Ephesus* is generally condemned
"in your church: yet it called itself *oecumenical*, and was
"as much as any of the others."—*p.* 24.

L.—*Generally*, do you say, Sir? You should have said *universally* by all *christian churches* in the world, except the *Eutychians*. But as to your saying, *that it was as*

much a general council as any other, really, Sir, this is exposing yourself too much. For the noble council, you are pleased to patronize, was in all antiquity so infamous for the violences and barbarities committed in it, that it never deserved any better character, than that of *Latrocinium Ephesinum:* that is, the *band of Ephesian rioters and assasins.*

" *G.*—But what a thing is it to say that a *council* is *partly* " *right*, and *partly wrong ?*"—p. 24.

L.—Or rather what a thing is it to make a wonder of it? Unless you mean, that a council legally assembled, and truly *general*, should in deciding matters of *faith* be *partly right*, and *partly wrong;* which indeed is impossible, and was never thought of, much less maintained by any *catholic* divine. But that an assembly, which was *legal at first*, should by a separation from its *head*, and the greatest part of its members become *illegal* afterwards, yet continue to style itself a *general council*, I think is no such strange thing as you make it. Nay it is the very case of the council of *Basil:* which therefore may properly be called a *council*, that was *partly right*, and *partly wrong:* like the long-*parliament*, which was right at first, but very *wrong* in the end.

" *G.*—But who is judge of the *right* or *wrong* of such " councils? Is there any *certainty* in this, far less *infalli-* " *bility ?*"—p. 24.

L.—Sir, the *church* of *Christ* is the judge of it; as I have already told you. And St *Austin* calls it *a point of the most insolent madness* not to submit to her judgment.

" *G.*—But we must have an *infallible* method too to pre- " serve the *acts* of the *councils*, that they be not adulterated, " as *Bellarmin* says they have been: and they continue so " to this day in the volumes of the councils. Why then are " they not amended, and the *suppositions* and *adulterated* " parts (these are *Bellarmin's* own words) struck out? But " the several editions of their own councils are in the hands " of other *churches*, and therefore they can make no alteration " in them without being detected."—*pp.* 24, 25.

L.—I dare swear, Sir, this is not *Bellarmin's* reason, why they are not amended. But I can give you a good

reason for it, *viz.:* because, they, who put forth the councils, were not of *Bellarmin's* opinion. And therefore judging the acts, which he calls *suppositions* (though they regard no matters of *faith*, as I have told you) to be *genuine*, thought fit to make no alteration in them, but left them as they found them.

As to the method of *preserving councils* from corruptions; I presume the same method which suffices to preserve the *Bible*, will likewise suffice to preserve the *councils* from being corrupted.

"*G.*—My lord, the *scheme* of *infallibility*, which you place "in *councils*, stands thus. The *Church of Rome* makes her- "self the *universal* or *Catholic Church:* in so much that all, "who are not of her *communion* (which are by far the great- "est part of *christian churches* in the world) are out of the "pale of the *Catholic Church.* And *schismatics* and *heretics* "are no part of a *catholic council.* Thus a small part of the "*Latin church* (exclusive of the *Greek*, and all other churches) "are the whole *Catholic Church.* And these little *party* "*councils* under the direction of the Pope are *universal* and "*infallible.*"—p. 25.

SECTION XXI.—A GENERAL COUNCIL IS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ONLY.

L.—I must own, Sir, the pleasant *scheme* you have drawn for me, is a good proof of your admirable skill in romancing, as the following plain account of the naked truth will testify.

Christ has established a *church* on earth, which in the *creed* is called the *Catholic* or *universal* Church, though it never was, and perhaps never will be the *church* of *all nations* in such a manner, as to have the *universal world* all at once in her communion. He constituted St *Peter head* of this church, when at the *third apparition* after his *resurrection* he gave him a commission distinct from what he had given to the apostles in common at his *first apparition*. And, since the form of *church government* established by *Christ* was not to end with St *Peter*, his

successors chosen by the church hold the same station as he did, and *Rome* is their *episcopal see*. Hence it is, that the church in communion with the *see of Rome*, that is, with the *successors* of St *Peter*, who are called *Popes*, is the *church* established by *Christ*, and, by consequence, the *Catholic Church* professed in the *creed*.

This church admits no *heretics* or *schismatics* into her communion: and indeed a *catholic heretic* or *schismatic* is a *chimera* unheard of in antiquity. So that let them be as numerous as they please, they are out of the pale of the *Catholic Church*, and can have no other place in a *catholic council* than such as *criminals* have in a court of judicature. And thus it is, that the church in communion with the *see of Rome* (exclusive of all *heretics* and *schismatics*) is the whole *Catholic Church*: and such *councils*, as are true *representatives* of this church, are *general*, and *infallible* in all their decisions relating to matters of *faith*.

Let me tell you, Sir, this plain scheme will stand its ground against yours in spite of all the artful misrepresentations you have crowded into it, especially that, which is the foundation of your whole *sham scheme*, viz., *that the Church of Rome makes herself the universal or Catholic Church*. For you either mean the *diocess* of *Rome*, and then what you say is false. Because it is manifest the *diocess* of *Rome* never pretended to be the *whole Catholic Church*. Or you mean the whole church in communion with the *see* of *Rome*, and then you are guilty of misrepresentation in saying that this church *makes herself* the *Catholic* or *universal* Church. For she does not *make herself*, but *Christ*, who constituted St *Peter* and his *successors* the *heads* of his church, has made her the *Catholic Church*.

" *G.*—My lord, I have shewn, that the *Church* of *Rome* has " no right to the *title* of the *Latin church* itself, far less of the " *universal*. And she has now but a small part of the *Latin* " *church* left her. The *reformed* with *Russia*, and the *Greek* " *church* will outnumber her in *Europe*. And she has no " *national* church in her communion any where else. And, " though there be some in her communion in most countries, " there are not so many as of the *Jews*, who by that are more

" *universal* than your church, and so more *catholic.* And none " of the shattered seminaries of *Rome* in other *christian* " *churches* can be said to represent those churches in a *general* " *council* more, than three or four bishops in *England* could " represent the *Church* of *England* as it now stands. But " on the contrary their living in a separate communion in " other *christian churches* shows these churches not to be of " her communion; and therefore cannot be represented in any " of their councils: and these calling themselves *oecumenical,* " as the *Roman empire* did, shows only, how *little criticisms* " upon words will avail against plain matter of fact: which I " have showed to be the case as to those *texts* urged for the " *supremacy* of St *Peter.* And that if words would do it, there " are more, nay and *facts* too for the *universal supremacy* of " St *Paul,* at least over all the *christian churches* of the *Gen-* " *tiles,* which are all now in the world."—*pp.* 25, 26.

L.—Sir, you neither have shewed, nor ever can shew, that the texts urged for the *supremacy* of St *Peter* are mere *criticisms* upon words; unless you can prove that the ancient *fathers,* I have produced, did only trifle with words; and delivered not in their writings the *public faith* of the church in their times. For all, that had occasion to write upon that subject, urged those *texts* for the *supremacy* of St *Peter.* And I defy you to name me one father, who ever urged either one single *text* or *fact* for the *supremacy* of St *Paul.* And how then can you imagine, that any man will believe you, when you say, there are more *texts* and *facts* for St *Paul,* than St *Peter?* Let me tell you, Sir, once more, this is an argument you can never answer.

However I find two things true in the harangue you have made; which is a kind of miracle. 1. That *papists living in a separate communion in protestant countries shews those churches not to be of their communion.* Which is just as much to the purpose, as if you had told me, that *English papists* are not *English protestants.* And 2dly, *that protestant churches cannot be represented in a general council by the Roman catholics, that live amongst them.* As *the Church of England, as it now stands, cannot be represented by three or four popish bishops.* Which is likewise

very true, and as little to the purpose as the former. For we are in no manner of concern, whether the *Church of England*, or the other *reformed churches* be represented in our councils or not: unless it were to be in order to a reconciliation to their *mother church*. And I must here put you in mind that even that mimic of a general council, the *synod of Dort*, would not suffer the *Arminians* to be present at it in any other quality than as *criminals* to be judged.

But I presume your main drift is to conclude that our councils are not *general*, because all *christian churches* are not represented in those councils. But you are under a great mistake. Because a *catholic general council* is only the representative of the whole diffusive body of the *Catholic Church*, and not of *heretical* or *schismatical* churches, as I have already told you. And you may as well say they are not *general councils*, because *Quakers* and *Anabaptists* are not allowed to send their representatives to them.

Suppose a *national council* were called in *Great Britain*, would you allow *Puritans*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, *Brownists*, *Muggletonians*, *Freethinkers*, and the whole rif-raff of *English sects* to send representatives of their respective churches to it to judge of matters of *faith* and *discipline* as well as your *bishops*, and the *episcopal clergy?* No surely. And yet it would be a *national council*, though all these were excluded: because it would represent the *national* church of *Great Britain*. In like manner a *general* council of the *Catholic Church* is that, to which all *catholic* bishops are invited. And when you convince me that the *separate* communions of *heretics* and *schismatics* are a part of the *Catholic Church*, I will then acknowledge, that they have a title to sit in her councils as *judges;* and that there can be no *general council* unless they be invited to send their deputies and representatives to it.

You say, *you have shewed that the Church of Rome has no right to the title of the Latin church itself.* But, Sir, I must tell you once more, there is a difference between

saying and *shewing*. However if you mean, that the *diocess* of *Rome* is not the whole *Latin church*, no man will dispute it with you. But if you mean, that the *bishops* of *Rome* as they are *patriarchs* of the *west* (which title never was denied them) have not jurisdiction over the *Latin church*, all men of sense will give it against you.

You add, *that the Church of Rome has now but a small part of the Latin church left her.* So when a *sovereign* is stripped of the greatest part of his dominions by *rebellious* subjects, he has but a *small part* of his kingdom left him: but I hope this does not divest him of his title to the whole. However you are somewhat mistaken in your calculation: for the *small part* you speak of is all *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain*. The kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. Ten of the 17 provinces of the *Netherlands*. Eight of the 13 *Swiss cantons*. The vast kingdom of *Poland*. All the emperor's *hereditary dominions*. All the *Catholic electorats*, besides other parts of the *empire*, &c. And as to what you say, *that she has no national church in her communion out of Europe*, I must refer you to the *maps* and the *Atlas Geographus* for your better information.

But notwithstanding all this you have *uncatholic'd* the poor *Church of Rome*, to all intents and purposes. For, if the *Jews* themselves be more *catholic* than the *Church* of *Rome*, I am sure she can lay no claim to that honourable title. The piece is very curious, and so I shall repeat it word for word. *And though* (say you) *there be some in her communion in most countries, there are not so many as of the Jews, who by that are more universal than your church, and so more catholic.* Really, Sir, I know not how far this argument may tempt a man to *circumcision*, but I am sure it will never tempt me to be a member of the *Church of England:* since I am very certain that the *Jews* are more dispersed about in other countries, than those of your *church*. And by consequence (if your argument be worth any thing) they are more *catholic* than the *Church of England*.

But, if *Jews* be more *catholic* on that score, than either of our *churches*, what noble *catholics* must *heathens* and *Mahometans* then be, who are not only far more

numerous, but possess a greater tract of land than all the *christians* in the world! But who would ever imagine a *divine* capable of arguing in such a wretched manner! In good truth, Sir, I am strongly tempted to suspect you know not what the word *catholic* means, though you have repeated it many times in your *creed*. I shall therefore explain it at large hereafter to remove all doubts and scruples concerning this piece of profound *divinity*. But we have digressed from our subject, which was concerning the *infallibility* of *general councils:* and since you will not allow them to be *infallible*, let us consider where the *infallibility* is to be placed.

SECTION XXII.—THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH.

" *G.*—No where, my lord. Nor can it be found among " men, who are all *fallible*."—p. 26.

L.—What Sir! cannot God, if he pleases, preserve men from erring! Or were not the sacred *penmen infallible* in their writings! If not, then we are not sure that the *scriptures* contain the *word of God*, which surely is *infallible*.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*In answer to what the* Gentleman *spoke last, his* Lordship *in the* former conversation, *instead of quoting the* promises *of* Christ, *only quotes* Isaiah, *and* Malachie. *But his text from* Malachie (*as translated in the* protestant *Bible) being nothing to the purpose, is here omitted, and by consequence, the* Gentleman's *answer to it. The words of* Isaiah *shall be examined after his* Lordship's *answer to the following texts produced by the* Gentleman *against the church's* infallibility.

" *G.*—The word of God tells us, *they were all gone out of* " *the way. They were together become abominable; there was* " *none that did good, no not one—that all the world might be-* " *come guilty before God.* Rom. iii. 12, 19.

" And of the church it is said. *The whole head is sick, and* " *the whole heart is faint, there is no soundness in it, but wounds* " *and bruises, and putrefying sores.* Isaiah i. 5, 6.

" And God says, *mine heritage is unto me as a lion in the* " *forest. It crieth out against me, therefore have I hated it.* " *Mine heritage is unto me as a speckled bird, &c.* Jer. xii. 8, 9.

" And we have now long since seen the *church* of the *Jews,*

" to whom the *promises* were made, quite thrown off, and the " church of the *Gentiles* come into its place."—*p.* 27.

L.—I know of no promises of perpetual *infallibility* ever made to the *Jewish church*, and the *texts*, you have produced against that of the *church* of *Christ*, are just as much to the purpose, as if you had quoted the first chapter of *Genesis*.

The *first* indeed may prove, that both *Jews* and *Gentiles* are all under sin. *Rom.* iii. 9 (till they be justified by *Christ*). But what is that to the church's *infallibility* in matters of *faith*.

The *second* (if we believe the *prophet* himself, i. 1.) is said of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*. And how then can you understand his words of the *Catholic Church?*

The *third* describes the *synagogue* crying out against her Lord, *crucify him, crucify him*. But let us hear, how St *Austin* answered the *Donatists* urging the like *texts*. *The scripture* (says he) *often reprehends the wicked that are in the church, as if all were such, and none at all remained good———wherefore these men either out of ignorance or malice gather such texts from the scripture, as are found to be spoke against the wicked, who will continue mixed with the good to the world's end. Or else of the desolation of the former people, the Jews. And these they endeavour by a forced construction to urge against God's church: that she may seem in a manner to have failed by a general defection. But, if they will answer these writings, let them never produce such texts any more.* L. de Unit. Eccl. C. 13.

Thus, Sir, you see what St *Austin* thought of these texts, which you have only picked up at second hand after the *Donatists*, and are full as good to disprove the circulation of the blood, as the *church's infallibility*.

But God's promise delivered by the mouth of *Isaiah*, that *his spirit shall never depart from his church*, suffices alone to confute the straitned sense, which the *Donatists* put upon the forementioned texts. His words are these: *My spirit that is upon thee, and my words, which I have put into thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth: nor*

out of the mouth of thy seed; nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed: says the Lord from hence forth and for ever. Isaiah l. 21.

"*G.*—My lord, this promise was first made to the *Jewish* "*church*, and belongs literally to her, and much more uncon- "testably than to the *Church of Rome*, to whom no promise "whatsoever was made. Nor has she any other pretence to "the promises made to the *church* in *general*, than her sup- "posed *supremacy* over all the other *christian* churches, which "is disputed with her, and denied by the other churches. "But there was none to dispute it with the *Jewish church*: "for she was then the only *visible church* of God upon earth. "And if the promises made to her can fail, in vain does the "*Church of Rome*, or even the whole *Gentile church* claim "these promises as indefeasible and unalterable to her. For "if the promises made to the whole church of God upon "earth can fail at one time, they may likewise at another, "and there can be no certainty."—*p.* 28.

L.—Sir, your first proposition, which is the groundwork of all the rest, viz., *that the promise of Isaiah was first made to the Jewish church, and belongs literally to her*, is without the least foundation of truth. To make good what I say, I ask whether the *church*, which the *Messias* at his coming was to establish upon earth, was the *Jewish* or *christian* church?

G.—The latter without all dispute.

L.—I ask again, whether it be not the *christian* church, the future splendour whereof the prophet describes by the *concourse of nations* flocking to her, *Isaiah* lx. 1, 2, &c.

G.—There can be no doubt of it.

L.—This, Sir, suffices to decide the whole matter. For the promise in question is *literally* and *solely* made to *this church;* being placed between two *prophecies*, which are both relating to the *christian* church alone. It is ushered in by that, which foretells the establishment of the *church* by the coming of the *Messias:* which can be no other than the *christian* church. And it is immediately followed by the other, which contains a description of her future *increase* and *splendour*. And I leave any one to judge, whether it be consistent with good sense to un-

derstand both the predictions *literally* and *solely* of the *christian church*, and the *promise*, which has a manifest connection with them, of the *Jewish*.

Thus, Sir, the foundation you have laid, is rotten, and the superstructure, you have built upon it, must fall of course. However to support it, you have again recourse to that wretched equivocation relating to the *Church of Rome*, and therefore can mean nothing else but the *diocess of Rome*, to which you say *no promise whatsoever was made*. And who says the contrary? The promises were made to *that church*, whereof St *Peter* was constituted *head*, and his *successors* after him: that is, to the *church of Christ*, or *Catholic Church* in general. You add: nor *has she any other pretence to the promises made to the church in general but her supposed supremacy over all other christian churches, which is disputed with her and denied by the other churches*. Sir, the church in communion with the *successors* of St *Peter* is the *whole Catholic Church*, to which the promises were made: and the supreme government of this church is lodged in its bishop, precisely as he is the *successor* of St *Peter*, and *Christ's vicar* upon earth. And they who dispute that title with him, may much more legally dispute the title to the crown with their *lawful sovereign*, the one being of *divine*, the other of *human* institution only.

What you add, *that there was none to dispute the supremacy with the Jewish church:* if you mean, that the *Jewish church* itself was *supreme*, I have not penetration enough to make sense of it. For since, as you say, she was the *only visible church of God* upon earth, how could she be called *supreme*, which implies a comparison? She had indeed a *high priest*, who governed her as *head;* and in whom we may say the *supremacy* was lodged. But let me tell you, Sir, this was disputed by the *schismatical churches*, that were amongst the *Jews*, as those of the *Samaritans* and *Saducees*, who disowned the supreme *authority* of the *high priest*, as much as you do that of the *Pope*.

The argument, you conclude with, is wholly built upon

the supposition, that a promise of *perpetual infallibility* was made to the *Jewish church*, which never has been, nor ever will be proved. For, if such a promise had been made, it would certainly have had its effect; unless you will say, that God's promises can fail.

" *G.*—No that is impossible. But we may mistake his " promises, and not understand them aright. And we may " not perform the *conditions* required."—*p.* 28.

L.—But, Sir, the promises of *infallibility* made to the *church of Christ* are *positive* and *unconditional.*

" *G.*—There is still a *condition* implied. That is, of *obe-* " *dience:* which our Saviour has fully exemplified in the par- " able of the *husbandmen*, who did not render the *fruits* of " the *vineyard.*"—p. 28.

SECTION XXIII.—ALL GOD'S PROMISES ARE NOT CONDITIONAL.

L.—I desire you, Sir, to quote the *gospel*, *chapter* and *verse*, that we may examine the *parable*, you mention.

G.—The *parable* is related both by St *Matthew*, xxi. 33, &c.; and by St *Luke*, xx. 9, &c.

L.—Very well, Sir. And you produce this parable as a *full example*, that *all promises* made to the *christian* church are *conditional.*

G.—I do, my lord.

L.—And truly, Sir, you must have a good assurance to do it. For the *christian church* is not the least concerned in that parable, as the very *Jewish priests* and *scribes*, to whom it was spoken, will inform you. *Luke* xx. 19.

The whole drift of the parable was to forewarn the *Jews* of their approaching *reprobation*, and ruin: but particularly the *priests* and *scribes*, who came to *Christ* in the temple to question him concerning his *authority* and *doctrine*, saying to him, *By whose authority dost thou these things? Or who is he who gave thee this authority?* Matt. xxi. 23. Luke xx. 2. Whereupon our Saviour proposed the forementioned parable, which contains a

prediction of two things: 1. That the *Jews* should soon after treat him, as the *husbandmen* in the parable treated the *heir* of the *vineyard*. And 2d. That they should be punished by God, as the *husbandmen* were punished by the *lord* of the *vineyard*. And the *Jewish priests* and *scribes* were so fully convinced, that they themselves were the persons pointed at in the parable, that (as St *Luke* tells us, xx. 19) *from that very hour they sought to lay hands on Christ, for they perceived that he had spoken that parable against them.* And is not this now a wonderful example to convince us, that all the promises made to the *christian church* are *conditional?* You may as well quote it for a prediction of the *fall* of the *monument*. For it has full as much connexion with it.

There is indeed a part added to the application of the parable made by *Christ* himself, which belongs to the *christian church*. But it implies the very reverse of what you maintain. *Christ's* words are these: *Therefore I say unto you, the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruit thereof.* Matt. xxi. 43. Which words plainly insinuate this difference between the *synagogue*, and the *church of Christ;* that whereas the *kingdom of God* was to be taken from the former, *which did not bring forth the fruits thereof*, it should not be taken from the latter, *which would bring forth the fruits thereof.* Whence it follows, that the *church of Christ* will never *imitate* the *apostacy* and fall of the *Jewish synagogue*. And, by consequence, the promise of *infallibility* made to her is *absolute* and *unconditional*. Because no condition of *obedience* can be implied, when *obedience* itself is a part of the promise; as it must certainly be to verify our Saviour's words saying, that the *nation* or *people*, to which the *kingdom of God* was to be given, *should bring forth the fruit thereof.*

"*G.*—My lord, as treason forfeits an estate or honours "given by a prince, though in never so positive terms, and "without any condition expressed, but that of *allegiance* to "the prince is always implied; so the church may forfeit her "charter."—*pp.* 28, 29.

L.—I answer *first*, that if a prince could as infallibly foresee the *unchangeable allegiance* of his subjects, as *Christ* foresaw the *unalterable faith* of his church, when he promised, *that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*, the gifts and favours of such a prince might be wholly *unconditional*.

I answer 2*dly*, that God's infinite bounty is not to be measured by our short line. And therefore allowing it to be true, that a prince cannot bestow a title or honour, but that a *condition* is implied, must this be a law to the *Almighty*, and tie up his hands from bestowing an *absolute*, and *unconditional* favour?

" *G.*—God said to *Eli* the *high priest* of the *Jewish* church, " *I said indeed that thy house, and the house of thy father should* " *walk before me for ever: but now the Lord says, Be it far from* " *me. For them, that honour me, I will honour; and them that* " *despise me, shall be lightly esteemed.* 1 Sam. ii. 30. And he " said, Num. xiv. 34, *Ye shall know my breach of promise*, or, " as our margin reads it, *the altering of my purpose.* And " God has told us plainly, that we are thus to understand " his *promises* as well as *threatenings.* Jer. xviii. 7, &c. *At* " *what instant I shall speak concerning a nation* (or church) *to* " *pluck up, and to destroy it. If that nation, against whom I* " *have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil* " *I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak* " *concerning a nation* (or church) *to build and plant it, if it do* " *evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then will I repent* " *of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them.*

" This was the language of the prophets to the *Jewish* " *church*, but she understood it not, but leant upon the pro- " mises made to her as *unconditional* and *indefeasible*, let her " be as wicked as she would. And this hardened her against " her prophets, whom she persecuted for this reason as ene- " mies to the church; as we find, Jer. xviii. 18. *Come, and* " *let us devise devices against Jeremiah, for the law shall not* " *perish from the priest.* Here the *Jewish church* stuck; and " here the *Church of Rome* sticks at this day."—*pp.* 29, 30.

L.—Sir, as to the *texts*, you have quoted, I shall let you know my mind concerning them immediately. But your observations, particularly upon *Jeremiah*, are somewhat extraordinary. For *first* you remark, *that this was*

the language of the prophets to the Jewish church. It is true, the prophet *Jeremiah*, spoke to the *Jews:* but their *church* is not once mentioned in the whole text: And what he threatened them with on the part of God was the *ruin* and *desolation* of their *country*, but not the *fall* or *apostacy* of their *church;* which subsisted no less in their captivity, than when they were in the most flourishing condition. So that your joining the word church twice with the text without having *Jeremiah's* leave for it, is making too bold with him.

2*dly*, You observe, *that the Jews understood not the prophet's language, but leant upon the promises as unconditional and indefeasible.* And you add, *that this made them persecute Jeremiah as an enemy to the church.* Now I cannot very well conceive how they could persecute *Jeremiah* for a *language*, which, as you tell me, *they understood not.* Though in reality the text quoted by you is so plain, that the meanest capacity may understand it; and I presume you think you understand it, for otherwise you would not have quoted it.

But I desire you to answer this *dilemma.* Either the *Jews* understood the prophet *Jeremiah's* language, or they understood it not. If not, they could not persecute him for it. But if they understood it, as undoubtedly they did, they could not *lean upon God's promises as unconditional and indefeasible;* since *Jeremiah* taught them so plainly the contrary. Nay the sad experience of the many calamities, that had befallen them both under their *judges* and *kings*, had sufficiently taught them, that the effect o the promises, which God had made to prosper and protect them, depended on their *obedience* to his commands: and that therefore they could not lean on them as *unconditional* and *indefeasible.*

G.—But why then did they persecute *Jeremiah*, saying, *Come let us devise devices against Jeremiah, for the law shall not perish from the priest?*

L.—They persecuted him, because he told them ungrateful truths, reproached them with their crimes, and threatened them with God's judgments, if they did not

mend their lives. This made them conspire against him, and resolve upon his death. Because (said they) though he should perish, *the law will not perish from the priest;* and they hoped his successor would be less troublesome to them.

G.—However, I perceive you grant, that God's promises to the *Jews* were *conditional.*

L.—Sir, there are uncontestable instances of *conditional* promises in holy writ. So allowing the texts, you have quoted, I should be glad to know what advantage you can make of them in order to prove, that *all* God's promises are *conditional.* Is this a good consequence, some men are born blind, therefore all are born under that misfortune? No surely. Yet your consequence is nothing better, when from a few instances of *conditional* promises you conclude that all God's promises are so. What do you think of God's promise to *Noah*, that the world shall not perish by a *second deluge?* Or the great promise of the *Messias?* I defy you with all your skill to tack the *condition* of *obedience* to either of them, or many others, which I omit for brevity's sake.

G.—But are not all God's *threats* conditional?

L.—They certainly are. Because God is infinitely *just.* And *punishments* cannot be justly inflicted, unless they be first deserved.

G.—And why then are not all his *promises* equally *conditional?*

L.—Because he is infinitely *bountiful*, and may bestow his *favours* whether they be deserved, or not. That is, where, and in what manner he pleases. So that, though promises may be charged with conditions, their *nature* or *essence* requires no such thing.

" *G.*—The *apostle* of the *Gentiles* says to the *Gentile* church, " *thou shalt also be cut off, if thou continuest not in the goodness* " *of God.* And that *the Jews, if they abide not still in unbelief,* " *shall be graffed in. For God is able to graff them in again* " Rom. ix. 22, 23. This shews, that the promises made " either to the *Jewish* or the *Gentile* church are *conditional,* " viz. *if they continue in the goodness of God.* Otherwise, " says St *Paul*, to the *Gentile* church, *thou shalt also be cut*

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" *off.* And of all the *Gentile* churches this was said more " particularly to the *Church of Rome.* For this is in the " epistle wrote to her, and to her it was said, *thou shalt also* " *be cut off.*"—p. 30.

L.—Surely now or never the *Church of Rome* must be *cut off*, and destroyed *root* and *branch.* However I observe *first*, that when St *Paul* wrote his epistle to the *Romans*, that church was a mixed society of converted *Jews* and *Gentiles* brought into *one fold.* So that your calling them so often the *Gentile church*, as if the *converted Gentiles* at *Rome* were a different church from that of the *converted Jews*, is somewhat oddly expressed.

I observe, 2*dly*, (for you have taken care to advertise me of it,) that St *Paul's* epistle to the *Romans* was particularly addressed to the *Church of Rome* as distinguished from the other *Gentile Churches* (as you call them) which plainly marks out the *diocess of Rome*, (that dearly beloved equivocation, whereof you are so fond,) and shews, that the *diffusive body* of the *Catholic Church*, whereof the *diocess* of *Rome* is but a part, is wholly out of the reach of this cutting objection.

Suppose then that the *church*, or *diocess* of *Rome* should be *cut off* (for I know of no promises of *infallibility* made to one *diocess* more than another) or suppose the whole *diocess* of *Rome* should be swallowed up by an earthquake, would this destroy *Christ's mystical body*, the *church?* Or would she want a *head*, though there were no such town as *Rome?*

G.—But why were those words, *thou shalt also be cut off, if thou continuest not in the goodness of God*, particularly addressed to the *Church* of *Rome?*

L.—Because the whole epistle was writ to the *Romans*, and the chief motive of St *Paul's* writing to them was, to put a stop to the disputes, that were between the converted *Jews* and *Gentiles*, that dwelt at *Rome:* each party arrogating to itself an advantage over the other. So that if those disputes had happened amongst christians at *Corinth*, or any other town, the apostle, whose zeal was not confined to any particular place, would in all probability have

writ the same epistle to them. And then your argument would have made a most wretched figure by being stript of the equivocation, which is its main support.

I answer then directly, that as no *promise* of *infallibility* was ever made to any particular *diocess* or *nation*, but to the *church in general*, so any particular *diocess* or *nation* may be *cut off* without involving the whole church in that apostacy, or being any proof, that the promises made to her are *conditional*.

SECTION XXIV.—THE CHURCH ALWAYS VISIBLE AND HOLY.

"*G.*—Of the *church in general* it is said, *Luke* xviii. 8, "*When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith upon earth?* "Where will then that *visibility* be, which *Rome* boasts of "as an essential mark of the true church."—*p.* 30.

L.—Just where it is at present, and where it has been in all ages, *viz.* in the *Catholic Church* professed in the *creed*, which will continue *visible* to the end of the world.

G.—What, my lord, does not *Christ* here positively declare, that *when the Son of Man cometh, he shall not find faith upon earth?*

L.—No, Sir, he says no such thing. Nor could St *Austin*, who was a very clear-sighted person, ever discover this meaning in the words, you have quoted. For he answered that very text of St *Luke* objected by the *Donatists* against the church's infallibility: *first* by telling them, that those words, *when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith upon earth?* were to be understood of that *perfect faith*, which few attain to. L. de Unit. Eccl. C. xv. And St *Jerome*, in his dialogue against the *Luciferians*, gives the very same answer to it. But St *Austin* adds a second in the place quoted. His words are these: *Or else we understand them of that great number of wicked, and scarcity of good men, concerning which enough has already been said. And therefore our Lord expresses himself under a doubt* (pray, Sir, mind what

follows), *for he says not, when the Son of Man cometh, he will not find faith upon earth, but, do you think he will find faith upon earth?* To which he adds, that our Saviour said not this to express any doubt of his own, but *because the many scandals, which will arise towards the end of the world, will occasion human weakness to speak in that manner.*

Here then, it is plain, that St *Austin* did not understand, as you do, our Saviour's *doubtful interrogation* to be equivalent to this *positive affirmation*, viz., that *at his second coming he shall not find faith upon earth*, so in his epistle to the *Donatist, Vincentius*, he tells him those words of Christ were spoken *propter abundantiam iniquitatis*, to express the abundance of iniquity. And his following words are remarkable. *It is a truth* (says he) *not to be questioned, that they, whose faith Christ will find upon earth, will grow with the tares all the field over.* Epist. 93, *olim* 48, *ad Vincentium.* Besides, the church of Christ is compared to a *city set upon a hill*, and I presume a city on a hill is a *visible* thing.

" *G.*—She is likewise compared to a *woman persecuted into* " *a wilderness*, Rev. xii. 16."—p. 31.

L.—I answer *first*, it is more than either you or I can tell, whether the *church* be meant by that *woman:* or what is meant by her being *persecuted into a wilderness.* All explications upon it are but guesses: and guesses are but a weak foundation to build an argument upon.

I answer *second*, that the *Israelites* were persecuted into the wilderness by *Pharaoh*, yet I never read they were therefore become *invisible.* Nor do I think a *church* becomes *invisible* by being persecuted.

" *G.*—She is also compared to a *lodge in a garden of* " *cucumbers*, and to a *besieged city.* Isa. i. 8."—p. 31.

L.—Sir, if you will give yourself the trouble to read the text, you will find it is not the *christian church*, but the desolation of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, which is spoken of by *Isaiah.*

" *G.*—Lastly, at the *coming* of *Christ* she will be so little " visible, that *faith* will hardly be found upon earth. This

" is not to be reconciled but of different states of the church, " and at different times."—*p.* 31.

L.—What you now say, Sir, is but a repetition of your former mistake, which St *Austin* has already answered for me. But in whatever state the church is, or ever will be in the world, that is whether in *persecution* or *peace*, she can never lose her *visibility*, but will always have her marks to distinguish her from all *heretical* and *schismatical* communions. Nay she will not only be always *visible*, but always *holy*, as we profess in the *creed*. That is, free from errors. And this is also taught by St *Paul* saying, *that Christ loved his church, and gave himself for it, that it should be holy, and without blemish.* Ephes. v. 27.

" *G.*—So God called the *church* of the *Jews, the dear be-* " *loved of his soul.* Jer. xii. 7. Yet says he had forsaken " her for her wickedness, and *hated* her. And *Isaiah* repre- " sents her as most *filthy* and *corrupted.* i. 4—6."—p. 31.

L.—Really, Sir, one would be apt to conclude from your discourse, that the *church of Christ* has no advantage over the *synagogue*. Did God ever promise the *Jewish synagogue*, as *Christ* has promised his church, *that he would be with her to the end of the world?* And if God never made her any such promise, but foresaw that she would apostatize, is it a wonder he forsook her for her wickedness, and *hated* her, who before had been his *dear beloved?* Or can you conclude from thence, that the same will happen to the *church of Christ*, to which he has promised his *perpetual assistance?* Pray, Sir, what means this article of the *creed, I believe the holy Catholic Church?* I presume it means that *Christ* has a church upon earth, which is *catholic* and *holy*. If, then, *Christ's* church should ever cease to be *holy*, that article of the *Creed* would be false.

" *G.*—My lord, the church is called *holy* and *beloved* " because of God's covenant with her to be *holy* and *beloved.* " Which will be hereafter in those that are *perfected:* when " the *tares* and the *wheat* shall be separated: but they must " grow together till then, *when Christ shall gather out of his* " *kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity.*

" Matth. xiii. 41. But he has not yet so *perfected* it. That " time is not come. She is still in her *cleansing* state, but " not yet thoroughly *cleansed*. And the Scriptures speaks " of both these states of the Church. But when we distin- " guish not, and would apply to the most *corrupt state*, what " is said of the most *glorious*, we must needs fall into many " errors and mistakes."—*pp.* 31, 32.

L.—That is certain. And therefore to prevent my falling into any such error or mistake, I will distinguish between the *two states* of the church. That is, the church *militant* and *triumphant*, and attribute to each, what properly belongs to it.

It is therefore an undoubted truth, that the words of St *Paul* to the *Ephesians* cannot be understood *absolutely*, and in their *full extent*, but of the church *triumphant*, according to St *Austin's* doctrine. And the reason is clear, because no one *entire society* but that of the *blessed above* can pretend to a *holiness* excluding *all spot or wrinkle, or any such thing*.

But must we therefore conclude, that St *Paul's* words, may not likewise be understood of the *church militant* in a more limited sense? If so, we must make the creed speak absurdly in calling her the *holy Catholic Church*: which is undoubtedly to be understood of *Christ's church* upon earth. First, then she is called *holy*, or *without spot or wrinkle* in her *faith*; which admits of no sorts of errors against the *revealed word* of *God*. 2d. She is *holy* in her *sacraments* and *morals*. 3d. She is *holy*, and *without spot or wrinkle* in all her children, whilst they preserve their *baptismal grace* entire and undefiled. And 4th, she is *holy* in the same sense, as she is called the *communion of saints*. Which is not understood so, as if all in her communion were *saints*, but because *many* are, and all may be *saints* in her communion, and there can be none out of it.

" *G.*—My lord, the difficulty, under which the *Church of* " *Rome* now labours is this. She first makes herself the *Catholic Church*——"

L.—That is to say, Sir, *Christ* has made her so, as I have already shewed.

" *G.*—And then applying to herself in this her *corrupt* " state, whatever is said of the *church* even in her *perfect*, " *glorious*, and *triumphant* state, creates her infinite trouble, " and endless distinctions to reconcile these ; which is as im- " possible to be done, as to make the *church* in *heaven* and " upon *earth* to be the same."—*p.* 32.

L.—Sir, the *creed* speaks of the *church* upon *earth*, and tells us she is *holy*. And I hope we do not err in believing the *creed*. But you blamed us just now for not distinguishing, and now again you tax us with endless distinctions. So whether we blow *hot* or *cold*, I find we must be in the wrong. But I have interrupted you, so pray go on.

" *G.*—My lord, whilst the *corruptions* of the *church* of " *Rome* are confessed and lamented by the most learned, " and the most pious in her communion, she may as well " maintain her *impeccability* as *infallibility*. For *sin* is the " greatest *error*. And therefore I think nothing can be " *infallible*, but what is likewise *impeccable*."—p. 32.

L.—Sir, you tell me with a very serious countenance, *that the corruptions of the Church of Rome are confessed and lamented by the most learned and most pious in her communion*. But pray, Sir, name me one *catholic divine*, who ever owned any *corruptions* in the *doctrine* of the *Church of Rome*. And if you mean corruptions of particular persons in *practice*, what you say is nothing to the purpose. *He who is free from sin let him throw the first stone :* for I am sure no body will be in danger of being hurt by it.

But nothing forsooth can be *infallible*, but what is likewise *impeccable*. That is very strange. For cannot God preserve a man from errors in *faith*, though at the same time he permits him to fall into *sin ?* Now *Christ* has promised the *former*, but not the *latter* to his *church*, and therefore the one may be maintained without the other.

You say *that sin is the greatest error*. But I presume every sin is not an error against *faith :* and if it be not, the church's *infallibility* cannot be hurt by it. I am therefore surprized at what you add, viz., *that nothing can*

be infallible, but what is likewise impeccable. Pray, Sir, were not the *apostles infallible?*

" *G.*—No more *infallible* than *impeccable.* St *Peter erred,* " *and walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel,* " *and many were carried away with his dissimulation,* Gal. ii. " 13, 14."—p. 32.

L.—What, Sir! were not the *apostles* and *evangelists infallible* in their *doctrine*, and writings! If not, then we are not sure, that the *New Testament* contains nothing but the *revealed word* of *God.* And what becomes then of *christianity?* As to St *Peter*, though he was *reprehensible* (as St *Paul* says) in his *practice*, no christian will surely say, he erred in *faith.*

" *G.*—St *Paul* owned, that in some cases *he had no com-* " *mandment of the Lord*, only gave his judgment as a private " person, and spoke *by permission, and not of commandment.* " But in other cases he said, *I command, yet not I, but the* " *Lord*——And, *it is so after my judgment, and I think also,* " *that I have the Spirit of the Lord.* 1 Cor. vii. 6. And no " doubt great deference was paid to his judgment, as being " an *inspired* man, but not *infallible* in every thing, as himself " said. The *apostles* were enabled to work many and great " *miracles*, which gave them full credence as to what they " delivered for *christian doctrine.* But this was no personal, " nor universal *infallibility.*"—pp. 32, 33.

L.—Sir, I have hitherto believed, that *all scripture is given by divine inspiration.* 2 Tim. iii. 16. And by consequence that the *sacred penmen*, whether they delivered *precepts*, or *counsels*, were equally *inspired:* that is, to deliver *precepts* for *precepts*, and *counsels* for *counsels.* But I perceive it is your judgment, that when St *Paul* to the *Corinthians* gave his advice concerning *celibacy*, he wrote not by *inspiration*, nor was *infallible* in his doctrine; which in effect is the contradictory to what he tells us, *that all scripture is given by divine inspiration.* 2 Tim. iii. 16.

I shall therefore put this dilemma to you, *viz.:* When St *Paul* wrote to the *Corinthians* the words you have quoted, either he was *inspired* to write so, or not. If he was, your quotations from him do no ways prove, that he was not *infallible* in all his doctrine. If not, that part of

his epistle was not *inspired.* And by consequence it is false *that all scripture is given by the inspiration of God.*

As to what you say, *that the apostles were enabled to work many and great miracles.* This, to the best of my judgment is some proof of the *infallibility* of their doctrine. For our dispute is not concerning their *infallibility* in things, that have no relation to the *christian doctrine*, as *philosophy*, *mathematics*, or other humane sciences. Neither does the church pretend to *infallibility* but in defining articles of *faith*, and *christian morality.* And she can shew her *credentials* for it, *viz.*, the testimony of *miracles*, as the *apostles* did. For *miracles* are God's own *seal*, by which he makes himself a witness to the truth of his doctrine.

SECTION XXV.—OF MIRACLES.

"*G.*—What! Both *true* and *false!* Can both be from "God? Or can you deny the many *false miracles*, which have "been notoriously detected in the *Church of Rome?*"—p. 33.

L.—I assure you, Sir, that whoever will be so kind as to detect any *false miracle* in the *Church of Rome*, will be heartily thanked for his pains; and the author of the cheat be punished according to his deserts.

"*G.*—If but one *sham-miracle* had been found in the *apos-*"*tles*, I am afraid it had discredited all the others, and called "their *mission* in question, whether it was from God, or not." —*p.* 33.

L.—I am of your mind, Sir: and yet there were *sham-miracles* told of the *apostles* themselves: but being not countenanced by them, they did not in the least discredit their real miracles. And if you can find one *sham-miracle* countenanced by the authority of the *Church of Rome*, you may discredit her as much as you please.

"*G.*—The devil has power (when permitted) to shew "great *signs* and *wonders*, Matt. xxiv.; 2 Thess. ii. 3; and "the reason is given, ii. 12, viz., *as a just punishment of un-*"*righteousness.*"—p. 33.

L.—But I hope the *devil's power* to shew *signs* and

wonders is no proof, that God has no power to work *miracles* by his *saints*. And pray remember who they were, that attributed *Christ's* miracles to *Beelzebub* the *prince* of the *devils*. Which was so black a crime, that our Saviour calls it *blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which would neither be forgiven them in this world, nor in the world to come*. Matt. xii. 32.

" *G.*—My lord, one *false*, or *pretended miracle* is sufficient " to disprove all that come from the same hand. Therefore " your book of miracles the *legends* must either be all be- " lieved, or all rejected, all coming from the same authority: " and the greatest part of them are so very gross and sim- " ple, that no man of sense among you will say, that he can " believe half of them. And your learned call them *piæ* " *fraudes*, holy cheats to stir up the devotion of the vulgar, " who swallow all *implicitly*. And your *lordship* will have " difficulty enough to believe all the miracles alledged of " their *relics*. And, as I said, you must take *all* or *none:* " unless you think, that *God* can work *true miracles*, and the " *devil false ones* by the same means, and at the same time."— *pp.* 33, 34.

L.—Before I answer this wretched stuff word for word, I shall lay down some principles, whereof you seem to be wholly ignorant. For really, Sir, you oblige me sometimes to deal with you, as if I were instructing a young scholar.

1*stly*, Then, the *Church of Rome* does not oblige us to believe any miracles but those, that are related in *Scripture*. The rest, though never so well attested, may be believed or rejected, and the belief of them was never made a condition of communion. So that, whether many of these be true or not, it is but mere trifling to draw any consequence from it in a dispute about matters of *faith*.

2*dly*, I grant, that a person convicted of a *forged miracle*, or one wrought by the power of *art-magic*, can never be reputed a worker of *true miracles*.

3*dly*, *False miracles* may be reported of a person, that works *true ones*, as it happened to the *apostles* themselves. Whence it follows, that as *fabulous relations*, or *romances* do not take off from the credit of *authentic histories*, so

the *legendary miracles* related by some authors do not sink the credit of all *ecclesiastical history.*

4*thly.* The very best historian may be mistaken in some facts. Yet this is no argument or proof that he is to be believed in nothing. Sir *Richard Baker* has told many untruths: yet I should be a *madman* to think, he has writ nothing but *fables.*

These principles being supposed, I shall answer you word for word: First you say, *that one false or pretended miracle is sufficient to disprove all, that come from the same hand.* This is true in the sense of the second principle, I have laid down, viz., *that a person convicted of a forged miracle, or one wrought by the power of art-magic, can never be reputed a worker of true miracles.* But if you mean that an historian, who by *mistake*, or an *over-credulity* relates one *false-miracle*, cannot relate any *true ones*, it is not only false, but ridiculous. So is what follows next, viz. *Therefore our books of miracles the legends must either be all believed, or all rejected, all coming from the same authority.* As if it were impossible, a man should ever speak truth, because he is sometimes mistaken.

G.—But how then must we distinguish *true miracles* from false or suspected ones?

L.—By the very same method as we distinguish *true facts* from *mistakes* in other histories.

You go on thus. *And the greatest part of them are so very gross and simple, that no man of sense among us will say, that we can believe half of them.* Sir, I have only your word for it, *that the greatest part of them are gross and simple*, and your word is no proof. However I am obliged to you for allowing, that there are *some men of sense* amongst us; and, if that will please you, I freely own, there are also *fools* in our church as well as yours. But, in the business of salvation, I would hazard myself on the *fool's* side rather than the *knave's.* For to be mistaken in a frivolous matter is no sin; but to seduce others by crafty and malicious insinuations is a very grievous one: and this you are guilty of in the following words, viz. *That our learned men call false miracles*, piæ

fraudes, *holy cheats to stir up the devotion of the vulgar, who swallow all implicitly.* For this imports no less, than that our learned men wilfully impose such cheats upon the people: which is both false and malicious.

You tell me next, *that I shall have difficulty enough to believe all the miracles alleged of the relics of saints.* And I tell you, Sir, that I am neither *fool* enough to believe all, nor *impudent* enough to deny *all.* And therefore what you add, *that I must take all or none,* is the same as to tell me, I must either be a *fool,* or have a face of brass. When I read or hear of a miracle not well attested, I suspend my judgment. But when St *Austin* or a man of his character tells me that he saw with his own eyes miracles wrought by the *relics* of such or such a *saint,* or relates them from unquestionable authority, I confess I want some grains of *true protestant assurance* to give him the lie.

What you conclude with is to me a perfect riddle, viz.: *That I must take all or none. Unless I think that God can work true miracles, and the devil false ones by the same means, and at the same time.* For in the name of nonsense cannot I believe *some* miracles, and deny *others* without yoking *God* and the *devil* together to work both true and false miracles by the same means, and at the same time! This is such a piece of undigested raving, that I really suspect you are talking in your sleep. But let us hear out the rest of your dream.

"*G.*—Can you believe the quantities, that have been "shewn of the *virgin's milk* at several times and places? "And so of the *wood* of the *cross,* that is shewed in many "places."—*p.* 34.

L.—Really, Sir, one would be apt to conclude from your way of expressing yourself, that *whole pails* of our lady's milk, and whole *cart-loads* of the wood of the cross are to be seen in our churches. I confess, I have seen several *particles* of the *holy cross* well attested. But as to the holy *virgin's milk,* till I find at least some drops of it either in Pope *Pius's profession of faith,* or in some of the *creeds,* I shall not be much concerned about the matter.

"*G.*—Is it the same *head,* or *body,* of the same *saint,* that

" is shewn at different churches, each of which contend that " they have the true one? And each have *miracles* to vouch " the truth of their *relic.*"—p. 34.

L.—No, Sir, it is not the same head, nor the body of the same saint, that is shewn at different churches. But they may be the heads and bodies of two different saints bearing the same name. And if God has wrought miracles by them both, pray where is the ridicule of it? Miracles are only testimonies that they are truly the *relics* of some *saint:* but they never were pretended to be a proof, that they are the relics of *this* or *that* particular saint. And if the owners of them maintain, what they think probably true, will their mistake derogate from the truth of the miracles, which God works by them? Have you any more to say?

" *G.*—You may see a large collection of your miracles, and " the monstrousness of the legends, out of which they are " taken, in a book entitled, *the Devotions of the Roman Church,* " which will prevent my giving instances in all the points " before mentioned."—*p.* 34.

L.—And, Sir, to prevent my giving instances of the falsehoods and misrepresentations contained in that infamous *libel,* you may see it answered in the *appendix of the True Church of Christ Shewed, &c.* pp. 476, 477, &c.

" *G.*—Upon the whole, this *pretence* of *miracles,* the *legends,* " and *shops of relics,* which are bought and sold, instead of a " proof, are the greatest prejudice to men of sense against " your church. And it is the *sorest blow,* that *christianity* " has received: while the common people put these *legends* " upon the level with the holy *scriptures,* as having both the " same foundation, that is, *the authority of the church.* Whence " *atheists* and *deists* take a handle to render both alike fa- " bulous."—*pp.* 34, 35.

L.—Sir, if *atheism* and *deism* were the fruits of *popery,* they would have had the space of nine hundred years before the *reformation* to grow, and ripen in this nation. But *England* was a stranger both to professed *atheists* and *deists* before the change of religion: and those unclean beasts had never entered into the land, if the *fences* of the *church* had been kept up. But when those were broke

down by the blessed *reformation;* when the church's authority was rendered precarious, and the *scriptures* subjected to the caprice of every private judgment, it was then that *deists* and *atheists* began to appear bare-faced, and *christianity* received the *sore blow*, you speak of.

But with what face can you call the unanimous testimony of the ancient fathers a *pretence of miracles?* Have you the confidence to tax St *Athanasius*, St *Basil*, St *Gregory Nazianzene*, St *Jerome*, St *Ambrose*, St *Austin*, and other such eminent persons, either with *forgery* in relating, or *weakness* in believing the miracles attested in their writings? What do you think of St *Gregory* surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, or *worker of miracles*, of whom St *Basil (L. de Spiritu Sancto*, C. 29.*)* gives this account, *that he made the devils tremble—rivers change their course, and by his prayers dried up a pool, which was an occasion of quarrels between two avaricious brothers?* So that the very enemies of religion called him a second *Moses*.

What do you think of St *Austin*, who (L. xxii. de Civ. Dei, C. 8, and in his sermons) relates above seventy miracles wrought in his diocess, when he was bishop of it, at the *relics* of St *Stephen* in less than two years time? And assures us, that there happened more at the *relics* of the same saint in other parts of *Africa*. Of this kind he mentions *Lucillus*, a bishop near *Hippo* cured miraculously of a fistula. And of a blind woman, who recovered her sight, by putting flowers, which had touched the *relics*, to her eyes. Of those done in his own diocess he relates three persons raised to life.

The same saint, and St *Ambrose* inform us of many other miracles wrought at the *relics* of the holy martyrs *Gervasius* and *Protasius* at *Milan*, An. 386. As of a blind man called *Severus*, who approaching to the *relics* was before all the people presently restored to sight: saint *Ambrose* also being present. *Amb. Epist.* 54, *in Edit. Bened. Epist.* 22.

Miracles done at the tomb, and by the intercession of St *Felix*, priest of *Nola* are attested by St *Paulinus*, Carm. xvi. 21, 22, and by St *Austin*, Epist. 137, and *I.*

de cura pro mortuis, C. 16. As others at the *relics* of St *Andrew*, St *Luke*, and St *Timothy* are also attested by St *Jerome*, Libro *contra Vigilantium*, and by St *Gregory* of *Nazianzene*, Orat. 3, *que est prima contra Julianum.*

It is true, these and the like miracles are only objects of *human faith.* But are they therefore false? The authority of St *Ambrose*, St *Austin*, St *Jerome*, &c., is not equal to that of the four *evangelists:* but are they therefore *impostors?* Or did those saints encourage *deism* and *atheism*, by relating and believing the aforesaid miracles?

As to what you say concerning our *shops of relics*, which you tell me are *bought* and *sold*, if calumny be a deadly sin, you are guilty of one. For our church detests such infamous practices, and *simony* is a crime severely punished by her.

But what you add is a calumny yet of a blacker die, viz., *that the common people put the legends upon the level with the holy scriptures, as having both the same foundation, that is, the authority of the church.* Pray, Sir, how should the common people come to take up such a sacrilegious notion! Does our *church* teach them any such thing? Can you find this abominable doctrine either in our *catechisms*, *sermons*, or *spiritual books*, which are in the hands of every body, and are the only means, by which our doctrine is conveyed to persons of all degrees? Or can you produce one single *divine* of our church, that ever taught it? If this then be a task you dare not undertake, if you be conscious to yourself, that you cannot produce any solid proof of what you charge us with, then, Sir, give me leave to tell you, you are in a damnable state, till you retract the calumny, you have uttered against us. And believe me, Sir, *there is nothing can give men of sense a greater prejudice against your church*, than when they find, that even her ablest divines are forced to support themselves by barefaced calumnies to stand their ground against us.

To conclude this whole matter, I tell you once more that the *authority of our church* is not at all concerned in

the *legends*, or *lives* of *saints*. For they have no other authority, than that of the persons, who attest or relate them: nor any other foundation, than what other histories have. But we believe the *scriptures* to be the pure *revealed word of God:* and our belief of it is truly grounded upon the *authority* of the *church*.

SECTION XXVI.—THE CIRCLE EXAMINED.

" *G.*—This is the *old circle*, out of which you can never " conjure yourselves."—*p.* 35.

L.—Or rather, Sir, this is the old thread-bare argument, which has been answered a thousand times, and is still repeated with the same triumphant air, as if no answer had ever been given to it.

" *G.*—You believe the *scriptures*, because the *church* bids " you——"

L.—And so did St *Austin*, when he said, *he would not believe the gospels themselves, unless the authority of the church induced him to it.* Con. Epist. Fund. C. 4.

" *G.*—And you believe the *church*, because the *scriptures* " bid you."—*p.* 35.

L.—Well! and when the *scriptures* bid St *Austin* believe the *church*, do you think he refused to do it?

" *G.*—This is running round, and proving a thing by " itself."—*p.* 35.

L.—It seems then poor St *Austin* was neither *logician* nor *divine;* but danced round in a *vicious circle*. However I am resolved to keep the good old bishop company, being wholly of his opinion, that the *authority* of the *church* is a solid foundation to ground our belief of the *canon* and *inspiration* of *scriptures* upon; and likewise fully convinced, that in all matters of *faith* we must take the *church* for our *guide*, since our own *reason* is too deceitful a thing to trust to.

" *G.*—And how do you know that? What have you but " your own reason to tell you so? And if you cannot trust " your *reason*, you cannot believe the *church*. So that all

" bottoms upon your own *reason* still, from which you strive " in vain to escape."—*p.* 35.

L.—To answer this pretty piece of sophistry, suppose, Sir, you had a *lawsuit* to commence, what would your *reason* prompt you to do?

G.—My reason would prompt me to choose some able *lawyer*, and depend upon him.

L.—But why would you not rather manage your cause yourself?

G.—Because my own *reason* is too weak to trust to in the management of a *lawsuit*, and an able lawyer alone is duly qualified for it.

L.—*And how do you know that? What have you but your own reason to tell you so? And if you cannot trust your reason, you cannot trust your lawyer.*

Is not this fine stuff? Is it not arguing like a profound divine? I answer therefore, that as your own *reason* may be trusted, when it directs you to an able *lawyer*, and as the same reason tells you, that when you have chosen one, you must be governed by him, so I can safely trust my own *reason*, when it directs me to the *church* to be my *guide* to salvation. Because nothing is more consonant to *reason*, than to depend upon a guide appointed by God himself.

Thus far therefore *reason* is to be followed. But when we have once found the *true church of Christ*, which the strongest *motives* of *credibility* mark out to our *reason* assisted by God's grace, then we have nothing else to do but to submit to her, and be governed by her in every thing she teaches. So that if this be your meaning, when you conclude, *that all bottoms upon reason*, I subscribe to it without hesitation. Nor shall I ever *strive to escape from my reason*, when it demands so just and reasonable a thing of me, as an entire submission and obedience to the judgment and authority of the *church*. Nay the *scriptures* themselves command me to hear the church. *He who will not hear the church, let him be reputed as a heathen and a publican.* Matt. xviii. 17.

" *G.*—This is running into the *circle* again to believe the

"*church* for the *scriptures*, and the *scriptures* for the *church*." —pp. 35, 36.

L.—What, Sir! would you neither have me believe the *church* upon the testimony of *scriptures* nor the *scriptures* upon the testimony of the *church?* I should not wonder, if a *deist* preached this doctrine to me. However I must observe to you, that if the word *believe* be *strictly* taken, that is, for an act of *divine faith* grounded upon its *proper motive*, I neither believe the *scriptures*, because the *church* bids me, nor the *church* because the *scriptures* bid me. And so my *faith* is in no danger of running round in a *circle*.

G.—Upon what *motives* then do you believe the *revelation* of *scriptures*, or the *infallibility* of the *church?*

L.—Precisely, because *God has revealed those truths.* And this is the whole and sole *essential motive*, into which all *faith* strictly taken is resolved.

G.—But how do you know that God has revealed those truths?

L.—Because the *church of Christ*, which is a society of the greatest *wisdom* and *authority* upon earth, tells me so. And, if St *Austin* may be credited, it is nothing less than the *most insolent madness*, not to believe her.

G.—But what inducement have you to convince you that the church, whereof you are a member, is the *church of Christ* rather than any other *separate society?*

L.—I am convinced of it by the same *outward visible marks*, or *motives* of *credibility*, which held St *Austin* within the pales of the church, whereof he was a member, and which she would have had, although the *scriptures* had never been written. As, *the continual succession of her bishops, and pastors from the apostles. Her having had innumerable martyrs and miracles in her communion. The agreement of people and nations*, &c., reckoned up by S^t *Austin*, cont. Epist. fund. C. 4.

G.—But do you not prove the *canon* and *revelation* of *scriptures* from the *authority* of the *church?* And then again the *infallible authority* of the church from *scriptures?*

L.—We do so.

G.—And is not this running round in a *circle?*

L.—It is so, but not in a *vicious* one, as *logicians* call it. On the contrary, these *circular* proofs are allowed of by all *logicians* and *divines.* Nay they are absolutely necessary, both when *causes* and *effects* prove one another reciprocally, and when two persons of *unquestionable veracity* give testimony for each other. I shall only give an instance of the latter.

St *John* the *Baptist* is proved to have been a *prophet* from the testimony of *Christ;* and *Christ* is proved to be the *Messiah* from the testimony of St *John.* No christian can reject these proofs as illegal. And why then may not the *scriptures* be proved from the testimony of the *church,* and the *church* reciprocally from the testimony of *scriptures?* Both proofs indeed are *circular:* and therefore as the former must be unquestionably admitted, the latter cannot be reasonably excepted against.

G.—Such, my lord, as knew *Christ* before they knew St *John,* might upon *Christ's word* believe St *John.* And such as first knew St *John* to be a *prophet* before they knew *Christ,* might upon St *John's* word believe *Christ.*

L.—I thank you, Sir, for this good hint. It is the best thing you have said this long time: but it opens the *old circle* for me, and puts me out of all danger of being hemmed in. First then I know the *church of Christ* by her *outward visible marks,* or *motives* of *credibility,* which are so strong and convincing, that according to St *Austin,* I must be a madman not to believe her. This church tells me, for example, *that the whole New Testament is divinely inspired.* I therefore believe upon her testimony, that the New Testament contains nothing but *revealed truths.* Now amongst other truths contained in it I find *Christ's* positive promise, *that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his church.* Matt. xvi. 18. Another promise, *that he will be with her even unto the end of the world.* Matt. xxviii. 19. I likewise find in St *Paul,* that *the church is the pillar and ground of truth.* 1 Tim. iii. 15. Upon these and such like testimonies of holy *scriptures* I believe it to be a *revealed truth,* that the *church* is

infallible. And thus the *church* first gives testimony for *scriptures*, and then the *scriptures* give testimony for the *church*. And shew me now a difference, if you can, between this *circle*, and that of proving St *John* to be a *prophet* from the testimony of *Christ*, and proving reciprocally *Christ* to be the *Messias* from the testimony of St *John*.

G.—But what then is a *vicious circle*.

L.—A *vicious circle* is, when two propositions are made use of to infer one another without having any other proof to support them. But if they be proved from other strong and convincing reasons, this *opens* the *circle*, and hinders it from being what we call a *vicious* one. Now this is the very case in reference to the *church's infallibility*, and the *authority* of *scriptures*. The *church of Christ* as such is first proved from all the *general motives* of *credibility*, which clearly mark this church out to us, as the most *illustrious*, and therefore the most *credible* society upon earth in matters of religion. Her authority thus established is a legal and sufficient evidence even for those truths, which reason cannot fathom. If then amongst other points she propounds to her children these two articles, *viz.*, the *divine authority* of *scriptures*, and her own *infallibility* in matters of religion, these two like *Christ* and St *John* bear witness to each other. Yet having each a sufficient evidence from the *motives* of *credibility*, by which the church proves her *charter* for the delivery of *revealed truths*, the door is open, and there is no danger of running round in a *vicious circle*.

But, Sir, there is another thing, which delivers me from this danger. For a *circle* cannot be called vicious with reference to an adversary, who by his own principles is bound to admit of either of the propositions, which prove each other reciprocally. And therefore when I dispute against a member of the *Church of England*, who by his own principles is bound to believe the *divine authority* of *scriptures*, I may legally maintain the *church's infallibility* against him from those sacred writings. Neither am I any ways bound to prove that they are the

word of God, because it is a *principle* agreed upon betwixt us, and no man is bound to prove a principle of his adversary's own concession. Nay, though I myself believed not a word of the *New Testament*, I might legally take the advantage of it against a *protestant*, who believes it. For this is what we properly call *argumentum ad hominem:* a certain cut-throat way of confuting a man from his own principles. And therefore, Sir, you cannot accuse us of running round in a *vicious circle* by proving the *church's infallibility* against *protestants* from *scripture*.

G.—But suppose I should deny the *New Testament* to be the *word of God*, would not your *lordship* then be left in the lurch?

L.—No, Sir, but you would have the credit of denying your own principles, and I the trouble of providing other arms to fight against you as against a *Jew*, or *Deist*. That is to say, I should be obliged first to prove the *church's authority* in matters of religion from such arguments or motives, as the ancient fathers made use of for the conversion of *Jews;* and then to prove the *inspiration* of *scriptures* from that authority.

SECTION XXVIII.—THE BEING OF A GOD MAY BE BELIEVED UPON THE AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURES, OR THE CHURCH.

"*G.*—I perceive, my lord, you are fond of your circle, " out I will bring you out of it."—*p.* 36.

L.—Well then, Sir, let us have a touch of your skill.

" *G.*—Pray tell me, why do you believe a God? It would " be *blasphemy* to say you believe it upon any *authority*. For " that would be to place such an authority above God. And " it would be nonsense to say you believe it either from the " *church* or the *scriptures*, because you can believe neither " without first believing that there is a God. What is it " then? We believe a God purely upon our own *reason*. " And we cannot be more sure that there is a God, than we " are persuaded of the truth of those reasons, upon which we " do believe it. And if God has given us no other guide but

" our own reason with the assistance of his holy grace to be-
" lieve in himself; if this be all we have or can have for the
" first and main article of our creed, what further do we re-
" quire for those of less consequence? And that we cannot
" have more than this we may perceive by this experiment,
" *viz.*, whether we believe most firmly, and with greater
" assurance, what we have only from our own *reason*, or what
" we receive from the *authority* of the church? For example,
" are you not more undoubtedly assured of the *being of a*
" *God*, which you believe purely upon your own reason, than
" of *transubstantiation*, *purgatory*, or whatever you believe
" upon the authority of the church?"—*p.* 36.

L.—Sir, if you have no other way but this to conjure me out of the *circle*, I may go round in it till doomsday. Here is your argument in other words, which shews its weakness. *Reason can* perceive the *manifest things of God*, as his *being*, therefore it can perceive the *hidden things* too, as the *mysteries* of *revealed religion.* Is this a solid way of arguing, or becoming a divine? Reason can discover the perfections of a deity which shine out in the creation, therefore it can likewise discover its *divine emanations*, which no way appear; but are as secret as they are wonderful? Or does it follow, *that it can find out the Son, whom no man ever knew but the Father; or the Father, whom no man ever knew but the Son, or they to whom the Son was pleased to reveal him?* Matt. xi. 27. Finally, does it follow that our reason can discover the *incarnation* of the Son of God, which St *Paul* calls *the wisdom of God hidden in a mystery?* 1 Cor. ii. 7. Suppose I believe a God purely upon my own reason, is it a consequence, that the same natural light of reason without consulting authority can discover to me the *divine revelation*, which directed the sacred penmen in their writings, or enable me to judge what books are *canonical*, what not? It is evident that these discoveries are absolutely impossible to *natural reason* not directed by *authority* And so my believing a God purely upon my own reason does not render authority less necessary for those other revealed truths, nor can it do you any manner of service against the circle.

But are you in good earnest when you tell me, that *it is blasphemy to believe a God upon the authority either of the church or scriptures?* If so, then it follows *first*, that all young persons are bound to be *atheists*, till they can understand the natural demonstration of a God. For if they believe a God upon any *authority*, they become guilty of *blasphemy*. So that nurses, parents, and masters must be very careful not to tell children *that there is a God*, for fear they should believe it upon their authority, and so become accessory to their *blasphemy*. And yet it is the first thing children are taught: because it is the groundwork on which all religion is built. But whether they believe it upon *evidence*, or the *authority* of their teachers (as children and ignorant people, who understand not philosophical demonstrations usually do) the effect is the same. And when they once believe it, let the motive of their belief be what it will, I think they may afterwards very safely believe it as a revealed truth upon the *authority* of the *church* and *scriptures*.

But if there be any force in that argument of yours, by which you will needs prove it to be *blasphemy* to believe a God upon any authority, viz., *because that would place such an authority above God*, if I say there be any force in this argument, it will follow 2*dly*, that it is likewise *blasphemy* to believe a God purely upon our own *reason*, because that would place our reason above God, if your argument be worth a rush.

Since therefore according to this argument it is equally *blasphemous* to believe a God either upon *reason* or *authority*, and since all men are bound not to be guilty of *blasphemy*, it will follow 3*dly*, either that men must believe the *being of a God* without having any *reason* or *motive* for it, or they must all live and die *atheists* for fear of being blasphemers, both which are most eminently absurd. Thus, Sir, instead of conjuring me out of an innocent and harmless circle, you have used your best skill to conjure me out of all religion.

Now let us examine the rest. You tell me, *we cannot be more sure that there is a God, than we are persuaded of*

the truth of those reasons, upon which we believe it. If you mean, that reason must concur to faith, and that we cannot believe, unless we be first convinced of the reasons, upon which we believe, what you say is true, but it makes nothing against us, who are persuaded as much as you, that our assent to all mysteries of faith is not to be a rash but a rational assent grounded upon the strongest motives.

You go on thus: *And if God has given us no other guide but our own reason with the assistance of his grace to believe in himself; if this be all we have or can have for the first or main article of our creed; what farther do we require for those of less consequence?* But, Sir, it is not all we have for the first and main article of the creed. For we have over and above the *creed* itself proposed by the church as *divinely revealed:* and *divine revelation* is something more than *human reason;* which though it may suffice to discover to us the *manifest things* of God, is unable to discover the *hidden mysteries*, that are above its reach.

As to what you say concerning *articles of less consequence*, I hope the belief of the *Trinity* and *incarnation* are necessary to salvation as well as that of the *being of a God.* And can you pretend to demonstrate either of these mysteries by the force of *human reason?* If not, then something farther is required for our belief of them.

Lastly, as to what you add by way of experiment, viz. *whether we believe most firmly, what we have only from our reason, or what we receive upon the authority of the church?* Sir, I should guess by this, that you have found by experience, that you do not believe the mysteries of the *Trinity* and *incarnation* as firmly as the *being of a God*, since you have this from *reason*, and the others from *authority.* But if this be your experiment, I thank God it is not ours. For we have a greater certainty of what we believe upon the motive of *divine revelation* declared to us by the church, than what we believe barely upon our *reason.* And therefore if we had no motive to believe the *being of a God* but barely our own reason, we should believe *transubstantiation*, and *purgatory* with a much greater assurance than the *being of a God.* But since we

believe this also upon divine revelation, we have an equal *certainty* of all three, though no *evidence* but of the latter.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*His* lordship *having told the* gentleman *in his* Case Stated, *that* God is obliged to give every man an outward infallible guide *(which certainly is a great absurdity) the* gentleman *discourses in the following manner.*

SECTION XXVIII.—OF JEWS, PAGANS, AND MAHOMETANS.

"*G.*—My lord, to say that *God is obliged to give every* "*man an outward infallible guide* is making too bold with "providence, and measuring his infinite wisdom and goodness "by our short line: God has made creatures as it has "pleased him: some incapable of happiness or misery, as the "*inanimates*, some capable only of pleasure or pain; as the "*animals*. And he has endowed others with reason as *man;* "and *left him in the hands of his own counsels; set good and* "*evil, life and death before him.* Deut. xi. 26. &c., and a free "will to choose, which he liketh. Again, of rational creatures "some, he has fixed in happiness, as the blessed in heaven. "Others are vessels of wrath as the angels that fell. But "man is betwixt these two to work out his salvation by his "obedience to the will of God, who will render to every "man according to his deeds. For *as many as have sinned* "*without the law shall be judged without the law; and they* "*that have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law.* For "*there is no respect of persons with God.* Rom. ii. 11, 12. "But according to you there is great *respect of persons* with "God, and his goodness has failed the greatest part of man-"kind since the beginning of the world. Pray, my lord, "what outward guide is there to *Jews, heathens,* and *Maho-*"*metans?* And to the many subdivisions among all these? "They have all guides of their own, and the *blind lead the* "*blind* with most of them. It is fact that the generality "of mankind do not choose for themselves, but take their "religion upon trust as they are educated. And we must "leave all this to God, who will require from none more "than he has given. For God *is good to all, and his tender* "*mercies are over all his works.* Psalm cxlix. 9."—pp. 36—38.

L.—Sir, you have said very fine things, but very little

o the purpose, as will appear, when I have rectified the mistakes you run upon. *First*, you charge me with saying, that *God is obliged to give every man an outward infallible guide.* I believe indeed I said so in our *former conversation*, when I was under tutelage, and spoke as my master bid me. But as I am now at liberty to speak my own thoughts, I utterly disown that doctrine. For in reality the question between us and *protestants* is not, whether God be *obliged* to give us such an *infallible guide*, but whether he has been so *good* and *merciful* as to do it? and this is precisely the point I maintain. However,

This first mistake has misled you into a *second* still more injurious to me. For it represents me as guilty of downright blasphemy in asserting it to be my doctrine, 1st, that *there is a respect of persons with God* contrary to the express words of St *Paul;* and 2*dly*, that *his goodness has failed the greatest part of mankind.* But you must be very ignorant of St *Paul's* true meaning as well as mine to charge me with such impious doctrine. For the *respect of persons*, which St *Paul* speaks of as being *far from God*, is a rewarding or punishing by *favour* rather than by *justice*, and without having that due regard to deeds, which is necessary for the just distributing of punishments or rewards. It supposes works on the one hand, and a consideration due to them on the other: the omission whereof is a defect of justice, which God is wholly uncapable of. But there is no injustice in bestowing *mercies* more liberally on some than others: because all acts of mercy are *gratuitous*, and no man can challenge them as his due. Now the giving us an *infallible guide* is a *pure mercy* of God; which therefore he may give to one, and not to another: as every body is free to bestow his favours upon whom he pleases without any danger of *respect of persons* in the sense of St *Paul.*

Neither does it follow hence, that *God's goodness has failed the greatest part of mankind.* For a person can only properly be said to *fail* one, when he either does not make good his word, or is wanting to the performance

ot any thing, that is strictly due upon some just title. But it is nothing less than blasphemy to accuse God of either, in relation to any one single creature in the world.

This answers your question concerning *Jews, heathens,* and *Mahometans.* For suppose God has not given them any *outward infallible guide,* what then? Will it follow, that he has not given one to *christians?* Or will you infer from it, that there is *a respect of persons with God?* If he were bound to give one to all mankind, you would have reason on your side. But since I know of no obligation on the part of God to give one to any, his having given one to *christians* is a *pure mercy,* and being a *pure mercy* is due to none, and he may give or refuse it to whom he pleases according to these words: *I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.* Rom. ix. 15.

You say, *God is good to all, and his mercies are over all his works.* Psalm cxlv. 9. Very right, Sir, but God is infinitely *just* as well as *merciful,* and it is a gross presumption to prescribe bounds to his *justice* under pretence of magnifying his *mercy;* so that it is not allowed us to *measure* the one any more than the other by *our short line,* but we are bound to believe what the scripture has revealed to us of both; which is, that he will shew his *infinite mercy* on those, who are in his church perseverantly by a living faith, and his *infinite justice* on all, who for their sins are justly permitted to be out of it, whether they be *Jews, heathens, Mahometans, heretics* or *schismatics.*

As to what you say, that *the generality of mankind take their religion upon trust, as they are educated:* I should be glad to know, Sir, whether education be a proof of the truth: or whether this plea will be admitted at the great tribunal? If so, then no man needs to examine the grounds of his religion. It is true, the prejudices of education are a powerful bias upon any man's judgment. But if when a person is come to riper years, and has the means of informing himself better, he be so careless, slothful, and indifferent as not to give himself the trouble to consider whether those prejudices be well grounded,

nor inquires into the *marks* of the *true church*, which are clear, and easy to be discovered, when the heart is sincere; the prejudices he has imbibed from education will not excuse him before God. Pray, Sir, was any body saved from the deluge, that was not in the *ark* of *Noah?*

G.—No, my lord.

L.—And it was the constant language of the ancient fathers, that it is as impossible to escape damnation out of the *church of Christ* as it was to escape perishing out of the *ark*. For surely no man can be saved but through *Christ*.

" *G.*—No. But many may be saved by him, who never " heard of him."—*p.* 38.

L.—Can *faith* then be had without *hearing?* Or salvation without *faith* in *Christ?* This is joyful news for *Jews*, *Pagans*, and *Mahometans*. However, to the best of my judgment, it is the general doctrine of *protestants* as well as *Catholics*, that none of these are in the way of salvation.

Does not Christ compare himself to a *vine*, and in the application of the similitude tell us, that *if we abide not in him, we shall be cast forth as branches withered, and cast into the fire?* John xv. 6. And can those who have not the *faith of Christ*, be said to abide in him? And if they abide not in him, will they not be doomed to everlasting flames? Has he not likewise told us that *if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch?* Did not St *Peter* filled with the *Holy Ghost* declare to the *rulers of the Jews, and elders of Israel*, that *Jesus Christ is the stone which is become the head of the corner; neither is there salvation in any other. For there is no other name under heaven, whereby we must be saved.* Acts iv. 8. And does not St *Paul* teach, that *without faith it is impossible to please God?* Heb. ii. 6.

" *G*—My lord, Christ died to make satisfaction to the " infinite justice for the sins of the whole world: and took " our nature upon him to atone for our fallen nature, to be " applied to such as perform the conditions required."—*p.* 38.

L.—Very right, Sir, Christ died and has satisfied for

all. But (as you observe very justly) his *general satisfaction* can only profit those, to whom it is applied by their performance of the *conditions required.* Now I have always been told, that there are two conditions essentially necessary, viz. *baptism* and *faith in Christ.*

" *G.*—My lord, God will judge the *Gentiles* by the law of " morality, which is planted in their hearts, and we call " *natural religion.* But from christians he requires *faith in* " *Christ* joined with sincere *repentance.*"—p. 38.

L.—Sir, as God is *justice* itself, so it is certain the *Gentiles* will neither be judged, nor condemned but by a law that is infinitely just. And I fear the law morality will not prove very favourable to such as are destitute both of the light of *faith*, and the fountains of grace the holy *sacraments.* However according to you, *heathens* are in a safer and better condition than *christians*, since you make them capable of salvation not only without *faith*, but without practising those duties, which our faith obliges us to.

" *G.*—But is it no advantage then to have the *glory of* " *God revealed to us in the face of Jesus Christ ?* as the apos- " tle speaks, 2 Cor. iii. 6. And the effects of it upon us " described, iii. 18, that we all with open face, beholding as " in a glass the glory of God, are changed into the same " image from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the " Lord. The sight of the wonderful economy of our redemp- " tion must needs fill our souls with rapture and joy, when " we behold the glory of God in all his attributes each exalt- " ing the other to the uttermost, as it is said, James ii. 13, " *The mercy of God exalts his justice.* For justice requires " *full satisfaction*, it cannot remit a farthing. To remit is " mercy and not justice. And God is justice in the abstract, " justice itself. Here then infinite wisdom finds out a *full* " *satisfaction* to infinite justice : and infinite goodness affords " that satisfaction by the incarnation, perfect obedience, " meritorious passion, and glorious resurrection of the only " begotten Son of God. This inflames our devotion, invi- " gorates our obedience, and gives compunction to our re- " pentance when we have sinned, and *come short of the glory* " *of God.* Rom. iii. 23. God has vouchsafed to make a " covenant with us in Christ, by virtue of which we may

" appeal to his justice and veracity. It is a pardon signed " and sealed by the king, which we may plead in court. The " *heathens* have not this, but they are still under mercy. " They may say, *God is merciful to forgive us.* But we may " say with St *John*, that *God is faithful and just to forgive us* " *our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.* 1 John " i. 9. This is a great a very great advantage over the *Gen-* " *tiles.* But may not we enjoy the advantage we have over " the *heathens* with thankfulness, and not damn them all to " the pit of hell? Because God has made a *covenant* with " us, may we not leave them to *uncovenanted mercy?* Is our " eye evil because he has been good to us? Or would we " limit his mercies to his creatures, with whom we have " nothing to do? *For what have we to do with them, that are* " *without? them that are without God judgeth.*"—1 Cor. v. 12. pp. 38—40.

L.—I find, Sir, you are the advocate-general not only of *heretics* and *schismatics*, whom you have already brought off by their belief of *common christianity*, but likewise of *Jews*, *heathens*, and *Mahometans*, (for they are all upon the same footing) whose cause you have now pleaded with wonderful eloquence. I shall take your discourse in pieces, and say something to every part of it.

You begin with enlarging upon the advantages we *christians* have over the *heathens*. Sir, we should be very ungrateful to almighty God, if we were not sensible of it. All therefore I pretended to advance when I spoke last was, that if *heathens* can be saved *without faith*, their condition is safer and in a very weighty and material point than that of *christians*, who cannot hope for that happiness without both humbling their understandings under the obscurity of the mysteries of faith, and subjecting their wills to the severity of its precepts: and so it is manifest you make *heathens* have the better of us in allowing them a possibility of salvation, without being subject to any of those difficult and painful duties, by which we are bound to purchase our eternal happiness.

This therefore I only inferred as an absurdity from your doctrine. For the truth of the matter is, we have the advantage over them in every respect, since nothing is

more groundless, or more contrary to the word of God than the *uncovenanted mercy* you have so bountifully provided for them. You tell me the *heathens* may say, *God is merciful to forgive us:* and so may any *impenitent sinner* say it with as much truth as they; because a *heathen* continuing a *heathen* is as incapable of mercy, as a *sinner* continuing a *sinner*, according to this sentence of our Saviour against christians not hearing the church; *let him be to thee as a* HEATHEN; that is, as a *reprobate*, or one in a damnable state. For it plainly follows hence, that to be a *heathen*, and to be in a *damnable state* is one and the same thing with our Saviour, who expresses the one by the other.

You conclude your harangue with several questions, the first whereof is, *whether we may not enjoy the advantage we have over the heathens without damning them all to the pit of hell?* No, Sir, we cannot have a due thankfulness for the great benefit of our *faith*, if we deny its *necessity*, and believe as you do, that we might have been saved, though we had been *heathens* left in darkness as they are. For this is annihilating the benefit, and consequently the gratitude due for it under a specious pretence of mercy to *heathens*. But it is a false mercy, which can do them no good, and may hurt the rash abettors of it.

But, to turn your fine rhetorical question upon yourself, cannot you enjoy the advantages you have over *impenitent sinners*, and the *devils* without damning them all to the pit of hell *for ever?* For let me tell you, Sir, your *uncovenanted mercy* is of so very large a size, that it may be extended to these as well as the *heathens*. And all your other questions may be retorted upon you in the same manner.

But your last question expressed in the words of St *Paul*, viz. *(what have we to do with them that are without? them that are without God judgeth)* shews you to be an utter stranger to the apostle's true meaning. For his words bear no other sense than that the church has no right to exercise her power of correcting upon the *heathens*, as being none of her subjects: and therefore must leave them to

God's justice, as belonging to his tribunal, not hers. But he could never intend to entitle them to your *uncovenanted mercy* without contradicting our Saviour saying, *He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God.* John iii. 18, nor without giving the lie to himself: since he tells us in express terms, that *without faith it is impossible to please God.* Heb. xi. 6. I hope therefore it is no crime to form a judgment of the unhappy state either of *Jews, heathens,* or *Mahometans* by the lights the *word of God* itself has given us to judge by, and that we may without having an *evil eye,* or *limiting God's mercies to his creatures,* pronounce those condemned, on whom *Christ* himself and his *apostle* have pronounced sentence of condemnation. Now, Sir, you may proceed, if you have any thing more to say upon this subject.

SECTION XXIX.—NONE SAVED WITHOUT FAITH IN CHRIST.

" *G.*—God did judge one, who was *without,* that is, *out of* " *the pale of the church,* to be the most beloved of God, and " *that there was none like him in the earth.* Job. i. 8. And he " is put upon the level with the *greatest in the church,* as " *Noah* and *Daniel.* Ezek. xiv. 14. And proposed as an " example of patience by St *James,* v. 11. And of another " *Gentile* it was said by Christ, *I have not found so great faith,* " *no not in Israel.* Luke vii. 9. And he, who said often to " his disciples, *O ye of little faith:* and upbraided the apostles " with their unbelief, *Mark* xvi. 14; yet said to a woman " of *Canaan* (who could not be discouraged with the objec- " tions he put against her not being within the *pale of the* " *church,* but without among the *dogs*) *O woman great is thy* " *faith.* Matt. xv. 28. And of the ten healed there was but " one thankful, and he was a *Samaritan.* Luke xviii. 16, " that is a *schismatic,* a *stranger,* as Christ here calls him, 18, " and said to him, *thy faith hath made thee whole.*"—p. 40.

L.—Sir, you certainly take me for an errant blockhead to produce these four examples, *viz.* of *Job,* the *centurion,* the *woman of Canaan,* and the *leprous Samaritan* for proofs that persons may be saved without *faith*

in Christ. Did not *Job* believe in *Christ*, that is, the *Messias to come?* And how then can you say, he was *out of the pale of the true church?*

G.—But was not *Job* a *Gentile?*

L.—Sir, if by the word *Gentile* you mean an *idolater*, an *infidel*, or *unbeliever*, *Job* was no *Gentile* any more than *Adam*, or *Noah*. And were these out of the *pale* of the *true church?* Or had God no church upon earth before the *Jewish synagogue*, and *ceremonial law* were established?

But nothing surprises me more than your mentioning the *centurion*, the *woman of Canaan*, and the *leprous Samaritan*. To the first of which *Christ* said, *I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel.* To the second, *O woman great is thy faith:* And to the third, *thy faith hath made thee whole.* Yet by a strange oversight, these are the three other rare examples you have produced to prove, that men may be saved *without faith in Christ*, I ask then, whether the *centurion*, the *woman of Canaan*, and the *Samaritan* believed in *Christ*, or not? If you say they did not, then *Christ* spoke an untruth in commending their *faith*, which is blasphemy. If you say they did, then they were saved by their *faith in Christ:* and these three examples are as wide from the purpose as that of *Job*.

" *G.*—The pattern of charity is placed in the person of a " *Samaritan* in opposition both to a *priest* and *Levite*. Luke " x. 30. Which makes good what St *Peter* said of *Cornelius* " a *Gentile*. Acts x. 30. *Now I truly see that God is no* " *respecter of persons: but in every nation, he that feareth him,* " *and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.*"—pp. 40, 41.

L.—That is, God makes no difference between *Jews* and *Gentiles*, who seek him with a sincere heart. But did not God even work a miracle to bring this *Cornelius* to the faith of *Christ?* And is not this a rare proof tha it is not necessary to salvation! But let us hear out the rest of your story.

" *G.*—This is the doctrine, which *Christ* taught, *Luke* iv. " 25. When he minded the *Jews* that a *widow* of *Sarepta* " a city in *Sidon*, and *Naaman* the *Syrian* were preferred to " all the *widows* and *lepers* in *Israel*. Which so enraged the

" ***Jews*** **tenacious of the privilege of their church,** ***that they*** " ***thrust him out of their city, and led him unto the brow of their*** " ***hill, whereon their city was built, that they might cast him*** " ***down headlong. And it is said that they were filled with*** " ***wrath.***"—p. 41.

L.—Here are three examples more, full as good as the four former, and the scriptures equally trifled with. For is not this a strange sort of argument? A *Samaritan* had more compassion than a *priest* or a *Levite*, and took care of a wounded man: a *prophet* went to the *widow* of *Sarepta*, and *Naaman* the *Syrian* was cured of a leprosy: therefore *heathens* may be saved without *faith in Christ.* Really, Sir, I am weary of hearing the scriptures thus abused, and shall shortly want some grains of *Job's* patience to hear you out. However, proceed.

" *G.*—The like fury they shewed, when St *Paul* told " them, that the gospel was to be extended beyond the pale " of their church, and that God had sent him to the *Gentiles.* " *And they gave him audience unto that word, and then lift up* " *their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth.* " *And they cried out, and cast off their clothes, and threw dust* " *into the air.* Acts xxii. 22. And the like rage is seen among " the zealots of your church, when they hear of the *gospel* " being extended out of the pale of their communion, though " with christians, who hold the three ancient *creeds*, and have " every thing essential to a church, except what *Rome* has " made so, *viz.*, the *universal* and unlimited *sovereignty* of her " bishop."—*p.* 41.

L.—Sir, your comparison between the *Jews* and us will not recommend either your judgment or charity; the *Jews* bore a mortal hatred to the *Gentiles:* and therefore had not the patience to hear any one say, they could be rendered capable of salvation by having the *gospel* preached to them, or any other way than by becoming *Jews.* This was the true occasion of their excessive rage against St *Paul*, who told them he was sent by God to preach the *gospel* to them. But was there ever any *Roman Catholic* in the world guilty of such black malice, as to be enraged to see the *gospel* extended to *infidels?* Do we not daily pray for it? Nay have we not seminaries ex-

pressly founded for the education of persons, whose whole business it is to sacrifice themselves for that holy end? And where then is the sense or justice of your comparison?

Ay, but *the Jewish rage is seen among the zealots of our church, when they hear of the gospel being extended out of the pale of their communion, though with christians, who hold the three creeds, and have every thing essential to a church.* Really, Sir, I pity your mistake. For I take it to be a fundamental truth, that the *church of Christ*, and by consequence the *creeds* and *gospel* rightly understood, can only be in *one communion*, which we heartily wish may be extended to all nations in the world. And we are so far from being enraged against those that have cut themselves off from that communion by *apostacy* or *heresy*, that we heartily compassionate their condition, and pray and labour continually for their conversion. But we can never be persuaded that any *heretical communion* has *all the essentials of the true church of Christ*, whereof *unity of faith* (without which there is no salvation according to St *Paul*) is one. As to the *unlimited sovereignty* (as you call it) of the *bishop* of *Rome* it is neither an article of our faith, nor any term of *communion.* So you need not be afraid of it. The *spiritual supremacy* of St *Peter's successor* is indeed an article of faith; but it is one of *Christ's* own making, as has been fully proved.

" *G.*—This is the great bone of contention, wherein *Rome* " stands single, thrusting all *christian churches* from her, like " a man in a boat, who thinks he thrusts the shore from him, " whereas he only thrusts himself from the shore: as *Fir-* " *milian* said to *Stephen* bishop of *Rome, excidisti teipsum, noli* " *te fallere.* Do not deceive yourself, you have cut yourself " off from the church. For he is truly a *schismatic* who has " made himself an apostate from the communion of the " ecclesiastical unity. For while you think you can excom- " municate all other churches from you, you have only ex- " communicated yourself from them. *Dum enim putas omnes* " *abs te abstinere posse, te ipsum abstinuisti.*"—Cyp. Epist. 75. *pp.* 41, 42.

L.—Sir, the *Pope's supremacy* is the great bone of contention with *heretics* and *schismatics*, just as the rightful

prerogative of the crown is the great bone of contention with *rebellious subjects*. And the *Church* of *Rome* has the same reason to thrust *heretics* from her, as a lawful sovereign to attaint *rebels*.

As to *Firmilian*, and St *Cyprian*, they were certainly engaged in a wrong cause, as you yourself must own. And if you had produced their words to prove that they denied the Pope's *infallibility*, you would have spoken to the purpose. But *infallibility* and *supremacy* are two things. For though it be very probable that they denied the former, they never questioned the latter; but only blamed Pope *Stephen* for making an ill use (at least as they thought) of his authority against them. And therefore told the Pope, that if he should excommunicate the *eastern bishops* unjustly, he would only hurt himself by it: which is the true meaning of their words. But you will have some difficulty to shew, that the *Church of Rome* excommunicates *heretics* unjustly.

SECTION XXX.—THE SUBJECT OF SUPREMACY AND INFALLIBILITY RESUMED.

"*G.*—My lord, the church of the *Jews* had a much stronger plea for her *universal supremacy* and *infallibility*, because "all proselytes of whatever nations must come to her. For "there was no other visible church of God upon earth, and "the sacrifices were limited to the temple at *Jerusalem*. "Accordingly we find, *Acts* viii. 27, that the *eunuch* came "out of *Ethiopia* to *Jerusalem* for to worship."—*p.* 42.

L.—Sir the *Jewish church* had perhaps as strong a plea for the *supremacy* of her *high priest* over all the *Jews*, as the *church of Christ* has for the *supremacy* of St *Peter's successor* over all *christians*. And where is the inconveniency of it? We shall consider her *infallibility* hereafter, which is a very different thing.

But what you add, viz., *that all proselytes, of whatever nations, were bound to come to the Jewish church*, is the same as if you told me, that all who turned *Jews*, were bound to come to the *Jewish church*: which is very true

indeed, but nothing to the purpose. Because none of those, who were true believers among the *Gentiles*, were bound to turn *Jews;* that is, embrace the law of *circumcision;* neither were these obliged to come to *Jerusalem* to offer their *sacrifices*, but were at liberty to offer them to the *true God*, wherever they pleased. It is true, many of the *Gentiles* themselves, especially the true believers among them, had a great veneration for the temple of *Jerusalem*, where God was truly worshipped: and, if the *eunuch* you speak of, was a *Gentile*, this was doubtless the occasion of his coming thither to worship. I ask you then, whether this *eunuch* was a *Jew* or *Gentile?* If a *Jew*, your argument is frivolous. For there is no doubt but *Jews* could sacrifice no where but at *Jerusalem*. If he was a *Gentile*, then all *Gentiles* were not *infidels*. For he, who came to adore the *true God*, could not surely be an *infidel*.

But, Sir, I am still in expectation of the inferences you will draw from what you said last.

G.—My lord, the last thing I said was, *that the sacrifices were limited to the temple at Jerusalem*. "Now if the *christian* "*sacrifice* of the *body* and *blood of Christ* (the most *solemn* "*worship* of God) were confined to St *Peter's church* at *Rome*, "and could be had nowhere else; as the most solemn worship "of God (the *legal sacrifices*, which were the *types* of the "*christian*) were confined to the temple at *Jerusalem:* and "if the *Church of Rome* like that of the *Jews*, were the only "church in the world, yet after all would the *Church of Rome* "have no more pretence to *infallibility*, and *perpetuity*, than "that of the *Jews* had."—*p.* 42.

L.—Sir, with your good leave, the *Church of Rome*, that is, the *church in communion with the see of Rome* is the only true *church of Christ* upon earth: and the *christian sacrifice* of the *body and blood of Christ* (which we call the *mass;* and you, to my most agreeable surprise, call *the most solemn worship of God*) is so confined to the church *in communion with the see of Rome*, that it cannot be legally offered in any other *communion*.

But all this is foreign to the purpose. For that which gives *this church* her title to a *perpetual infallibility*, and

which the *Jewish church* never had, are precisely the *promises of Christ.* If you can prove that these are of no weight, then you will say something to the purpose.

" *G.*—My lord, as the church of the *Jews* has been *cut off* " for her disobedience to the law of God, so (as before " mentioned) has it been said to the *Church of Rome* parti- " cularly, *thou shalt also be cut off,* that is, upon the same " condition, *if thou continuest not in the goodness of God.* Rom. " xi. 22."—p. 43.

L.—Sir, this wretched objection has already been answered (sect. 23.), so pray go on.

" *G.*—And we cannot imagine there should be a *Church* " *of Rome* visible as now with a *Pope* at the head of it, and " a number of *bishops, cardinals, &c.* under him holding the " true christian faith, when that time comes, which our " Saviour foretold, *when the Son of man cometh shall he find* " *faith upon earth?* For then it would be found, and very " *visibly* at *Rome.*"—p. 43.

L.—Sir, I hope it will be *visibly* found at *Rome* as well as in many other places. And since the Pope, and his bishops have in all former persecutions been the strongest bulwark of the *church of Christ,* so I have no reason to doubt, but they will be so in the days of *anti-christ,* though their residence should be in *caves* and *deserts.*

But suppose *Christ* at his second coming should not find faith at *Rome,* what is the consequence? Is the *city* of *Rome* essential to the *preservation,* or *visibility* of the *church* of *Christ?* If *Rome* were buried under ground by an earthquake, would *Christ* lose his *church?* Or would the church be disabled from choosing a *successor* to St *Peter?* However you do well to give me this plain hint that by the *Church* of *Rome* you mean precisely the *city* or *diocess* of *Rome.* And this is already your fifth or sixth relapse into the same wretched equivocation. As to your text from St *Luke,* it was fully answered before (sect. 24.), and so you may once more go on, if you please.

SECTION XXXI.—NO GENERAL DEFECTION FORETOLD BY CHRIST.

" *G.*—My lord, that state of the church (*viz.* at the *second* " *coming of Christ*) is better represented by the seven thou- " sand, who had not bowed to *Baal*, but of whom *Eliah* knew " none, was a state of segregation. There were particular " persons, who kept the *faith*, but invisible to the world, or " to one another: without any public worship, or so much as " private meetings. For *Eliah* would surely have known of " these, and been the principal amongst them. Far less could " they have had an *organized church* with *pastors* and *rulers* " over them without being known to *Eliah*, and to many " more, even to their persecutors, who found out the most " private recesses of the primitive christians, and their meet- " ings, though in the most secret manner for divine worship; " and their bishops too, whom they hauled to prisons, and " to martyrdom: for they could not lie hid. And the faith " was then visible, though under persecution. Therefore it " must be a much more universal depravity and corruption " of the church, of which our *Saviour* spoke, when *faith should* " *not be found*, at least visibly, *upon earth*."—pp. 43, 44.

L.—Sir, our Saviour never said nor meant any such thing, if we may believe St *Austin*, and St *Jerome* above mentioned [sect. 24.]. The *Donatists* indeed, whose company you have no reason to be proud of, maintained your doctrine, and quoted the same passage of St *Luke*, which you now repeat the third time, as if not answered. But the whole *Catholic Church* opposed them, and St *Austin* and St *Jerome* were her principal champions. Both of them refuted the corrupt interpretation of the *Donatists*, and both explained our Saviour's words in a sense opposite to yours. So that your saying, *that the state of the church at the second coming of Christ is represented by the seven thousand, who had not bowed to Baal*, is begging the question. For you confidently suppose that your interpretation of our Saviour's words, though contradictory to the sense of the ancient fathers, stands good: which will never be granted. And so your flourish upon *Eliah's not knowing the small number of true believers, and his*

imagining himself to be alone, might have been spared. In effect, all you can prove from it is, that as the *church of God* was in the days of *Eliah* almost utterly ruined in *Israel*, so it may at other times fail in any other *particular nation:* which no man ever doubted of, since there are but too many deplorable examples of it. But this is no argument to prove, that the *true faith* will ever be so hid, and suppressed throughout the whole world, that they, who have a desire to embrace it will not know where to find it. Neither was this the condition of the church in the days of *Eliah*. For though it was oppressed to a very great degree, and almost utterly extirpated in *Israel;* it flourished at that very time as much as ever in the kingdom of *Juda* under the pious *Josaphat*, who was contemporary with *Eliah*. But this you did not think fit to mention because you knew it would spoil your fine flourish to all intents and purposes. If you have any thing more to say, pray let us have it.

" *G.*—The state of the church before the *second coming of* " *Christ* will be like to that before the *flood* represented by " the *ark*. Wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved. " And as the corruption of the old world was great, we may " suppose the corruption to be greater before the *second com-* " *ing of Christ*, as the destruction by *fire* is more terrible " than that by *water*. However such a general corruption is " here foretold, as will in no ways consist with the least sort " of that *visibility*, which the *Church of Rome* requires as a " mark of the *true church*, and to continue with her for " ever."—*p.* 44.

L.—Sir, you are still begging the question, and building upon your former modest supposition, that your interpretation of St *Luke* is preferable to that of the ancient fathers: which I make bold to deny, and shall always do, till you either convince me that the *Donatists*, who have taught you your lesson, were no *heretics;* or that the interpretation of *heretics* is to be preferred before that of the *orthodox fathers* of the church.

It is true indeed the world will be very corrupt before the *second coming* of *Christ;* and it is of this *great abundance* of wicked and *scarcity* of good men our Saviour's

words of St *Luke* may be understood according to St *Austin*. But the *wheat* and *tares*, that is, the *good* and *wicked* are to grow together in the *same field* [*the church*] and this field will be very visible even *until the harvest:* when both the *good* and *wicked* will be consumed by *fire:* which spoils in some measure your witty reflection upon the difference between the two elements of *fire* and *water*.

But pray, Sir, does not *Christ* tell us that the last terrible persecution of *antichrist* will be shortened for the sake of the *elect?* Now I presume the *elect* will not dissemble their *faith*, but profess it openly, and if they profess it openly, will not the church be *visible* in their persons? Will not *Enoch* and *Eliah* appear visibly upon earth to maintain the true faith against the wicked *antichrist?* Finally, does not the word of God expressly tell us, that the *Jews* will be converted, and brought into the fold of Christ's church before the end of the world? And how then can it be true, that faith will not be found upon earth at his *second coming?* For surely the *Jews* will not be converted by *invisible pastors*, but by men openly professing and preaching the *faith of Christ*. All which are sufficient proofs to convince any man, that the *church of Christ* will be *visible* to the end of the world, and that faith will be found upon earth at our Saviour's second coming.

" *G.*—But, my lord, allowing now that there will be a " *visible church* in those days, then that church, at least the " *generality*, which is the *visibility*, will fall from the faith, " else it will be *visibly* to be found upon earth. And then " men will be misled by the *church*, and those marks of *visi-* " *bility*, which the *Church of Rome* gives her; in like manner " as they were misled by the church before, when she com- " manded them to reject the *Messias*. He *came unto his own*, " the church of the *Jews*, the only visible church then upon " earth, but *she received him not*. John i. 11. For she was " corrupt and blinded under the mark of pharisaical sanctity, " and strict obedience of the law, even the *tithing of mint*, " *anice, and cummin:* she was zealous in the outward obser- " vances, but neglected the weightier matters of the law, " *judgment, mercy*, and *faith*. Matt. xxiii. 23. And so it may " be at the *second coming* of Christ, as it was at the *first:* for

" there is no more promise of infallibility to the one state of " the church than to the other."—*pp.* 44, 45.

L.—What, Sir! May it be so at the *second coming* of *Christ* in spite of his positive promise made to the *christian church*, that *he will be with her to the end of the world!* Matt. xxviii. 20. This alone, Sir, is an unanswerable proof that the *visible church* at that time will not fall from the *faith*, but that *faith* will then be *visibly* found upon earth; and that by consequence men will not then be misled by the church's *visibility*.

However I must here beg the favour of you to explain to me the dark riddle you have just now proposed, *viz.*, that *allowing a visible church in those days*, yet *that church will then fall from the faith*. Sir, if you mean that church, which will be modelled by *antichrist*, who in all probability will be the last *reformer* in the world, there is no doubt but his church will be both *visible*, and wholly *void of faith*. But I think you and I have been hitherto disputing concerning the *true church of Christ:* and the question between us is precisely this, *viz.*, whether *this true church of Christ* will be *visible* in those days? Now *allowing* (as you do) this church to be *visible* in those days, I should be glad to know how it can at the same time be the *true church of Christ*, and *a church fallen from the faith*, nay and misleading people by its *visibility?* This I confess appears to me to be a contradiction not easy to be reconciled.

But the words you conclude with, are very surprising; viz., *that there is no more promise of infallibility to the one state of the church than to the other*. That is, to the *church of Christ*, than to the *Jewish synagogue*. For surely, Sir, you can never flatter yourself, that any man in his senses will believe this, unless you first convince him that *God* made a promise to the *synagogue*, that *the gates of hell should never prevail against it*, Matt. xvi. 18; and *that he would be with it all days even unto the end of the world*, Matt. xxviii. 20. Nay, on the contrary, the *fall* of the *Jewish church* is clearly foretold in the *Old Testament*.

" *G.*—And in the *New Testament*, that *Christ* at his *second* " *coming* should not find faith upon earth."—*p.* 45.

L.—Sir, the *Donatists* with their *protestant* brethren may find this in the *New Testament*, but the *ancient athers* could find no such thing; whereas they all clearly saw the prophesies foretelling the *apostacy* of the *Jews*.

SECTION XXXII.—THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SYNAGOGUE, AND THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

" *G.*—My lord, the *Jews* did not understand the *prophesies* " against themselves. They said, that the *church* was the " only *interpreter* of scriptures, and she must take the law " from the mouth of her priests. And the *church* did in- " terpret these *scriptures* otherwise than *Christ* did."—*p.* 45.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*To these last words of the* gentleman *his* lordship *in the former* conversation *is so weak as to answer, that* Christ being come he was then the church, *and the* gentleman *refutes him in a very serious manner. Which trifling stuff is here omitted.*

L.—Sir, as to what you tell me, viz. *that the Jews did not understand the prophesies against themselves*, I must make bold to put you in mind of what you said in your *Christianity Demonstrated* where after having mentioned the *prophesies* concerning the *rejection*, *sufferings*, and *death* of the *Messiah* you make no difficulty to say, *p.* 99, *that before the coming of Christ the Jews understood those texts as we do to be certainly meant of the Messiah and no other. But since that time they have forced themselves to put the most strained and contradictory meanings upon them.*

There then you attributed the infidelity of the *Jews* to the perverseness of their disposition, and to the most affected and culpable ignorance that can be: such as came from *their forcing themselves to put the most strained and contradictory meanings* upon the texts rightly understood by their own forefathers. But here you impute it not to their malice as before, but to the great deference they had

for their church. And pray, Sir, what gave you this new light, but the good inclination you have to catch at any colourable pretence to run down the *church's authority*, and condemn our submission to her judgment as a source of seduction? Whereas *Christ* has established her authority in the plainest and strongest terms. *First*, by a positive promise, *that he will be with her to the end of the world*, Matt. xxviii. 20; 2*dly*, by this unalterable maxim, viz., *he that hears you hears me, and he that despises you despises me*, Luke x. 16; and 3*dly*, by declaring that *he who will not hear the church shall be reputed as a heathen and a publican*, Matt. xviii. 17.

G.—But were not the *Jewish people* also obliged to *receive the law from the mouth of the priest?* And did not *Christ* himself command them to do as they were bid by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, because *they sat in the chair of Moses?* Yet their blind obedience to them was the occasion of their ruin. And this is the case of the *Church of Rome.*

L.—Sir, it is certain the *Jews* were bound to obey the authority of their church in every thing, wherein there was not *uncontestable evidence* against it. But no authority upon earth can oblige any man to a thing, that is evidently unlawful. Now this was the case in relation to *Christ* and the *Jewish church.* There appeared in his sacred person all the *marks* of the *true Messiah* foretold by the ancient prophets even as understood by their own forefathers. Particularly those relating to the *time*, *place*, and *manner* of his *birth*; the *holiness* of his life; the *purity* of his heavenly doctrine; the *death* he was to suffer through the malice of his own people, and above all the stupendious *miracles* wrought by him: the evidence whereof was so strong, that it could not be contested but by the blackest malice. Here then there was an *uncontestable evidence* of the *truth* of his doctrine, and by consequence of the unlawfulness of obeying that authority, which condemned it. And till you can produce an evidence as *uncontestable* as this against the *Church of Rome*, a parallel between her and the *Jewish church* (which is

the thing you drive at) is all froth and nonsense. But whenever you produce an evidence against her equal to this, I promise to become your proselyte.

As for instance, when you can shew me a *reformer* of the faith professed by the *Church of Rome*, that has been plainly foretold by the ancient *prophets* or *apostles* under the character of a person sent by God: that has given *sight* to the *blind*, *speech* to the *dumb*, *hearing* to the *deaf*, *health* to the *sick*, and *life* to the *dead* in testimony of the *truth* of his doctrine, and by consequence of the *falsehood* of the doctrine taught by the *Church of Rome*, I assure you, Sir, I will renounce that church to embrace the *reformation*. Because no authority upon earth can oblige me to believe any thing, that has such *uncontestable evidence* against it. But since the very reverse of all this is manifestly true, I tell you once more that your comparing the danger of our submission to the *Church of Rome* with that of the *Jewish people* to the *synagogue* is as nonsensical, as it is malicious.

In a word, the difference between the *synagogue* and the *church* established by *Christ*, that is, the *church in communion with the successor of St Peter*, is manifest to any one, that will but open his eyes to see it. For whereas *Christ* has promised that *the spirit of truth shall abide for ever with his church*, John xiv. 16. And that *he will be with it even unto the end of the world*, Matt. xxviii. 20. No such promise was ever made to the *Jewish church*; on the contrary her apostasy at the coming of the *Messiah*, was manifestly foretold.

"*G.*—My lord, it is perfectly begging the question of "the *Jews* to suppose that *Christ* was the *Messiah*. For "that they deny, and bid us prove it. That is the whole "question between them and us."—*pp.* 45, 46.

L.—Under favour, Sir, proving is not begging the question, and we prove it with the utmost evidence from their own prophets as explained by their own interpreters, and all verified in the person of *Jesus Christ*.

"*G.*—My lord, the *Jews* answer all this by the *authority* of "the *church*; which said, *Have any of the rulers or Pharisees*

" *believed in him? But this people, who knoweth not the law* " *is cursed,* John vii. 34. And they said that *Christ worked* " *his miracles by Beelzebub,* Matt. xii. 24. And who was to " be the judge in this case, the *people* or the *church?* Upon " the foot of the *authority* of the *church* it was impossible at " that time for any man to be a *christian.* And therefore " of all men christians have the least reason to insist upon " this."—*p.* 46.

L.—What, Sir, have *christians* of all men in the world the least reason to insist upon the *authority* of the *church* established by *Christ himself!* This would sound well in the mouth of an *independant;* but if this be the doctrine of your church, I pray God to preserve me from ever being a member of it. I am sure St *Paul* preached no such doctrine. On the contrary in his epistle to the *Hebrews* he takes care to instruct them in the important lesson of *submission* to their spiritual guides. *Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves,* Heb. xiii. 17. And surely when Christ said, *He that will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican,* he did not intend her *authority* should either stand for a cypher, or be a source of seduction to those who should pay a submission to it.

You say the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* insisted upon the *authority* of their *church.* I answer, they might have lawfully done it, if there had not been *uncontestable* evidence against it: and therefore *Roman Catholics* have a full right to insist upon the *authority* of their church, till the like *manifest* and *uncontestable evidence* be produced against it by *protestants:* which is the very thing we have always most earnestly demanded ever since the *pretended reformation,* but never could obtain.

You add, that the *rulers* or *Pharisees* attributed *Christ's miracles* to *Beelzebub,* and ask, *who was to be the judge in this case, the people or the church?* I answer neither the one nor the other. For *Christ* was then the only *infallible judge,* and his works gave testimony that his commission was from God, and could not be questioned but by such as were rotten at heart, poisoned with malice, and re-

solved not to yield to the truth. I heartily wish it may not be the case of many at this time.

As to their attributing *Christ's miracles* to *Beelzebub*, I answer, this was the most flagrant instance of the corruption of their hearts, and of the most consummate malice reduced to its very last shift. Nay *Christ* himself calls it *blasphemy* against *the Holy Ghost.* That is, denying the manifest truth, and shutting their eyes against the clearest light. In effect this proceeding was as exorbitantly irrational, as if they had attributed all the wonderful works of God to the operations of *Satan.*

Lastly you tell me, *it was impossible at that time for any to become a christian upon the foot of the authority of the church.* To which I answer briefly as before, *viz.*, that the *authority* of the *Jewish church* was not to be regarded, or obeyed, when it commanded the *rejection* of our Saviour; because there was *uncontestable evidence* against the lawfulness of it: as a child is not bound to obey his father, if he commands him to commit murder. nay he is bound not to obey him.

But I presume, that all you have now said is only to prepare me to relish your darling doctrine of *private judgment* in opposition to *church authority.*

SECTION XXXIII.—OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

" *G.*—My lord, *private judgment* is all we have for the " belief of a *God*, and of *Christ*, and by your own concession " for the *choice of a church.* And then we may well trust " to it in smaller matters. In short, *we must trust to it in* " *every thing without exception.* For it is as impossible to " believe any thing without our understanding, as to see " without eyes."—*p.* 46.

L.—Sir, if you mean nothing more when you say, *that we must trust to private judgment in every thing without exception*, than that we must never believe any thing unreasonably, that is, without a sufficient motive to believe it, I know not where you will find an adversary

to fight against, and you only trifle with words instead of disputing. For in this sense I believe all the dark *mysteries* of *Christianity* by my own *private judgment.* Because my own judgment tells me, that nothing is more consonant to reason than to submit in things, that are above my understanding, to the decisions of the *church*, which is the greatest authority upon earth, and established by God himself to direct me in the way to salvation.

Nay I likewise agree to what you say, *that private judgment is all we have for the choice of a church:* because the *marks* of the *true church* are of such a nature, as not to be above the reach of a man's understanding to make a judgment of them: whence it follows, that my own private reason, after a diligent and impartial examination of those *marks*, suffices to direct me to the *church* I ought to choose for my *guide.*

But when this choice is once made, and when I have now found the true *church* of *Christ* by the *marks* that lead me to it, then the same reason tells me, that it is most reasonable to depend upon her authority with an entire confidence, and trust to her in every thing she proposes as a *revealed truth;* without pretending to examine or canvass the *mysteries* proposed by her, or to dive into them by the mere light of human reason. And therefore if your meaning be that we must employ our *private reason* in examining and scanning those very *mysteries*, which are above our reason, and that we ought not to believe any thing, but what our reason can comprehend, nothing is more false or pernicious than your saying, *that we must trust to it in every thing without exception.* For if we must thus trust to its examination in every thing without exception, I cannot see, how it is naturally possible but that we must be misled into a thousand errors, and that there must be as great a variety of *religions*, as there is of *private judgments.* Pray tell me, Sir, is your *private judgment* capable of discovering, examining, or understanding the sublime mysteries of the holy *trinity, incarnation, &c.*

"*G.*—My lord, my reason tells me, that there must be "many things in the nature of God, which I cannot under- "stand or explain: because he is *infinite*, and *incomprehensi- "ble*. And these I take purely upon *revelation*, that is given "of them in holy *scriptures*. For my own reason could never "have found them out, nor can perfectly understand them. "They are dark to me like a country I never saw. I cannot "have a right idea of it till I come thither: as I cannot of "*heaven* or the state of *separate souls*. Yet I cannot help "framing some conception to myself of what I know *never "entered into the heart of man to conceive:* that is, aright, and "according as these things are. Therefore I take not upon "me to explain them. For that would be to involve myself, "and I know that I must greatly err."—*p.* 47.

L.—That is very right, Sir, and you do very prudently in not taking upon you to explain such dark *mysteries*. But did not your reason tell you just now, that *private judgment is to be trusted to in every thing without exception?* And does the same reason now tell you again, that *there are many things, which must be taken upon pure revelation?* Or do you call this *trusting to your private judgment?* You may as well say, that a blind man trusts to his own eyes, when he follows his guide. On the contrary I call it *subjecting* our *private judgment* to the *revelation* of *God*. I call it, as St *Paul* does, *captivating our reason and understanding unto the obedience of faith*. In a word, I call it submitting in all matters of faith to the *decisions* of the *church*. Because whatever I take purely upon *revelation*, I take upon the *authority* of the *church* declaring such and such mysteries to be truths *divinely revealed*. For the *church* is then properly my *guide*, and the *revelation* of *God* is the *motive*, upon which my *faith* is built: and my *reason* acts no other part than that of an *entire submission*. So that the true and only use we are here to make of our reason is in this one act of judging, that it is most reasonable, that men should submit to that authority, which *Christ* himself has established. And upon this head faith is always rational, though reason can never discover, nor understand, nor explain the *mysteries* proposed.

" *G.*—My lord, it would be as much against reason to " deny these, as to deny there is any country in the world, " or star in the firmament, which I had not seen."—*p.* 47.

L. —Very right, Sir; pray go on. For with a little practice you will learn to speak truth.

" *G.*—And it would be much more unreasonable to think " there is nothing in the nature of the *infinite*, which I did " not comprehend; or because that cannot be expressed but " in words adapted to our understanding, therefore to mea- " sure his nature by ours. And because *Peter*, *James*, and " *John* are *three men*, therefore to think, *Father*, *Son*, and " *Holy Ghost* must be *three Gods*."—p. 47.

L.—This, Sir, would be denying the first article of our *creed*, and making *reason* dictate *blasphemy* to us. Therefore we must take care not *to trust to it in every thing without exception.*

" *G.*—But when I say *three persons* with relation to the " *divine Trinity*, there comes not such a thought in my head " as *three persons* of *men*. But because *personal actions* are " attributed to each of the *divine Three*, therefore we call them " *persons*. Which words the scripture applies to God. *Heb.* " i. 3. But it is only *ad captum*, as the schools speak. That " is, condescending to our capacity, as when God is said to " *repent*, to *grieve*, *&c.*, it is not that we should think it really " so; for that would be contradictory to the nature of God. " But it conveys a notion to us that we should act as if it " really were so, that God were *angry* and *grieved* at our sins, " and would repent of the blessings he has given or promised " to us, if we take not heed to walk in the ways, he has set " before us."—*p.* 48.

L.—Sir, though you have expressed yourself somewhat oddly, I am willing to put the best construction upon your words, not doubting but you believe the incomprehensible mystery of the *blessed Trinity* as we do: which *deists* and *Socinians* deny: because, say they, it is a contradiction to the first principle of *reason;* and they will have nothing to do with *revelation*, but think themselves easier without it.

" *G.*—They will not find it so, when they consider, that " they are in no less difficulties upon following their own " reason only. For example. They allow a *first cause* and

" *creator* of all things, because nothing can make itself. And " that first cause must have a *necessary being*, and conse- " quently from all *eternity:* and that eternity is a duration " without *succession* or *time*, or having any *beginning;* where- " in all is *present* without either *past*, or to *come*. This the " *deist* is forced to confess upon the conviction of his *reason*. " But he will not pretend to have so much as any idea or " conception of what this *eternity* is, or can be: nor can he " imagine a *duration* without *beginning*, in which there is " nothing *past*, nor any thing *to come*. Nor can he express " this any otherwise than in words of *time*, which we must " own are not at all proper, nor applicable to it. The word " *beginning* is inconsistent with *eternity*, and to say before " the beginning is a contradiction. Here then the *deist* is " lost, and must have recourse to the same excuse, which he " ridicules in *revelation*, viz., that we cannot speak properly " of *God*, nor in other words than belong to *men:* and that " therefore these words are not to be taken strictly, nor " argued upon, nor consequences drawn from them. For that " would involve us in numberless contradictions. And there " is not an objection, which the *deist* or *Socinian* makes against " the doctrine of the *holy Trinity*, the *incarnation*, *&c.*, but are " of this sort* by arguing from the nature of *man* to the na- " ture of *God*, from the *persons* of the one to the *persons* of " the other, &c., which these men of reason think highly un- " reasonable in their own case, as to argue from *time* to *eter-* " *nity*."—p. 49

L.—This, Sir, makes it plain to a demonstration that they, who will needs *trust to their own private judgment in every thing without exception*, must unavoidably involve themselves in a labryinth of errors and absurdities, from which they can never extricate themselves. And it follows from it, that, in all points of *revealed religion*, the safest, nay the only rational course we can take, is to submit our *private judgment* to that *authority*, which *Christ* himself has established upon earth; *viz.*, his *holy church*, which St *Paul* calls *the pillar and ground of truth*.

As for instance, how can you convince any man of the *inspiration* of *scriptures* but from the *authority* of the

* Which is, according to logicians, the sophism "Transitus a genere ad genus."

church? For if you will not build your belief of it upon that *authority*, I see not what other authority you can allege for it.

" *G.*—Nor I neither. For I put it upon no authority. It " is *evidence*, and not *authority*, upon which my belief of " *scriptures* is founded."—*p.* 50.

SECTION XXXIV.—OF THE INSPIRATION OF SCRIPTURES. AND WHETHER OUR BELIEF OF IT BE FOUNDED UPON EVIDENCE EXCLUDING AUTHORITY.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*His* lordship's *answer in the* gentleman's Case Stated *to what he said last, is so remarkable a piece of nonsense, that the* gentleman *himself gives him a civil reprimand for it; and goes on thus:*

" *G.*—*Authority* and *evidence* are two things. If I believe " a thing for your telling me so *without any other reason*, " then I believe it purely upon your *authority*. But if a " man I never saw before makes a thing very evident to me, " and convinces my reason; I believe not then upon his " authority; for he has none with me, but upon the *evidence* " he gives me. And what that evidence is upon which we " believe the holy *scriptures* is set forth in a little book, I " had the honour to present your *lordship*, entitled *the Truth* " *of Christianity Demonstrated, &c.*, which was wrote to convince " *deists*, who believe no *church*, nor *church authority*. And " if you have no other *evidence* but the *authority* of your " *church* to prove the *truth* of *scriptures*, I see not how you " will convince a *deist*, who denies both.

" But if I tell him that I believe the *scriptures*, and the " *facts* therein related upon the same and much stronger " evidence than I have for believing that there was such a " man as *Alexander* or *Cæsar*, that there is such a town as " *Rome* or *Constantinople*, though I was never there, yet I " believe it not upon the *authority*, far less the *infallibility* " of any man or number of men, that tell me so, but from the " *nature of the evidence*, which makes it impossible for man " kind to concert such a lie, or to carry it on without being " detected: and if the truth of *christianity*, that is, of the " *scriptures*, can be demonstrated, as plainly, as these other

" facts (which I think is done in the book I mentioned)
" then a *deist* must either be convinced or confounded.
" Now if you will let your church come in as a part of the
" *evidence* of *christianity*, she will not be refused so far as
' her share goes. But upon her authority, and upon hers
' alone, the truth of *scriptures* and *christianity*, will be a jest to
' the *deists*, since her *authority* can be proved no otherwise
" than by *scriptures*, and then back again the *scriptures* by
" her *authority*."—pp. 50, 51.

L.—Sir this is repeating the old thread-bare objection concerning the *circle*, whereof enough has already been said. But as to what you say concerning your *Christianity Demonstrated*, I have read it with attention, and own you have proved clearly enough against the *Jews* and *deists*, that the *sacred person*, whom we call *Christ*, is the *Messias* foretold by the *ancient prophets*. But as to any proof, that either the *Old* or *New Testament* were writ by *divine inspiration* (which renders them precisely the *word of God*, and a *rule of faith*) I do not remember one single argument in your book relating to that subject. There is certainly a large difference between proving that the *facts* contained in a book are *true*, and that the person, who wrote it, was *divinely inspired*. For several persons have writ the history both of the *Old* and *New Testament*, and yet their books are neither *canonical scriptures*, nor received by the church as *divinely inspired*, though the *facts* contained in them be certainly *true*.

Now, Sir, the point, we have before us (and it is a point of very great importance) is, how the *revelation* of *scriptures* has been conveyed to us. I maintain that our belief of it is wholly grounded upon *authority*, and so did St *Austin*, when he declared, that *he would not believe the gospels themselves, unless the authority of the church induced him to it.* Contra Epist. Fund. C. 4. You on the contrary pretend, that it is *evidence* and *not authority, on which your belief of the revelation of scriptures is founded.* Your *evidence*, therefore must be such, as is wholly *independent* of any *authority*. But for my part I know but two sorts of *evidence*, which are not

founded upon any *authority*, viz., the *evidence* of our *senses*, and the *evidence* of our *reason*, which is properly the result of a *philosophical* or *mathematical* demonstration. Now I presume, Sir, your *eyes* were never sharp enough to see the *revelation* of *scriptures*. And if you ever gratify the world with a *philosophical* or *mathematical* demonstration of it, you will deserve to have your statue set up in all the universities of Christendom.

I have therefore reason to suspect, that the whole *evidence* you boast of (though you assert positively that it is *evidence* and *no authority*) is in reality no other than the *evidence* of *authority*. That is, an authority so *strong* and *uncontestable*, that all men of sense ought to yield to it. Nay I do not only suspect you guilty of this trifling equivocation in asserting one thing, and meaning another, but I will prove it plainly upon you from your own words.

For *first* you tell me, that the *evidence* upon which you believe the *revelation* of *scriptures* is of the same nature as that, upon which you believe that there was such a man as *Alexander* or *Cæsar*, and that there is such a town as *Rome* and *Constantinople*. Now nothing is more certain than that these, and other such like historical facts are believed purely upon the *testimony* of *men*, and the *testimony* of *men* is what we call *authority*. And if you in your *Christianity Demonstrated* have effectually proved that the *canonicalness*, or *revelation* of all the parts of *scripture* has been as universally acknowledged by the *testimony* of all mankind throughout all ages from the time of the apostles, as that there was such a man as *Julius Cæsar*, which no man in his senses ever doubted of: if I say, you have proved this effectually, I am heartily glad of it. Nay you deserve immortal honour for so noble a performance; though I fear it is as yet to be begun. However I desire you to give things their proper names; and tell me no more *that it is evidence, and not authority*, upon which your belief of scriptures is founded; since, according to your own concession, it has the same foundation as your belief of any unquestionable *historical fact:* and that is no other than the

universal *testimony* of *mankind:* which, if you please, you may call the *evidence* of *authority*, and then our dispute is at an end: but you must never call it *evidence excluding all authority;* since *authority* is the only ground and foundation of it.

Which I prove 2*dly*, from your telling me *that you believe the scriptures from the nature of the evidence, which makes it impossible for mankind to concert such a lie, or carry it on without being detected.* For is not this plainly owning that all the *evidence* you pretend to is grounded upon the *testimony of mankind incapable of concerting such a lie?* And can you call this believing upon *evidence* and *no authority* without designing to convince the world that you are only playing with words?

Thirdly, you tell me that *if our church will come in as a part of the evidence of christianity, she will not be refused as far as her share goes.* This is very obliging indeed. However it seems then, that the *testimony of our church* (which to the best of my judgment is the *testimony of men*) may be a part of the *evidence* you speak of. And is this any other than the *evidence of authority?* It is therefore manifest from your own words that (though out of an over eager desire to run down all *church authority*, you will needs pretend that our belief of the *revelation* of *scriptures* is founded upon *evidence*, and *no authority*) you mean no more than a wretched equivocation in taking the word *evidence*, not as it is understood by *philosophers* and *divines*, for a *demonstrative knowledge*, but as it is used in our courts of judicature for *testimony*, or *witness*. Which in reality is granting the thing, and trifling with words.

G.—My lord, I have already told you, that *if I believe a thing for your telling me* WITHOUT ANY OTHER REASON, *then I believe it purely upon authority.* And can this be called the *evidence* of *authority?*

L.—No, Sir. And therefore the *authority*, you have described, is such, as none but fools and children would depend upon. For who but fools and children will believe a thing *merely because they are told it*, and *without*

any other reason? Wise men proceed otherwise. They examine the *capacity* and *veracity* of the author, before they give credit to his relation. And this is something more than *barely being told so.* And according to your notion, an authority well established ceases to be *authority,* and you will needs have it called *evidence:* though at the same time you mean no more than the *evidence* of *authority:* of which I am ready to allow you as much as you can possibly make out for the *canonicalness* and *revelation* of *scriptures,* or any other article of faith. Nay the more the better: provided you tell me no more, *that it is evidence and no authority upon which your belief of the scripture is founded.* But pray, Sir, upon what grounds do you reject those books of the *Old Testament,* which you call *apocryphal,* and receive those you call *canonical?*

" *G.*—As to the *apocryphal* books, we received the *canon* " of the *Old Testament* from the *Jews,* who never admitted " them into the *canon* of their *scriptures.* And how should " we know their *canon* better than themselves?"—*p.* 52.

L.—A pretty sort of question for a *christian* to ask! For this is the true *English* of it: *How should the church of Christ be wiser, or know scriptures better than the Jewish synagogue?* Or thus, *Is not the authority of the Jewish synagogue preferable to that of the church of Christ in the decision of an article of christian faith?* For my part, as I profess myself to be a *christian,* and no *Jew,* I think the judgment and authority of the *church of Christ* preferable to that of the *Jewish synagogue;* especially in so weighty a point as is the true *canon* of *scriptures* whether of the *Old* or *New Testament.* For they are equally sacred. And if I dare not trust the judgment of the *Catholic Church* in the one, I may as well question it in the other.

You tell me however, *that we received the canon of the Old Testament from the church of the Jews:* and here you fairly own at least, that you believe the *canon* of the *Old Testament* upon the *authority* of the *Jewish church.* But is not this a contradiction to what you told me just now, viz., *that you take the scriptures upon no authority?* And *that it is evidence and no authority, upon which your belief*

of the scriptures is founded? Or is the *Old Testament* no part of *scripture?* If therefore you receive that part of *scripture* upon the *authority* of the *Jewish church*, how can you after that refuse to receive the *New Testament* upon the *authority* of the *Catholic Church* without a manifest preference of the *Jewish synagogue* to the *church of Christ?*

"*G.*—My lord, as to the *apocryphal books* of the *Old* "*Testament* we were speaking of, we are sure they were not "in the *christian canon* in the days of St *Jerome*, if he knew "what was received by the church as the *canon* of scripture. "For in his *Prologus Galeatus*, printed before your own *vul*-"*gar Latin* he rejects them as *apocryphal*, and says they "were not in the *canon* of holy scriptures."—*p.* 52.

L.—It is true, Sir, he does so. Yet in St *Jerome's* time *Innocent* I., the third *council of Carthage*, and St *Austin* held them for *canonical*. To these the *Catholic Church* at last inclined, and weighed down the balance.

"*G.*—My lord, to say nothing of the books of *Toby*, *Judith*, "and *Wisdom* rejected by us, I shall only make a short re-"flection upon the books of *Maccabees*. For let any one but "read the conclusion in excuse for the weakness of the per-"formance, and then think it possible, if he can, that the "Holy Ghost should make such a speech as this. *If I have* "*done well, it is what I desired. But if I have not done my* "*work as it ought to be, I ask pardon for it.*

"But as to a full examination of *apocryphal* books, and "their authority, I refer your *lordship* to Dr *Cosin's* scholas-"tical history of the *canon* of holy scriptures, not yet answered "that I can hear of."—*pp.* 52, 53.

L.—Sir, how far Dr *Cosin's* sincerity and fairness in writing may be depended upon shall in some measure be examined hereafter. But as to your notable query, *whether any man can think it possible that the Holy Ghost shoula make such a speech?* I shall set the following queries against it. Was it the *Holy Ghost* or St *Paul*, that left his cloak at *Troas*, desired *Timothy* to bring it with him, and gave his service to *Prisca* and *Aquilla?* 2 Tim. iv. 13, 19. Was it the *Holy Ghost* or St *Paul*, that begged pardon of the *Corinthians?* 2 Cor. xii. 13. That desired

their prayers? 2 Cor. i. 11. That was an *idiot* in speech? 2 Cor. xi. 6. That says, he *speaks foolishly?* 2 Cor. xi. 21. Could the Holy Ghost say all this? But might not St *Paul* have the *humility*, and be inspired by the *Holy Ghost* to say it? It is what I answer to your query.

But since you have already told me, that the *canon* o the *Old Testament* was received from the *Jews*, though I should rather think we are obliged more immediately to the *apostles* for it, I hope at least you will allow, that the *canon* of the *New Testament* was established by the *authority* of the *church of Christ.*

" *G.*—No, my lord, not at all by her authority."—*p.* 53.

L.—For shame, Sir! But go on.

" *G.*—I say it was not at all established by her *authority*, " but plainly by *evidence.* They proceeded wholly upon evi- " dence, *viz.*, whether such an epistle was sent to such a church; " as to the church of *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Galatia*, *&c.*, who " carefully kept the *originals*, and sent copies to other church- " es, as was commanded, *Col.* iv. 16. And by this commu- " nication of the churches one with another the true *scriptures* " were known; and it is commonly set down at the end of " his *epistles* by what hand they were sent. And by this " method the *spurious epistles* and *gospels* forged by *heretics* " were at first detected: as you will find in the last chapter " of the fifth book of *Eusebius's* Ecclesiastical History: where " it is told, that the *heretics* were brought to this test, and " could not produce the *originals*, whence they took their " *copies:* and that their *copies* did vary from one another; " every one adding what opinion came into his own head: " and that they could not tell from whom they learned such " doctrines. Thus the *canon* of the *New Testament* was settled " in those ages, when these *evidences* were fresh and notorious; " and has been received since that time by all the *christian* " *churches* in the world so unanimously, that there is no dis- " pute betwixt any churches concerning the *canon* of the *New* " *Testament.* And this is an *evidence* too strong for the caprice " of some particular men, who would shew their wit in making " objections against this or that part. But they cannot hurt " the *faith*, because the *whole faith* is over and over again " fully expressed and contained in those gospels and epistles, " which are acknowledged by all."—*pp.* 53, 54.

L.—Really, Sir, such a wretched defence of *scriptures*, as you have here made, is worse than a satire or lampoon upon them, and exposes them more than any thing to the contempt of *atheists* and *deists*. For, to say nothing of the *bold falsehood*, you have asserted, viz., *that since the first ages there has been no dispute betwixt any churches concerning the canon of the New Testament*, I shall only shew, you are still in your trifling mood, and calling that *evidence*, which in reality is nothing but *authority*. But, to convince you how ill grounded your evidential system is, I will not exemplify in the *Revelations*, or the *epistle* to the *Hebrews*, or those other epistles, which, notwithstanding your *plain evidence*, were doubted of for some ages (as Dr *Walton* confesses, Prol. C. iv. sect. 6, p. 31). Nor will I instance in those parts of the *New Testament*, which were not directed to any *particular church*, and in reference to which your whole system of pretended *evidence* is altogether useless; but I shall pitch upon the very *first epistle* of St *Paul*, which never was doubted of, was directed to the *Church of Rome*, and brought thither by the hands of a faithful servant called *Phebe*.

Now I allow of all the particulars of your *evidential* system in relation to this epistle. As, that it was writ by St *Paul*; that it was sent to the *Church* of *Rome*, by a faithful hand; that the *Romans* kept the *original* (which however is now lost, and of no use to us) and sent *copies* of it to other churches, to the end that if *heretics* should attempt to corrupt the text, or hand about any *spurious epistle* of St *Paul* to the *Romans*, their forgery might be detected by this communication of the *churches* with one another, and by comparing the *copies* with the true *original*.

This, Sir, is the *evidence*, you speak of, placed in as advantageous a light as it will bear. But all the strength it has is built upon *authority*. For *first*, the *churches*, to which the *copies* of this epistle were sent, could have no other *evidence* of its containing the *pure word of God*, than what the *Romans* themselves had, from whom they received those copies. And 2*dly*, the *Romans* could have no other *evidence*, that the *original* contained the *pure*

word of God, than what *Phebè* had, who brought it to them from St *Paul*. If therefore *Phebè* herself had no other *evidence* of its containing the *pure word of God* than the *evidence* of *authority*, your whole system of pretended *evidence* without *authority* is a mere *chimera*.

Now it is manifest, that *Phebè* could have no other *evidence*, than what I speak of. For let us suppose, if you please, that *Phebè* not only received the epistle to the *Romans* from St *Paul's* own hands, and heard him declare that it contained the *revealed word of God*, but even that she stood by, and saw him write it. It is true indeed, that in the supposition, I have made, it was *evident* to *Phebè's* sight, that the epistle was written by St *Paul;* and evident to her *hearing*, that St *Paul* declared it to be the *word of God*. But that it was really *the word of God*, (and pray remark that our question is chiefly concerning the *revelation* of *scriptures*,) this was neither evident to her *senses* (for she could not see the *revelation*), nor to her *understanding* convinced by any necessary conclusion drawn from first and known principles. The ground therefore of her belief of it was not *evidence* properly so called; but she believed it upon the *credit*, and *unquestionable authority* of a person, whose veracity she could not suspect. So that her belief of that epistle's containing the *word of God* was resolved into the *revelation of God* declared by St *Paul*, whose miracles gave weight and authority to all he said or wrote. Her reason told her indeed, that St *Paul* was a man to be believed; as my reason tells me, that the *church of Christ* is to be believed: and therefore St *Paul* having told her (as we will suppose) that the epistle she carried, contained the *word of God*, she concluded that she ought to believe him. But who sees not that this is both *reasoning* and *concluding* barely from *authority;* and that the *evidence* she had was not an evidence excluding *authority*, but wholly built upon it.

SECTION XXXV.—THE SCRIPTURES NOT FALSIFIED BY THE CHURCH OF ROME.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*Pp.* 54, 55, *Case Stated, the* gentleman *answers an objection of the deists against* scriptures. *But his answer containing nothing, but what a* Roman Catholic *may subscribe to, is here omitted. Then the discourse falls upon* various translations *of* scriptures, *and the* gentleman *objects against our* Latin *translation thus:*

" *G.*—What signifies the *Latin*, which is not the vulgar " language of any nation in the world? I say, what does " this signify to the people, who understand it not?"—*p.* 55.

L.—Sir, to say nothing of thousands amongst the *laity* in all *catholic* countries, who understand *Latin* as well as the *clergy*, pray what signifies the *law* of *Great Britain* to the common people, who understand it not? Yet they cannot fail to have the benefit of it as long as there are *judges* and *lawyers* who understand it. And so will the people have the benefit of *scriptures*, as long as there are *bishops* and *pastors* to interpret it to them. But the Bible is now translated into all languages.

" *G.*—This instead of an answer to the objection is own- " ing it to have been *just* and *necessary*. And thus much the " people have gained by the *reformation*."—p. 55.

L.—It was indeed very just and necessary, that when corrupt translations were put into the hands of ignorant people to poison them, true translations should be published to hinder the poison from spreading. It is likewise certain, that the *reformation* has obliged us to answer many childish objections never thought of before. Now our translating the Bible into all languages is an effectual answer to the frivolous objection of *protestants* telling the people, *that we lock up the scriptures from them.*

" *G.*—Alas, what has the people gained? There is some- " thing worse than even a total locking up of the scriptures " in these translations: that is, a *corrupting* the text to deceive " the people, different from even your own vulgar *Latin* " translation, which you have authorized. This is made " apparent in a collection printed here at *London* of the " many texts thus evidently abused both by adding to them,

"and taking from them, and misrepresenting them in the "*French New Testament* printed in *France* for the new "converts there. And this has occasioned the suppression "of that *New Testament*, in so much that few of them are "to be found. At least they are not publicly to be sold at "*Paris*."—pp. 55, 56.

L.—This is one of the most extraordinary objections, that ever was heard of. A *corrupt translation* of the *New Testament* is printed at *Paris*. The book is suppressed by public authority, and scarce a copy of it is to be found. *Ergo*, we seduce the people by corrupting the text. Ought you not rather to infer, that therefore we are the sincerest people in the world in not suffering corrupt translations to appear abroad, or suppressing them as soon as is possible?

"*G.*—But there is a *Louvain translation* printed and sold "at *Paris* with approbations before it, and in this there are "many mistranslations. I will show your lordship one: "it is said, *Acts* xiii. 2. *As they ministered* to the Lord. The "*vulgar Latin* has it *ministrantibus illis Domino*; which is "the same word for word. But this *French translation* has "it thus: *As they were offering to the Lord the sacrifice of the "mass*."—p. 56.

L.—Well, Sir, but suppose that be the true meaning of those words.

"*G.*—Your *lordship* may suppose it if you please. But "what the import of the words is, or what consequences "may be drawn from them is what we call *exposition*, or "commenting upon the text. But to alter the words of "the text is of another nature, it is a false translation, and "not an interpretation, and comes under that terrible curse "pronounced, *Rev.* xxii. 18, 19, against those who *add to*, "and *detract from*, or *pervert* the holy words of *scripture*. "And to show that this was not done by chance, and what "use they intended to make of this text thus translated "they put upon the margin, *the holy mass*: that the people "might here find a plain *text* of scripture for the *mass*, and "the *sacrifice* of it. And in the *index* (which is done by the "same authority) upon the word *mass* this text is named "as a proof, that the *apostles* did celebrate *mass*."—pp. 56, 57.

L.—Sir, if every addition of a word or two to clear

the text be the same as *falsifying*, or *perverting* the sense of it, then the *English protestant translation* is as guilty as any. For nothing is more common in the *protestant Bible* than to find words inserted in a different character to make out or explain the text. Now I think it very probable, that it was merely a mistake of the printer, that these words *of the mass*, were not set in a different character. And if this be the case (as I am sure you cannot prove the contrary) then the translator is blameless, and your objection frivolous.

But let us suppose it to be otherwise, if he has delivered the *true import*, or meaning of the *text*, all he can be charged with is, that instead of a *verbal translation* of the text he has gone beyond his task, and given a *faithful exposition* of it. But it can never be strained into what you call a *corrupting* of the text to impose upon the people. For a text is then properly said to be *corrupted* for that end, when by *adding*, *detracting* from, or *changing* any word it is perverted from the sense, in which it is usually understood. Now, Sir, the *Louvanian* translator has done no such thing. For *Erasmus* himself translates the text in question, *as they were* SACRIFICING *to the Lord:* and it is now near 1300 Years, since the *christian sacrifice* of the *body* and *blood of Christ* (which you yourself [*Case Stated*, p. 42] have owned to be *the most solemn worship of God*) was called the *mass*. For the *apostolical* use whereof this text is a good proof, translate it as you please. And therefore the *Louvaniam translator* cannot be called a *corrupter* of the *text:* since he has only delivered that sense, in which *catholic* divines usually understand it.

" *G.*—My lord, I shall now give you an instance of *sub-*
" *tracting* from the text. It is said, *Heb.* xi. 21, that *Jacob*
" *worshipped* ἐπὶ *upon*, or *leaning upon the top of his staff.* But
" this *French* translation leaves out the word ἐπὶ *upon*, and
" renders it, that *he worshipped the top of his staff.* And in
" the index at the word *adoration* this text is quoted for the
" *adoration of wood.* Belike they thought there was some
" *image* carved or painted on the top of *Jacob's* staff, which

" he worshipped. And so this is made a text for *worshipping* " their *wooden images* and *pictures*. Especially the solemn " worship of the *cross* upon *Good Friday*. And who knows " but the *head* of *Jacob's staff* was not *round*, but *crutchways* " set *across* (as is usual with old men) and then the *staff* " was a perfect *cross*."—p. 57.

L.—A most ingenious reflection, and worthy of a learned divine! I presume, Sir, it is the *antiquity* of our church (for she is full 1500 years older than yours) has made you so charitable as to provide for her this *protestant crutch* to support her. For to be sure no *Roman Catholic* ever had so good a fancy as to think of it. But, Sir, by the *staff* (which you are so very witty upon) is not meant *Jacob's* staff, but *Joseph's rod* or *sceptre*, as I shall shew immediately. And this utterly spoils your merry conceit upon *old Jacob's crutch*. However, since you are in so pleasant a mood, it is a pity to interrupt you. So let us have your whole tale out.

" *G.*—My lord, in the former text concerning the *mass* " this *French* translation adds to the words of your own " *vulgar Latin* as well as the *original*. But in this last the " *vulgar Latin* as well as the *French* subtract from the " *original*, and both render this text the same way. But to " do justice to all, the *port royal Bible* delivers this text from " the gross interpretation put upon it by means of a false " translation to favour the *worship* of *wood*."—p. 58.

L.—Sir, I have already answered your objection relating to the former text. So now let us consider the latter; and see whether the *Louvanian*, or the *English protestaat translator* be in greater danger of St *John's* curse.

You granted just now that the *Louvanian* translation of the text before us agrees exactly with the *vulgar Latin;* which (though disliked by *protestants*, because it will not do their business) has had the approbation of the *universal church* for many hundred years before the *reformation*.

But, Sir, I must tell you moreover, that the *Louvanian* translation agrees not only with the *vulgar Latin*, but with St *Jerome* also, who renders this text word for word the same way, viz., *adoravit fastigium virgæ ejus* [Tom. i.

ult. Edit. Par. p. 1665]. So that you have both the *vulgar Latin*, and St *Jerome* against you. And he must be a bold man, who has the confidence to accuse this great *saint* and *doctor* of *corrupting* the *scriptures*. And if he has not corrupted the text in question, the *vulgar Latin*, which renders it as he does, cannot be taxed with it, and the *Louvanian translator*, who follows both, must likewise be acquitted.

As to the preposition ἐπὶ *upon*, which you complain is left out; the objection is so very childish, that I am almost ashamed to answer it seriously. However, to prevent its being put into the catalogue of *unanswerables*, I answer, that the same sense is very often expressed either with or without a preposition even in the same language. As in *Latin: oravit dominum*, or *oravit ad dominum*. And the same in *English*. He *prayed God, or he prayed to God:* but in different languages nothing is more common. So that provided the sense be faithfully rendered, whether it be done by the same turn of phrase, or otherwise, there can be no *corruption*, or *falsification* in the matter.

The only question then is, whether the *Louvanian* or *English* translation be the more faithful of the two in delivering the genuine sense of the *text*, we dispute about? I have already told you that the *Louvanian* translation has a person of no less credit and reputation than St *Jerome* himself to vouch for it. But I shall now present you with an old *French protestant* translation printed An. 1540, which perhaps will please you better than St *Jerome's*. Now this translation renders the text thus: I shall repeat the whole verse. *Par la foy Jacob mourant beneist un chacun des fils de Joseph, et adora* VERS LE SOMMET DE LA VERGE D'ICELUY. *Heb.* xi. 21. The *English* whereof is thus: *By faith Jacob blessed each of the sons of Joseph, and worshipped* (or bowed down) *towards the top of his rod.* Meaning the *rod* of *Joseph*, which was his badge, or mark of authority. For *Joseph* was the second man in the kingdom, and governor of all *Egypt*.

Now I presume you will easily grant that a *protestant* translator will not corrupt the text in favour of *popery*.

Let us then see whether this *French protestant* translation comes nearer to the *Louvanian* or *English* translation. The *Louvanian* translation is thus: *By faith Jacob dying blessed each of the sons of Joseph, and worshipped the top of his staff.* And the *French protestant* translation thus: *And he worshipped towards the top of his rod or sceptre,* which is very different from the *English* version, *leaning upon the top of his staff,* but agrees with the *Louvanian* translation. For *to worship the top of his staff* means in that place the very same as to *make a bow to, or towards the top of his staff,* and is no more an argument in favour of *idolatry,* than bowing to the *chair of state* to honour the king. But it is a very good proof for the lawfulness of our worshipping *Christ* by *bowing* to his *images* or *pictures.* For *Joseph's sceptre,* to which *Jacob* bowed, was a *type* of *Christ's* spiritual power and kingdom: and his bowing to it was a *prophetic* action, as the most learned commentators observe. Nay St *Paul* says that it was done *by faith.*

I observe 2*dly,* from this *French protestant* translation, that the preposition ἐπὶ, for which you are so zealous, does not only signify *upon,* but also *to* or *towards:* and therefore was not omitted with design to change the sense of the text: since it may be kept without any alteration made in the true import of it.

I observe again, that the French word *iceluy* points plainly at *Joseph;* as does the *Greek* word ἀυτοῦ, which signifies *ejus.* Whereas if *Jacob's staff,* and not *Joseph's rod* or *sceptre* had been spoken of, the *Greek* would have been ἀυτοῦ, and the Latin *suæ.*

I observe lastly, that your saying, *that this is made a text for worshipping our wooden images and pictures* is a false and malicious insinuation. Because it is false to say that we *worship* images and pictures in the sense that the word *worship* is generally understood by your church. That is, for an act of *divine honour.* Though it be true that this text is made use of to prove that it is lawful to worship *Christ* by paying a *relative honour* to his images and pictures: as it was lawful for *Jacob* to worship *Christ*

in spirit by bowing to *Joseph's rod* or *sceptre*, which was a *type* of him. Now, Sir, you may proceed, if you please.

" *G.*—In the other *French translation* I mentioned before " made for the use of new converts, this expression, 1 *Cor.* " iii. 15, of some that shall be saved with great difficulty, *as* " *if passing through the fire*, is boldly rendered *the fire of pur-* " *gatory*, as the words of the text without any different " character, as is used with us, when a word is put in to " make *English* of an *Hebrew* or *Greek idiom*. But in this " *Louvanian* translation the text is let stand, *so as by fire.* " Only purgatory is put in the *margin* in this edition made " since the objections against the other translation; in which " the addition of *purgatory* to this text is particularly taken " notice of."—*p.* 58.

L.—Sir, I find then that the *Louvanian* translation is wholly blameless as to this text, since it only explains it in the *margin;* and that in the very same sense as St *Austin*, and many more of the ancient fathers have done in their writings. But, as to the other translation made for the *new converts*, I refer you to my former answer, viz., *its being entirely suppressed.* Which suffices abundantly to convince any man of the frivolousness and injustice of your reproaching us with it. And let me tell you, Sir, if the rulers of your church were as honest and sincere, as those of ours, your *English Bible* would have undergone the same fate a hundred and fifty years ago.

" *G.*—My lord, I could give you more of the corruptions " of texts in the *French* translations. I have now only named " three. One of the *sacrifice* of the *mass;* another for the " *adoration* of the *cross* and *images*, and one for *purgatory*." —p. 58.

L.—I doubt not, Sir, but you have picked out the most notorious ones; and, it is a sign you are but ill provided, since these are the choicest of your whole stock. For I cannot think you are disposed to favour me. But pray take notice, Sir, that in the odious subject, we are now upon, you have been the agressor. You cannot therefore take it ill, if I make reprisals, when occasion shall serve. It seems your conscience is very squeamish as to some *unauthentic* translations of ours. You cry out, *Alas!*

What has the people gained? The least *gnat* chokes you. But, as to your own *protestant* translation put forth, approved, and maintained by the whole authority of your church, you can swallow *camels* without the least *alas*, or pious groan to lament the danger the people is in of being poisoned by it; as I shall show hereafter, when we come to the subject of *communion in one kind*, and the *single life of priests*. In the mean time I refer you for full satisfaction to *the Church of Christ Shewed, &c.* Part I. C. vi. sect. 7. Where you will find reason enough to employ your zeal more usefully in taking care that your own people be not here seduced by false translations, than in shewing so much concern for your *protestant* brethren or new converts abroad.

" *G.*—But the people are seduced by them. The people " believe as they are taught. There is small security to them " in the abstruse questions concerning *infallibility;* how far " it extends, and in the disputes between *popes* and *councils* " about it. These are questions, of which I suppose your " lordship will easily grant the common people are no judges. " They know nothing of the matter. How should they, " when the learned are divided among themselves concerning " them?"—*p.* 59.

L.—Sir, the people understand nothing of the abstruse questions concerning the *blessed Trinity*, yet I hope they can believe it, when they are told they must, without understanding it. And so they can believe the *church's infallibility* without understanding the questions about it.

" *G.*—However this *infallibility*, if it could be found and " fixed, would be of little use to the generality of the people, " unless their *curates*, and their *fathers* and *mothers*, who in " struct them were likewise all of them *infallible*. For, as I " said, they believe as they are taught, and examine no far- " ther."—*p.* 59.

L.—Sir, if they be taught by, and follow an *infallible guide*, I am sure they will not err. And as long as men, though *fallible* themselves, can, and do but faithfully deliver the doctrine of an *infallible church*, I am likewise very sure, that even the most ignorant people, who suffer themselves to be instructed by them, are in no danger of

being seduced. So that I am surprised at what you say, viz., *that this infallibility, though it could be found and fixed* (as I shall shew hereafter it can), *would be of little use to the generality of the people, unless their curates, and fathers and mothers, who instruct them, were likewise infallible.* This, I say, surprises me, because it follows from it, that the *scriptures* themselves, though *infallible* in what they teach, are *of little or no use* to us, because they, who read them are not *infallible.*

SECTION XXXVI.—WHETHER INFALLIBILITY EXCLUDES EXAMINATION.

" *G.*—My lord, we suffer our people to examine. But " yours are forbid to examine. For that implies a *doubt:* " and they are not to doubt of the religion they are taught, " but to receive without any doubt what has been told them " by the *curate*, their *fathers, mothers*, and *nurses*, and what " is current in the country where they live. This is all the " *infallibility*, of which they are capable. And this is the way " of all the earth. It is thus that the generality of mankind, " whether *heathens, Jews, Mahometans*, or *christians* receive " their *religion*. And without examining into what we have " been taught no man would change his religion. None could " ever have become a *christian*, especially a *Jew*, who had the " *authority* of his *church* against *Christ*, to which church he " alleges promises of *perpetuity*, and *infallibility*."—pp. 59, 60.

L.—Sir, we shall never make an end, if I am bound to repeat my answers as often as you repeat your objections. And therefore, as to what you say concerning the generality of mankind choosing their *religion* by *education*, I refer you to what I have already said to it (sect. 28). And, as to what you add concerning the *Jews* alleging their *promises* of *perpetuity* and *infallibity* against the *authority* of *Christ*, I have fully answered it (sect. 32). All then I have now to do is to consider, *first*, what truth there is in your saying, that we forbid the people to examine the grounds of their religion? And 2*dly*, whether all such examination implies a *doubt?*

As to the *first*, I assure you, Sir, there is nothing we desire more, than that every one, who is come to maturity of judgment, should examine seriously the *grounds* of his *religion*: because we are sure there is nothing will contribute more to strengthen them in the faith they profess. What was it that kept St *Austin* steady in his faith against all the crafty reasonings, and allurements of the *Manichees?* Let us hear his own words.

Not to speak of that wisdom (says he) *which you do not believe is in the Catholic Church, there are many other things, which most justly keep me in her communion.* 1st. *The agreement of people and nations holds me.* 2d. *Authority begun with miracles, nourished with hope, increased by charity, confirmed by antiquity holds me.* 3d. *A succession of bishops descending from the see of St Peter, to whom Christ after his resurrection committed his flock to the present episcopacy holds me.* Lastly, *the very name of catholic holds me: of which this church alone has, not without reason, so kept the possession, that, though all heretics desire to be called catholics, yet if a stranger asks them, where catholics meet, none of the heretics dares point out his own house, or his own church, &c.* Contra Epist. fund. C. 4.

These were the motives, that kept St *Austin* stedfast and immoveable in the faith he had embraced. And these motives are so plain and intelligible, that every man's private reason is capable of making a true judgment of them. Therefore the more they are examined, provided it be done without prejudice or passion, the more firmly they will fix those, who consider them, in the security they have in that *religion*, which is founded upon them. And has not every *Roman Catholic* the very same motives, that St *Austin* had to keep him stedfast in his faith? Truly, Sir, it is no small comfort to us, that when we are questioned about our religion, we can answer for ourselves word for word what St *Austin* said to the *Manichees*, which no member of any *reformed church* can do without talking nonsense.

Pray tell me, Sir, in what nation under heaven beyond the *British dominions* has the religion of the *Church of*

England as distinguished from *popery* and the other *reformed churches*, ever been received? That nation is not yet discovered. You cannot therefore pretend to what St *Austin* calls *the agreement of people and nations:* much less to the *antiquity*, St *Austin* speaks of. Since your church or religion is not yet 200 years old.

2. What evidence of *miracles* can you shew, that may be a rational inducement to any man to believe that the *reformation* is of God, and has his seal to it? On the contrary you ridicule all *miracles*, because you are conscious to yourself, that you have none to lay claim to. Whereas our religion was never planted in any idolatrous nation, but had undoubted *miracles* to vouch for the truth of it.

3. How can the name of *catholic* belong to you, since you have no *universality* either of *time* or *place*, as I have observed already, and shall shew more fully hereafter. (sect. 54.)

4. How can your *bishops* and *parsons* derive their *succession* from the *apostles?* Can you satisfy me in this one thing? *viz.*, by whom your *first protestant bishops* were *sent*, or who gave them their *commission* to *preach*, and *administer* the *sacraments?* Was it the *secular power?* That is nonsense. For no man can give that power to another, which he has not himself. Were they the *catholic bishops* their immediate predecessors? That is wholly incredible. For what king was ever so mad as to grant commissions to levy forces against himself? And it would have been the same extravagant madness in *catholic bishops* to have commissioned their immediate successors to preach *protestant* doctrine, and cut the throat of their own church. Add to this, that in the reign of queen *Elizabeth* the ancient *catholic bishops* disowned your pretended *bishops* and *parsons* as a spurious race; and were violently deprived, and condemned to prison or banishment for refusing to comply.

Nothing therefore can be more ridiculous than to pretend to have a *mission* from our church: and hence it follows plainly, that your first *pretended bishops* and their

inferior clergy had no *mission* from any authority originally derived from the *apostles*, and that, by consequence, they *entered not by the door, into the sheepfold, but as thieves and robbers.* John x. 1.

You have not therefore so much as any one of those marks of the *true church*, or *motives of credibility*, (as *divines* call them) which not only drew St *Austin* from *heresy*, but fixed him immoveably in the *Catholic Church* Whereas I defy you to shew that any one of these marks is wanting to ours.

We have therefore no reason to debar our people from examining the *grounds* of their *religion.* For it will stand the test of the strictest examination; and we only wish *protestants* would examine impartially the grounds both of their own religion, and ours. For if the considerations of *interest*, and prejudices of education were laid aside, they would find *antiquity*, *catholicity*, *miracles*, *succession*, and *mission* derived from the *apostles* on our side, and not one of these marks on theirs. Nay they would find the *reformation*, whether considered as to the *motive* of its *beginning* (which was to satisfy the luxury of a wicked and arbitrary prince) or the means used for its *progress*, viz. *violence*, *sacrilege*, and *plunder;* they would find it, I say, branded with such marks of infamy confessed by their own writers, as would convince them, that the *Holy Ghost* had no part in such counsels. I will only add, that there is not a *protestant* in the world, but if he traces the *reformation* of the *church*, whereof he is a member, to its source, he will find, that either *avarice*, *ambition*, *revenge*, or some other criminal passion gave a beginning to it.

It is therefore plain, we are not afraid to have the *grounds* of our *religion* looked into either by *catholics* or *protestants.* Now let us consider whether all examination implies a *doubt.* For my part, I have often examined my religion; yet I do not remember I ever doubted of it in my whole life. But give me leave to ask you, Sir, whether you doubt of the *scriptures?*

G.—Not at all, my lord.

L.—Yet you examine and search the *scriptures*. And, by consequence all examination does not imply a *doubt*. I ask again, whether the *scriptures* be not *infallible* in what they teach?

G.—I cannot deny it.

L.—As therefore *infallible scriptures* do not hinder us from examining our *education*, and how we came by our *religion*, so neither does an *infallible church* bar any such examination. St *Paul* exhorted the *Thessalonians* to *prove all things*. 1 Thes. v. 21. But I hope he did not exhort them to doubt of all things: that is, of all the mysteries of christian religion.

G.—My lord, when we discoursed of *private judgment* (sect. 33.) you required nothing less than an *entire submission* to the *church*. Now I cannot comprehend how *submitting* and *examining* can be reconciled together. This looks something like a contradiction.

L.—It will do so, if you remember but one part of what I said, and forget the other. For I distinguished then between the *motives* of *credibility*, which lead us to the true *church* of *Christ*, and the *mysteries* of *faith*, which that church declares to be *revealed truths*. The *motives* of *credibility*, or *marks* of the true *church* of *Christ* are the proper subject of our examination. Nay we cannot examine them too seriously. For they are proportioned to our understanding, and it is by this examination we *prove all things*, because all depends upon it. But when by this examination we have once found the true *church* of *Christ*, we are then bound to *submit* to her in every thing: and nothing is more reasonable than this *submission*. Because nothing is more consonant to reason than to submit in things, we do not understand, to that authority, which God himself has established.

It is thus a wise man acts in all temporal concerns. If he has a journey to go, and wants a *guide*, he seeks out the best that is to be found, and then is wholly guided by him. If he be sick, he inquires after the ablest *physician*. But when he has made his choice, he suffers himself to be governed by his prescriptions. If he be

engaged in a lawsuit, his whole inquiry is to find out the best *lawyer* to manage it. But when he has found him, he is directed by him in every thing.

And it is thus we must proceed in the great concern of our eternal salvation. God has *revealed* many truths, and we are bound to believe them. But these truths being *dark mysteries*, and above our comprehension, how must we know that God has revealed them? We must hear the *church* of *Christ*, which being the *pillar and ground of truth*, 1 Tim. iii. 15, all *revealed* truths are deposited with her. But how must we know the *church* of *Christ* from other *heretical* communions, which pretend to be that church? We must know her by the *marks*, I have already mentioned; which are so strong and clear, that they render it *morally evident*, that the church, they belong to, is that, with which God has deposited all *truth* according to the *promises of Christ*. Now whoever has a *moral evidence* that God has deposited all truth with this church, lies under an indispensable obligation to believe whatever she declares to be a *revealed truth*. Because, as a *moral evidence* that God has *commanded* any thing, obliges us to do it, so a moral evidence, that God has *revealed* any thing, obliges us to believe it. Nay a man would act most unreasonably, if he did otherwise. Because reason tells a man, that he ought to believe every thing, of the truth whereof he has a *moral evidence* or *certainty*; which of its own nature excludes all rational doubt or fear of falsehood. And thus it is, that faith is always *rational*, though the *mysteries* we believe be above our reason; and therefore cannot be scanned or searched into by human reason. Whence it also follows, that we always stand in need of a *living judge*, or *visible guide* to direct us in the way to salvation; and *Christ* himself was this *living judge*, whilst he was upon earth.

SECTION XXXVII.—THE NECESSITY OF A LIVING JUDGE.

" *G.*—This is *gratis dictum*, and begging the question of " the *Jews*, as I have already said: who upon the *authority* " of their *church* deny *Christ* to be the *Messias*. I will not " repeat; only ask these few questions——"

L.—Hold, Sir, you say you will not repeat; and yet you do repeat. And it is now the third time you tell me that I beg the question of the *Jews* in saying that *Christ* was the *Messias*, and by consequence the *living judge*. But under favour, Sir, I have fully proved it. So let us hear your questions.

" *G.*—I ask then *first*, who was the *living judge* before the " *flood?* For you say there must be always one, and so does " the bishop of *Meaux*. 2d. Was *Abraham* who was known " only to a few neighbours, and wrought no *miracles* to con- " vince others, was he, I say, given as such a *guide* or *judge* " to the whole earth? And *Christ* was not so great a tra- " veller as *Abraham*."—p. 60.

L.—It seems then it is your opinion, that as *Abraham* was not sufficiently known to be the *living judge* to the whole earth, so *Christ*, who was not so great a *traveller* as *Abraham*, was still less qualified for it. Really, Sir, I think you are too free with the sacred person of *Christ;* and your observation of his not being so great a *traveller* as *Abraham* is both frivolous and disrespectful. *Christ* came to preach the gospel to the *Jews* alone, and I presume he made himself sufficiently known to the *Jewish church* to be their *judge* of *faith*. The conversion of the *Gentiles* was reserved for the *apostles*, who founded that *church*, which was to continue to the end of the world, and be governed (according to God's own appointment) by their *successors* the bishops united like them under one *head:* now these compose that body, which to the world's end is to be that *living judge of faith*, concerning which the dispute precisely is between *protestants* and us. So that your questions concerning the *living judge* before the flood, and in *Abraham's* time, are wholly out of the way. This however we are sure of, *viz.* that God always had a *true church* upon earth, that is, a church visibly pro-

fessing the *true faith:* which was handed down throughout all generations from *Adam* and his children to *Noah:* from *Noah* to *Abraham*, and from *Abraham* to *Moses;* who was the founder of the *Jewish church*, which in her *priests* and *prophets* was the *living judge* of faith, and interpreter of the law till the coming of *Christ.* Now since *christians* have likewise a *written law*, which they regard as a rule of their faith, and this law contains many sublime mysteries, about which there have been, and will be frequent disputes to the end of the world, how can these ever be determined, if there be not a *living interpreter* vested with full authority to pronounce a definitive sentence? It is manifest, that since the *dead letter* cannot speak for itself, the christian law without a *living interpreter* can be no rule of christian faith.

Suppose there were a nation, that should give full liberty to every one to interpret the *law* by his own *private judgment;* would it be possible in that case either to condemn any criminal, or put an end to any law-suit? Nay would not anarchy and confusion be the unavoidable consequence of it? The matter is beyond all dispute. And therefore there is not a civilized nation in the world, but has a *supreme tribunal* established, from which there is no appeal. I only desire you to apply this to the *church of Christ*, and you will soon find the necessity of a *living judge* of controversy. If you have any questions to ask concerning this church, I am ready for you.

" *G.*—Pray, my lord, where was the *living judge* when " *Christ* was dead? And, if there was none for three days, " it might be so for three or four hundred years, and for " good and all. Because the argument fails for the necessity " of a judge always in being. You will not say the *church* " *of Christ* can fail for three days. The *promises* of God can " never fail; no not for a moment."—*pp.* 60, 61.

L.—That is very right, Sir; I am glad to hear you speak truth sometimes. God's promises to his church can never fail; no not for a moment. Nay this is the very foundation of her perpetual *infallibility*, against which *the gates of hell will never prevail.* But what do you infer

from thence? You ask me, *who was the living judge, when Christ was dead?* I answer, there was none for those three days. For *Christ* was dead, and the *apostles* had not yet received their *commission.*

G.—Then, my lord, it is false what you say, that there must always be a *living judge.* And as I told you, if there was none for three days, it might be so for three or four hundred years, and so for good and all.

L.—Most stoutly argued! But let us see, whether *bishops, pastors,* and the whole *hierarchy* be not rendered useless, and a mere unnecessary lumber by the force of this killing argument. God preserved his church for three days without *bishops* or *pastors* to govern her. Therefore neither *bishops,* nor *pastors,* nor *hierarchy,* nor *government,* are necessary for the *church's* preservation. Whatever answer you give to this trifling argument, will fully answer yours. For either the church fell at the death of Christ, and that will shew the necessity of a *living judge:* since it could not subsist without one even for the short space of three days. Or it did not fall, and then it is no more an argument against the necessity of a *living judge,* than against the necessity of *bishops* and *pastors* for its government. But I hope you will upon second thoughts find some difference between *three days,* and *three hundred years or more.* However since you insist with that rigour upon the word *always,* I must crave leave to understand it *morally;* which suffices to verify any assertions of this nature, unless men are disposed to be childishly scrupulous about the matter.

SECTION XXXVIII.—THE CHURCH DID NOT FAIL AT THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

G.—But will you then own, that the church and promises of God failed in those three days?

L.—No, Sir, our Saviour's promise of infallibility to his church neither did, nor could possibly fail at his death, as not being then yet in force; for a promise cannot be

broken before it is in force; and the promise we speak of, was not to begin to be in force till after the coming of the *Holy Ghost*, the author of its infallibility; as is expressed in the very words of the promise. Her infallibility is therefore dated from that time forward: so, though it were true that she failed at our Saviour's death, this failure would be no argument against her infallibility after the coming of the *Holy Ghost*, but only against her infallibility before it. But I absolutely deny, she failed even at that time: prove it, if you can.

"*G.*—Of the apostles, one betrayed Christ: another for-"swore him; and that was St *Peter:* all forsook him."—*p.* 61.

L.—This is a signal mark of your great respect for the apostles in treating them all alike as *apostates*. But with your leave, Sir, I shall make a great difference between *Judas* and the rest, though you make none. For as to that traitor, I yield him up at discretion. But as to St *Peter*, (whom I suppose you specify by name for honour sake) and the other apostles, I shall not part with them upon such easy terms. For their running away was the effect only of a sudden fear, and not of any formed design to forsake their master; as is manifest both in St *Peter* and St *John*, who after their flight gave undeniable proofs of their continuing to adhere to him by returning immediately to him, and following him again. It is true, St *Peter* denied him; but it was but for a moment, and barely in words: which he retracted the moment after with tears of the sincerest repentance: and this shows it was not for want of faith but courage to profess it, that he denied his master. But St *John* followed him not only to his trial but execution, stood by his cross, and took our *blessed lady* to his mother at his recommendation: which was not only owning our Saviour, but a being owned by him as a trusty *disciple* at the time, that you are pleased to treat him as an *apostate*. The rest of the apostles likewise retained still the same esteem and love for their master, nor does the scripture accuse them of hat error in faith.

G.—Yes, my lord, the greatest that could be. For *as*

" *yet they knew not the scriptures, that he must rise again from* " *the dead.* John xx. 9. *And if Christ be not raised, your* " *faith is vain.* 1 Cor. xv. 17. And the reason given for " choosing *Mathias* in the room of *Judas* was *that he might* " *be a witness with the other apostles of the resurrection of Christ.* " Acts i. xxii."—p. 61.

L.—As to your first text, pray, Sir, is there no difference betwixt an *inculpable ignorance* of dark and unintelligible scriptures, and the *sin of incredulity* after revealed truths have been sufficiently proposed? This you charge the apostles with, whereas the other was evidently their case. For though the scriptures had foretold the resurrection of our Saviour, yet these prophecies were so obscure, that they could not be understood especially by ignorant men, much less oblige them to a *distinct faith*, till the event had explained their meaning. The truth then of the matter is, that the apostles before they had been eye-witnesses of our Saviour's resurrection neither believed nor disbelieved it. But it was to them as a thing unthought of, and of which they had no manner of idea; the divine wisdom having thought fit to conceal these mysteries, till their accomplishment should make a clear discovery of them.

Your text from St *Paul* to the *Corinthians* is nothing to the purpose. For the apostle's design in that place is to establish the future resurrection, which he proves from the resurrection of our Saviour; and this he proves from the absurd consequences which would follow, *if Christ were not raised:* for then their faith of it would be *false* and *vain;* and then they would be still in their sins which cannot be remitted without true faith. But suppose he had told the *Corinthians* that their believing in our Saviour would be *vain*, unless they believed his *resurrection*, this was true at the time of his writing that epistle, when our Saviour's resurrection was become a necessary and principal article of faith; but it was not so at the death of Christ, there being no obligation to believe him risen before he was. And thus you see, Sir, how wretchedly you have misapplied this text.

Your third text from the *Acts* is trifled with in the same manner by your applying that to the time before our Saviour's resurrection, which relates only to the time after it, when it was to be preached to the whole world.

" *G.*—Pray, my lord, what faith could they have in him, " whom they had quite given over, and never expected to " see more? *They trusted that it had been he who should have " redeemed Israel?* Luke xxiv. 21. But when he was dead, " all their hope was gone. They expected no redemption " from him. This was far from a *christian faith:* and could " there be a *christian church* without this faith?"—*p.* 61.

L.—This, Sir, is imputing the personal defect of one or two to the whole society; which is not only false reasoning, but great injustice also. For the text you have quoted, and on which you lay so great a stress, speaks only of the two disciples of *Emaus*, who were neither the *whole church*, nor the principal members of it: and so it might have subsisted, though they had quite fallen off from our Saviour; which yet is not true. For they continued to love him, as is plain from their discoursing of him, and being *sad* for what had happened to him; as also from his appearing to them to comfort them. It is true, they knew not that Christ was to effect the *redemption of Israel* by that very means, which seemed to hinder the effecting of it, to wit, his death. For they imagined he would have effected it during his life; and being disappointed of that hope, they were at a loss what to think of it. But there is a great deal of difference betwixt a formed judgment against a thing, and a doubt or uncertainty about it by reason of its obscurity; as there is likewise betwixt their absolutely despairing, and their being between hope and despair in the trouble of their mind for the death of our Saviour, and disappointment of their present hope. Which is the utmost import of the forementioned words.

" *G.*—However, my lord, to avoid the force of this objec- " tion and secure the promise of indefectibility to the church " some of your authors of greatest name have said that the " church was then preserved in the *Virgin Mary:* and thence " infer that the *Catholic Church* may be preserved in *one*

" *woman* as it was then. And so it may be again in the time " of *antichrist* and the great defection foretold before the " second coming of Christ, when *faith shall not be found upon* " *earth;* that is, very hardly: when it may be confined to " one *laick*, or *woman*, or a *baptized infant*. As *Bannez* " (Com. in ii. 2. Q. in Art. x. dub. 1.) and others of your " doctors allow. They are no less men than *Alensis* the " author of the *Gloss* upon the *Decretals*. *Lyra*, *Occham*, " *Aliaco*, *Panormitan*, *Turrecremata*, *Peter de Monte*, St " *Antoninus*, *Cusanus*, *Clemangis*, *Jacobatius*, *J. Fr. Picus*, " *&c.* and to save repetition, your *lordship* will find their " books and words quoted in a small treatise entitled, *the* " *Incurable Scepticism of the Church of Rome*, printed here " Ann. 1688, p. 22, &c. I name this little tract, because it " is short, and will give your *lordship* no great trouble: and " proceeds upon the same argument I have undertaken with " your *lordship* instead of the particular points in dispute " betwixt the *Church of Rome* and us: as *Invocation of Saints*, " *Purgatory*, *&c.*, to go at once to the bottom of the cause, " and examine the ground and foundation of faith as taught by " the *Church of Rome:* which is shewed, I think, to a demon- " stration to be wholly precarious, and uncertain; and that " there is no greater difference and confusion among any sort " of men upon any subject whatsoever, than there is among the " divines of the *Church of Rome* concerning her *rule of faith*, " and *infallible judge of controversy*. And every one of the " different opinions about it is in flat contradiction to all the " others. So that if any one of them be true, all the rest " must be false. Yet they all pretend to believe with *divine* " *faith*, and think 'it necessary in this case, because it is the " foundation of their faith.'

" Now if according to these learned doctors the whole " church failed upon our Saviour's death, then *the gates* " *of hell did prevail for a time*. And if the *Virgin Mary* " were exempted, that would not do much as to the standing " of the church. But have they any revelation to ground " divine faith upon? Or upon what grounds do they believe " that the *Virgin Mary* knew the *scriptures*, or the *resurrec-* " *tion of Christ* more than the *apostles*, and was not under the " same *despondency* as they were? This seems to be that " sword, which *Simeon* told her, *should pierce through her* " *own soul also*. Luke ii. 35."—pp. 62, 63.

L.—Sir, you have here impannelled a jury of twelve *Catholic divines* against me, who (as you tell me) maintain, that at the death of Christ the church was preserved in the *Virgin Mary*, and may for ought they knew, be reduced to a *single woman*, or *laick*, or *baptized infant* before the *second coming* of Christ. But I doubt very much, whether those divines ever maintained either of these opinions; and a very good reason of my doubt is, the little credit, that is to be given to your voucher, the author of the *Incurable Scepticism*, which you magnify into a demonstrative piece against us; whereas it proves but one thing to a demonstration, to wit, that the author of it is a notorious misrepresenter and falsifier of our divines. For the truth whereof I refer you to the *Appendix* of *the true Church of Christ shewed, &c.* from pp. 455—476, where you will find enough to convince you how little your unanswerable author is to be depended upon in his quotations.

But suppose those divines had really taught what is imputed to them by that author relating to the points in question, I have no obligation to follow them in particular opinions, which appear contrary both to reason and clear facts. You tell me, that to avoid the force of your objection they said the church was at the death of Christ preserved in the *Virgin Mary*. They allow then that it was *preserved*, contrary to your opinion. But I see no manner of necessity of their being reduced to that answer: because there were others enough besides the *blessed Virgin* to uphold the church. For, to say nothing of the many *Samaritans*, who believed in *Christ*, John iv. 39, or of many of the multitude, who also believed in him, *John* vii. 31, what do you find in *scripture* against *Lazarus*, the *blind man* of the temple, *Joseph of Arimathea*, *Nicodemus*, *Zaccheus*, St *Mary Magdalene*, and other pious women? Is it credible that *Lazarus* could so soon doubt of that power which but a few days before had raised him out of the grave; or that he was less devoted to Christ after that stupendous miracle wrought in favour of him than before? What reason can you invent to suspect the

blind man, who stood up so boldly in defence of him against the whole *Jewish council*, at a time when they were resolved to make an example of any that should declare for him? For if he stood up so courageously for our Saviour before he did him the special favour to reveal his *divinity* to him, how much more firm must he have been to him after that? Nay so far was our Saviour from being forsaken by all at his death, that there were some, who stuck to him then more openly than ever. *Joseph of Arimathea*, who before was but his disciple in private for fear of the *Jews*, was now bare-faced for him, and went boldly to beg his body, which he and *Nicodemus* embalmed, wrapt up in clean linen, and laid in a *virgin tomb*, venturing every thing to give him an honourable burial. St *Mary Magdalene* and other holy women were remarkable for their devotion to him not only before but after his death: witness their standing by him, whilst he hung on the cross; their mourning at his sepulchre; their preparing their perfumes the evening of the sabbath; their going early the next morning to embalm his body, and their other pious offices, which were the effects of their *faith* in him. All these, I think are proofs enough that the church was far either from failing, or being reduced to a single person at the *death of Christ*. And that she will not fail before his *second coming* I have fully proved already. *First*, from this plain promise of Christ, *that he will be with her even unto the end of world*, Math. xxviii. 20; and Christ cannot be with a church, that has no being. So that when the world ends, then indeed the church will end, and not before. 2*dly*, Because the church will be persecuted by *antichrist;* and she cannot be persecuted, unless she has a visible being. 3*dly*, Because the *elect* will not be seduced by him; and surely the *elect* will not dissemble their *faith*, but profess it openly. 4*thly*, Because *Enoch* and *Eliah* will appear visibly upon earth, and maintain the true faith against the wicked *antichrist;* and 5*thly*, Because the *Jews* will be converted, and brought into the *fold of Christ* not long before the end of the world

and these will not be converted by *invisible pastors*, but by men openly professing and preaching the true *faith of Christ*. And is all this consistent with your saying and repeating it so often as you do, that *there will be no faith upon earth at Christ's second coming?*

But, to return to the chief point under debate, you are not content to treat the *church* as a *desertress* of *Christ* at his death, and his *apostles* as *apostates*, but have the boldness even to attack the *mother of God*. For you not only question her *faith*, but even argue seriously against it. You ask me *what revelation we have*, that she was not guilty of *unbelief* and *despondency?* But it is you, who are to be asked what *revelation* you have to prove that she was guilty of that fault? It being not only against decency but common justice to impeach her *faith* upon the bare want of a positive *revelation* for it. You may as well accuse the *apostles* of having been *high-way men*, because there is no positive text which says the contrary. Nay it is a crying injustice to accuse the meanest person upon earth of any crime without a positive proof of it: but it is not barely injustice, but downright impiety to charge the *sacred mother of God* with the crime of *apostacy* from her *faith* in *Christ* upon a bare negative argument, which would be of no weight against the vilest of creatures.

But, Sir, to give you full satisfaction, there is even *revelation* enough to acquit her. For has it not been revealed to us, that she was assured even by an *archangel*, that the *blessed fruit* she was to bear, should be *the son of the Most High, the Saviour of his people*, and the *possessor of a kingdom that should never end?* Has it not been revealed to us, that she not only received this heavenly message, but *believed* it, and was declared happy for *believing* it? And would you then have us think, that she who believed this mystery upon the word of the *angel* before it was wrought in her, could ever doubt of it after her *miraculous conception*, and undoubted experience of its truth? Has it not likewise been revealed to us, that she had the same divine assurance again from

St *Elizabeth's* saluting her as *the mother of the Lord* and admiring not only her goodness in honouring her with a visit, but also her *faith?* Luke i. 42—45. And could such a mother doubt of such a son, who had been promised her by an *angel* from heaven; whom she knew she had *conceived* of the *Holy Ghost;* whom the *shepherds* sent by *angels*, and the *kings* conducted by a *star* had adored in her presence, and whom *Simeon* and *Anna* had by divine instinct proclaimed *the Saviour of Israel* in her hearing? Have we not here *scriptures* and *revelation* enough to convince any christian of the moral impossibility of her entertaining the least doubt of the *divinity* of her *son*, even amidst the most shocking circumstances of his sufferings and death? the deep sense whereof pierced indeed her soul with the most sensible grief, and was truly that *sword* foretold by *Simeon;* whose prediction you have turned to her dishonour by a no less scandalous than senseless interpretation of it: as I leave any one to judge, who pretends to know any thing of scriptures.

Thus, Sir, you have undertaken three noble exploits, which cannot but redound very much to the honour of your cause; *viz.* to make the *apostles* false to their *master*, the *mother of God* false to her *son*, and *Christ* himself false to his *word* by your declaring *that the gates of hell prevailed for a time* against his church; which is declaring peremptorily, that the *contradictory* to his word was true at that time.

G.—My lord, you are too sharp upon me. For I pretend not to dispute against *Christ*, or his *church;* but only against your pretended *popish infallibility.*

L.—Pardon me, Sir. For our *pretended popish infallibility*, as you call it, is wholly unconcerned in what happened at the *death of Christ.* Because the *Holy Ghost* was not then come down upon the *apostles.* And the question concerning the *church's infallibility* (as I have already told you) is not whether she was infallible before she had the promised assistance of the *divine spirit to lead her into all truth*, but whether she has been a fallible or infallible church since her establishment upon the

foot of the promises? So that whatever happened before, is wholly foreign to the main question: and it follows from it, that all you have attacked, though, God be praised, with vain efforts, is the *infant church* of Christ, the *mother* of Christ, and the *veracity* of his sacred promises.

As to what you have said concerning the pretended *difference* and *confusion* in our church about our *rule of faith*, and *judge of controversy*, when you give yourself the trouble to prove it, which I presume you will endeavour to do hereafter, I shall be ready to give you the best satisfaction I can. But as at present you barely affirm it without any proof, so I deny it without any farther answer. If you have any thing more to say relating to our present subject, you shall have a fair hearing.

G.—My lord, I shall propose a short *dilemma* to you.

L.—I own, that is a cut-throat sort of argument; however let us have it.

"*G.*—If the *christian church* was not formed, as some "think, till after the *resurrection*, because our redemption "was not till then completed: or as others think till the "*Ascension*, when Christ commissioned his apostles to go and "teach all nations: or till the descent of the *Holy Ghost*, "when they were *endued with power on high*, Luke xxiv. 49. "Yet any of these ways it will follow, that there was no "*christian church* before the death of Christ, and then that "the *Jewish church* was the only true church, whilst Christ "lived in the world. For the *Jewish church* was to last, "till the *christian* was formed; else there was no church at "all after Christ came till his *resurrection*. And then it will "follow, that the only true church in the world did reject "Christ. And then there will be no choice left us but "either to acknowledge the *fallibility* of the church, or to "reject Christ from being the *Messias*. But if the *christian* "*church* was formed upon the first appearance of Christ in "the world, or upon his ordaining the 12 apostles, and send-"ing them out to preach, or upon any other act done in his "life, then (as I said before) the whole church failed upon "his death."—*pp.* 64, 65.

L.—Sir, your *dilemma* is a very harmless one; and I answer you directly, that the *christian church* was formed

long before our Saviour's passion. That is, as soon as there was a *visible society* of men believing in *Christ.* But I deny your consequence, viz. *that then the whole church failed at his death:* as indeed you said before; but I have already both said and proved the contrary so fully, that there needs no farther answer to it. Now then you may go on.

SECTION XXXIX.—THE QUESTION CONCERNING THE NECESSITY OF A LIVING JUDGE RESUMED.

"*G.*—If the church cannot fail, no not for a moment, "because of the necessity of a *living infallible judge* always "in being, the succession of the *monarchy* of the church ought "to be *hereditary*, where the king never dies. For this "scheme will not admit of an *interregnum* for months and "years, that may be spent in the election of a Pope, all "which time the church has no *head* or *monarch.* Much "less when there are *Popes* and *antipopes*, which has occa- "sioned 26 schisms in the *Church of Rome*, some of them of "a long continuance. And who is judge in such a case? "Is every man left to his *private judgment?* And is it all "one which of the contending Popes he adheres to? "Whether to the right or wrong? Or can the *church* have "two or three opposite heads at the same time?"—*p.* 65.

L.—No, Sir. But she may be without a ministerial head for some time; as when the Pope dies. Nor does she then cease to be the *living infallible judge* of faith: because her infallibility is derived from Christ himself, who never dies, nor ever leaves her for a moment, but will according to his promise be with her *even unto the end of the world.* And therefore whilst her visible head is either dead, or the legality of his title disputed, she continues vested with full power to take such measures as are necessary either to terminate disputes, that may occur about doctrinal points, or remove all uncertainties relating to the due election of her supreme pastor. And so, Sir, with your good leave there will be no occasion of leaving every man to his own *private judgment*, nor

will there be any danger of inconveniences from the short *vacancies*, or *interregnums*, as you call them, betwixt the Pope's death, and a new election.

As to the several *schisms* you have numbered up, I know but one, wherein the true Pope could be questioned with any colour of reason; I mean the great western schism, which I presume you chiefly speak of. But I cannot imagine what argument you can draw from it against the necessity of a *living judge* always in being. For, though the Pope was doubtful during those troubles, the *church of Christ* was not doubtful; but shewed herself to be a *living judge* to all intents and purposes, by assembling a *general council*, and taking the most vigorous measures to terminate the *schism*.

" *G.*—I told your *lordship* before, there never was a " council truly *general*: and that there are disputes in your " church concerning *general councils*, some receiving those, " or part of them, which others reject. And who shall be " the judge in this case?"—*p.* 65.

L.—Sir, as all this has been said before, so has it also been answered before.

" *G.*—But suppose you were agreed among yourselves con- " cerning councils, and that they were *infallible*, yet they are " not a *living judge always in being*. You have not had one " since that of *Trent*, which began Ann. 1545, and was con- " cluded Ann. 1563, now 150 years ago. And there may " not be another in twice that time, if ever. Where then is " the *living judge always in being*, which the bishop of " *Meaux* and others think necessary?"—*pp.* 65, 66.

L.—I dare swear, Sir, neither the bishop of *Meaux*, nor any man in his senses ever meant, that a *general council* must be always in being. It is an extraordinary tribunal assembled upon extraordinary occasions: but the other tribunals suffice for ordinary ones; especially that of the *principal* and *supreme Church of Rome*, by whose authority numberless heresies have been suppressed without any general council. For whenever the Pope pronounces *juridically*, or *ex cathedra* (as divines call it) upon any *doctrinal* point, his sentence being received by the *diffusive body* of the *church* is an *unerring rule of faith*.

It was thus the *Pelagian heresy* was condemned, first by the bishops of *Africa*, and upon their request by *Innocent* the *first:* and by *Zozimus* in his circular letter to all bishops, who received his judgment. Upon which St *Austin* said, *jam finita causa est;* the controversy is now ended. This, Sir, is that *standing tribunal*, or *living judge*, for which you seem to be so much in pain. But methinks, Sir, even past *general councils* may not improperly be called *living*, that is, *always in being*, because their *canons* are so, and determine all controversies at least between *catholics* and *protestants*. And if necessity requires it, new councils may be called.

" *G.*—And ages may pass before that can be done. And " the *church* may be corrupted in the mean time for want of " such a *living judge.*"—p. 66.

L.—Sir, you need not be solicitous about that matter. For the *diffusive body* of the *church* is always in *being*, and will take effectual care to keep out any *heresy* though her *supreme pastor* should not think fit to call a *general council.*

" *G.*—As *Europe* is now situated, it would be pretty diffi- " cult to have a *general council.* And it may be long enough " before any *Pope* may be of opinion to call one, and hazard " his *supremacy* upon it."—*p.* 66.

L.—Sir, I never read of a *general council*, that ever offered to prejudice, or call in question the Pope's *supremacy.*

SECTION XL.—THE DEPOSING POWER.

" *G.*—But, my lord, the *canons* of past councils are not " *living*, nor can speak for themselves. There are volumes " printed of the learned in your own communion giving con- " trary expositions of the *canons.* I will instance in one, the " 3d *canon* of the 4th, commonly called, the *great Lateran* " *council*, acknowledged to be a true *general council* by all " of the *Church of Rome*, established in most express and " positive terms, the Pope's power of *deposing* princes, and " absolving their subjects from their allegiance, not only if " he please to call them *heretics* themselves, but if they do

" not extirpate all *heretics* out of their dominions. This is " maintained in the literal sense by *Bellarmin*, and the " *Italian* doctors. On the other hand the *Gallican church*, " who have condemned the *deposing* doctrine, and yet own " this *council* of *Lateran*, are put to hard shifts, and many " distinctions to solve this. But it is impossible. For either " that doctrine must be true, or this council has greatly " erred."—*pp.* 66, 67.

L.—Sir, under favour, neither the one nor the other. For you mistake the sense of the *canon* you speak of; and therefore whether the *deposing* doctrine relating to the *Pope* be true or false, the *council* did not err.

G.—That is very strange, *my lord*. But I should be glad to know, what sense that *canon* will bear, if it does not give the Pope full power to depose *heretical* princes, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance.

L.—Sir, the third *canon* of the *Lateran council* contains no doctrinal point of *faith*, but the whole subject of it is a mere regulation of *discipline* relating to the methods that were to be observed during the *holy war* against the *Turks*. And the chief import or design of it was to provide an effectual expedient for the suppressing of the *Albigenses*, who were become open *rebels* both against the *church* and *state*: and to hinder them and others from taking an advantage of the absence of their neighbouring *catholic princes*, and invading their dominions, whilst both their persons and troops were employed in that holy cause. However nothing was done without the consent of all the *crowned heads*, that were concerned in the matter. For they all had their ambassadors at the council, and not one of them opposed the *canon*, or made any objection against it. Which is an unanswerable proof, that they did not look upon it as any ways prejudicial to the just rights and prerogatives of their respective sovereigns.

G.—But *Bellarmin*, and your *Italian divines* are of a contrary opinion, and build their *deposing doctrine* upon the authority of that *canon*.

L.—They do so. But *for one catholic divine, that is their opinion, there are forty against it: and for one*

catholic that believes it, there are a thousand that believe nothing of it [*Case Reviewed*, p. 57. 1 Edit.]. Nay if any subject of a catholic *sovereign* prince on this side of the *Alps* should venture to maintain it, he would pass his time but very uncomfortably.

G.—This, my lord, is at least an undeniable instance, that the *canons* of past *councils* are not *living*, nor can speak for themselves. And (as I told you just now) there are volumes printed of the learned in your communion giving contrary expositions of the *canons*.

L.—Sir, I grant there are some few *canons*, the sense whereof is disputed among *divines;* and these cannot speak for themselves, nor are they any *rules* of *faith*. So that till the sense of them be determined either by another *general council*, or the unanimous agreement of the *diffusive body* of the *church*, every body is free to take what side he pleases without danger of *heresy*, or breach of communion with the *see* of *Rome*. However the greatest part of the *canons* speak so very plainly, that they interpret themselves to any man of common sense. Nay I believe you think that they speak but too plainly. For they are all on the *popish* side. But let that be as it will, the *third canon* of the *Lateran council*, about which you make such a heavy splutter, contains no matter of *faith*.

" *G.*—But is it not matter of *salvation*, for which we shall " be judged at the last day? St *Paul* says, *Rom.* xiii. 2. " *They that resist* (lawful) *powers, shall receive to themselves* " *damnation.*—*Wherefore* (says he, v. 5.) *ye must needs be* " *subject not only for wrath* (or fear of temporal punishment " from these powers) *but also for conscience sake;* that is, " towards *God*. And what are these guides of conscience " who lead us wrong in this? In the description of the " *last judgment* given by *Christ*, Matt. xxv. 31, &c., men " shall be judged chiefly for their practice. There is nothing " mentioned there but what men have done. And have we " no *guides* as to *practice*, while we raise such contentions " about a *guide* in *faith?* Or is not the *church* a guide in prac- " tice too? And is not a *general council* the *church?* Then " the church has led us into a damnable practice, unless the " *Pope* has power to *depose* princes at his pleasure, and that

" there is no sin in *rebellion*, and all the *blood* and *desolation* " that follows it, if his *holiness* so commands."—*pp.* 67, 68.

L.—Believe me, Sir, *rebellion* is a most grievous and damnable sin, and the authors of it are accountable for all the *blood* and *desolation* that follows it, let him command it that will. But, Sir, if all *deposing* be *rebelling*, I know what I know. However let it suffice for the present, that you may be a very good *Roman catholic* without subscribing to the *deposing doctrine*.

" *G.*—And may not I be as good a *Roman catholic*, if I " do *believe* it, and *defend* it, and *practise* it too?"—*p.* 68.

L.—And may not I be a very good *protestant*, if I *believe* the *people's deposing power*, and *defend* it, and *practise* it too?

" *G.*—Have I not all the encouragement the *Church of* " *Rome* can give me? The frequent practice of *Popes* them- " selves, and here the *canon* of a *general council* for it? And " have any of the *Popes* ever renounced it."—*p.* 68.

L.—And have not I all the encouragement, the whole body of *reformed churches* in the world can give me, and the authority of all the *reforming apostles* into the bargain, who not only taught, but practised the *deposing doctrine*, and some died *martyrs* in the cause, only shifting the question from the *Pope* to the *people?* Either therefore *deposing* and *rebelling* are not the same; or, if they be, all your railing at the *Pope*, and *Church of Rome* upon that account is but lampooning the *reformation*, and making satyrs upon your own church. As to the *canon*, you speak of, I have already told you, it admits of various interpretations.

" *G.*—Then your *lordship* sees that *canons* are but a *dead* " *letter*, and that there may be disputes about them. And " where then is the *living infallible judge* always in being?" —*p.* 68.

L.—I told you, Sir. just now. But great wits have bad memories.

" *G.*—You see the *canons* of past *councils* cannot be this " *judge*, there must be another judge to determine their true " sense."—*p.* 68.

L.—The very same, Sir, as determines the true sense of *scriptures.*

" *G.*—And who should that judge be but the *Pope*, the " *head* of the *church?* I am sure, if I were a *Roman* " *catholic*, I should be on that side."—*p.* 68.

L.—The Pope, Sir, is very much obliged to you for your good inclinations towards him. However I presume he will not be less *infallible*, if the *diffusive body* of the *church*, or a *general council* (when he thinks fit to call one) be joined with him.

" *G.*—I could show your *lordship* several other *canons* " of *councils*, that are in dispute among your doctors. But " what wonder is it, when I have already showed, that they " are in dispute about *councils* themselves. It follows how- " ever that there is *no certainty*, what the judgment of your " church is. Or rather it is certain, that it is most *errone-* " *ous;* and in matters that concern eternal salvation, as well " as the peace of the world, that is, *rebellion* amongst other " things, which is as *witchcraft* and *idolatry.*"—pp. 68, 69.

L.—What, Sir! Is her judgment *certainly* erroneous; though there be no certainty of what her judgment is! That is very hard indeed. But you need not be in pain about the judgment of the *Roman Catholic Church* concerning the *deposing doctrine.* For it is certainly her judgment, that it is no *article* of *faith*, and may therefore be either held or rejected without danger of *heresy.* Nay it is generally rejected, as I have already told you. So that you may bestow your *witchcraft* and *idolatry* upon what church you please. For the *Church* of *Rome* has nothing to do with them.

" *G.*—My lord, I have instanced in this sin, because I know " your *lordship* is tenacious of your loyalty."—*p.* 69.

L.—Sir, I am obliged to you for your good opinion of me, and I hope I shall always deserve it.

" *G.*—And now, my lord, since the saving of our souls is " the end for our being in any church, I leave your *lordship* " to judge whether the people are safest in the *communion* " of *Rome*, or in the *Church of England* as to this point."—*p.* 69.

L.—Sir, to prevent all equivocation in my answer,

the *deposing doctrine* may be considered either relatively to the *Pope alone*, or as it regards all sorts of persons indifferently: that is, precisely as it is justifiable or unjustifiable in the *court of conscience*. If you consider it with relation to the *Pope alone*, then the dispute is not whether *deposing* princes be *lawful* or *unlawful*, but whether the power of doing it ought to be acknowledged in the *Pope*: which reduces it to a mere *political* controversy, and the holding or not holding it makes no more difference as to the *safety of salvation* than maintaining contrary opinions about a point of law. So that, although a *protestant government* (which denies the *Pope's deposing power* as all *protestants* do) may indeed have a *political* advantage over that of a *catholic kingdom*, which allows it; yet the *church* on either side is wholly unconcerned in the question thus stated.

But I presume, Sir, our dispute is not about what is safest in *politics*, but what is safe in *conscience*: since you have positively declared the *deposing doctrine* to be inconsistent with salvation, and contrary to the express doctrine of St *Paul*. Nay you have equalled it with the crimes of *rebellion*, *witchcraft*, and *idolatry*. Least therefore I should mistake your meaning, give me leave to propose some questions to you. Is the *deposing doctrine* inconsistent with *salvation*, only as it regards the *Pope?* Again, when St *Paul* says, that *they who resist powers shall receive damnation to themselves* (which is the very text you have quoted) does he only speak of *Popes?* Finally, when you told me that *deposing* is the sin of *rebellion*, which is as *witchcraft* and *idolatry*, did you mean, that it is a sin of this heinous nature, only when it is commanded or authorized by the *Pope?* Pray, Sir, answer me these questions.

G.—My lord, it is plain my meaning is, that deposing a lawful prince is a most grievous sin, let him command or practise it that will.

L.—I confess, Sir, I took this to be your meaning because I could not easily comprehend how a man of your wisdom should maintain that deposing is *inconsistent*

with salvation, and contrary to the *word of God*, nay stigmatize it with the odious names of *rebellion*, *witchcraft*, and *idolatry*, unless you regarded it as a most grievous sin in its own nature, that is, independently of the character or religion of the persons concerned in it. So that, whether it be practised by *protestants* or *papists*, by the *Pope*, or by *protestant bishops*, the sin is the same. For though (as I have already observed) there may be very good *politic reasons* for disallowing a deposing power in a *foreign prince*, which perhaps will not hold with equal force in relation to the *natural subjects* of any sovereign, yet *reasons of conscience*, such as its being inconsistent with salvation, and contrary to the word of God regard all equally: nor is *rebellion*, *witchcraft*, and *idolatry* any more lawful in one person than another.

G.—My lord, I see not what all this drives at, or that it is any answer to what I said last.

L.—Sir, it leads me directly to it. You told me, *that since the saving of our souls is the end for our being in any church, you left me to judge whether the people are safest in the communion of Rome, or in the Church of England as to the deposing doctrine.* My judgment then is, that whether *deposing* be *lawful* or *unlawful* (for all are not of your mind) you can claim no advantage over us. For if it be *lawful*, there can be no danger of *salvation* in a church that holds it: and we are thus far upon equal terms as to the point in question. But if it be *unlawful* (which is your opinion) believe me, Sir, your church is in a very ill way, and has no reason to challenge any advantage over the *Church of Rome.* Witness first the *revolution*, in which your church had the greatest hand; though she was afterwards bubbled out of the best part of the fruits of it. Witness 2*dly*, the following *act* passed by both houses of *parliament* some time after the revolution. *'If the king and queen shall be reconciled to the Church of Rome, or profess the popish religion, or marry a papist, then such persons shall be excluded inherit the crown, or have regal power in the realm, and the people shall be absolved of their allegiance.* This act

was assented to not only by the *representatives* of the *people*, but likewise by the *representatives* of the *Church of England*, I mean the *bishops*. Now I believe you will be puzzled to find any thing so clear, so strong, and decisive for the *Pope's deposing power* in any *canon* of the *Church of Rome*, as this *act of parliament* is for the *deposing power* of the *people of England*. And therefore I think I shew myself very moderate in advising you to come to a fair composition as to the point in question; and not to boast or swagger, as if you had some signal advantage over us.

But let all this be as it will; if after all you will needs maintain, that *deposing* is the same as *rebelling*, and stigmatize it with the odious names of *witchcraft* and *idolatry*, you may do as you think fitting. But for my part I am not fond of a lodging in *Newgate*, and therefore will give it no such names; which may perhaps offend the government. This I maintain positively, that the *Pope's deposing power* is disowned by far the greatest number of *Roman catholics*. So that there is no danger on that score in the communion of the *Church of Rome*. Nay in *France*, where they are sound catholics, no divine dares teach it.

" *G.*—My lord, my dispute is with the *Church of Rome*. " And if the *church of France* differs from the *Church of* " *Rome* in matters, whereon salvation depends, they cannot " be said to be *one church*, or to have the same guides to " heaven."—*p.* 69.

L.—I take you, Sir, to be extremely out in your casuistry in pretending that *French* and *Italian* divines cannot be of the same church, because they differ in their opinions concerning a moral duty; which only obliges a man to follow in practice, what in his conscience he judges to be most reasonable. Is there any thing more common either among *protestant* or *catholic divines* than to be of different opinions in deciding cases relating to moral duties? And yet there is not a moral duty, but *salvation* is more or less concerned in it. Yet this difference makes no breach of communion. And why

then will you not vouchsafe to say, that *Italian* and *French* divines, though they differ in a moral question, may yet be truly in one church, and have the same guides to heaven?

SECTION XLI.—THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

" *G.*—But, my lord, the *Pope's deposing power* extended " itself even to *France*: of which you will find frequent " instances in history. And even so late as the *holy league* " against *Henry* III. All the *Popes* in that time joined with " the *league* against the king, and supported the rebellion by " their authority. And the generality of the *bishops* and " *clergy* of *France*, and their *universities* took part with the " league, and justified it by principle and in print. The " book *of the just abdication of Henry* III., *king of France* " was then writ upon the foot of the *deposing power*, not " only of the *Pope*, but also of the *people*."—pp. 69, 70.

L.—Ay marry, Sir, the *deposing power of the people* is something: for without it, that of the *Pope* will do but little execution. But what need of running back as far as the *French league* for an instance, I mean not of the *Pope's*, but of the *people's* deposing power? Have we not one of a much fresher date at home? To wit, the *English league*, which produced the *revolution*. And did not the generality of the *bishops* and *clergy* of *England*, and the two *universities* take part in this league? Was it not justified *by principle*, and innumerable books writ in defence of it upon the foot of the *deposing power* lodged in the *people?* Now, Sir, you may go on.

" *G.*—*D'Avila*, in his history of the civil wars in *France*, " tells us a great and solemn procession was made by order " from the *cardinal legate* to implore God's assistance (for " the success of the league against the king) in which the " *prelates*, *priests*, and *monks* of the several religious orders " walked all in their accustomed habits. But besides them " armed openly with corslets, guns, swords, and all kind of " arms offensive and defensive: making at once a double " show both of devotion, and constancy of heart to defend " themselves. Which ceremony, though it seemed undecent

" and ridiculous (says *d'Avila*) yet was of great use to ang-
" ment and confirm the courage of the common people. And
" the *cardinal legate* says in the declaration he published
" to the leaguers; that to acknowledge an *heretic* for their
" king *is the dream of a madman, which proceeds from nothing*
" *else but heretical contagion.*"—pp. 70, 71.

L.—Sir, the ceremony described by *d'Avila* was certainly indecent and ridiculous. But, as to the *cardinal's* declaration, does it not express the present sentiments of the *Church of England* in relation to a *popish successor?* And where then is the difference as to the *safety* of *salvation?*

" *G.*—My lord, the *leaguers* showed, wherein they placed
" their confidence, and said, they are the most *holy fathers*
" (the *Popes*) and the most *holy see*, that have sent us relief.
" And though many have been called to that holy dignity
" since the last troubles, yet has there not been one of them,
" who has changed his affection towards us. A most cer-
" tain testimony that our cause is just."—[*D'Avila* p. 598.]
—p. 71.

L.—Sir, the *French leaguers* were certainly very much influenced by the authority of some *Popes*, who sided with the *league*. But were not the people of *Great Britain* at a certain time influenced in the same manner by their *spiritual guides?* I mean, the *bishops* and *clergy?* Remember but the history of the *seven golden candlesticks*, and the *prince* of *Orange's* printed declaration, *that he was called in by the lords spiritual and temporal*, and there will be no room left to doubt of it. I am sorry, Sir, you oblige me to the odious task of recriminating. But since you are so very tart upon the *Church of Rome*, because some of that communion teach, and some have practised the *deposing doctrine*, and you even claim a mighty advantage over her upon that head, you lay a necessity upon me to put you in mind of these ungrateful truths, that you may not be so warm in condemning your enemies abroad, for what you practise yourselves at home without any scruple.

" *G.*—To return to the *French league*, there were *six Popes*
" during that time, viz. *Gregory* XIII., *Sixtus* V., *Urban* VII.,

" *Gregory* XIV., *Innocent* IX., and *Clement* VIII. And " they supported that rebellion not only with their bless- " ing it and the authors of it, and cursing the king and all " his loyal subjects, who adhered to him; but they sent more " substantial relief, *viz.* 300,000 crowns for the service of the " *cardinal* of *Bourbon,* whom they had chosen by the name " of *Charles* the *tenth* against the next in blood, only because " he was a *protestant:* and 15,000 crowns a month to carry " on that rebellion with an army of 6000 foot, and 1200 " horse to assist these *holy leaguers.*"—p. 71.

L.—Just so, Sir, did queen *Elizabeth* the *head* and *foundress* of your church assist the *Dutch leaguers* with men and money against king *Philip.* And your *royal martyr* king *Charles* I., assisted the rebels of *Rochelle* against *Lewis* XIII., their undoubted sovereign.

" *G.*—The *Pope* went heart and hand into the work, which " he accounted excellently good (says *d'Avila*) and of won- " derful glory and advantage to the *apostolic see.* And after- " wards when the success of the king's arms had induced " several of the *clergy,* and others to come over to him, the " *Pope* sent *his monitory letters to the prelates and catholics* " *commanding them under pain of excommunication, and of* " *being deprived of their dignities and benefices, and of being* " *used as sectaries and heretics, that they should withdraw them-* " *selves from those places, that yielded obedience to Henry of* " *Bourbon* (so he styled the king) *and from the union and* " *fellowship of his faction.* D'Avila L. 13, p. 613. And the " authority of the *Pope* prevailed so far at last, that those " *catholics,* who had joined with the king, formed a conspi- " racy against him upon his delay of changing his religion; " wherein the princes of the blood were most violent, and told " him plainly to his face, that if he did not perform his pro- " mise (to turn *Roman catholic*) they would desert him, and " join with the league. *Ibid.* pp. 611, 612."—*pp.* 71, 72.

L.—Sir, I must beg leave to interrupt you for a moment. You have named six Popes, that sided with the *French league.* First, it is nothing to the purpose whether they did or no. For if the *deposing doctrine* be false, the *Popes* that joined with the league were to be blamed; and it is a convincing proof, that they are not *impeccable.* But, whether that doctrine be true or false (for it is not

my business to decide the question) they did no more than the *English bishops* and *clergy* did at the *revolution*, and have done ever since upon *revolution principles*. So that, whether *right* or *wrong*, they and the *Popes* have nothing to reproach one another. However you are somewha mistaken in your number of those Popes that sided with the league. For *Maimbourg*, whom no man can accuse of being too favourable to the *court* of *Rome*, tells us in his history of the *French league* translated by Mr *Dryden* p. 67, that Pope *Gregory* XIII, constantly persisted in refusing to approve the league: and *Urban* VII. enjoyed the pontificat for so short a time that he could have no part in their counsels. Now, Sir, you may tell your whole story out if you please.

" *G.*—After the conversion of *Henry* IV. and his being " by that established on the throne, they feared his power, " and therefore the Pope (as now) made less noise with the " *deposing doctrine*, which yet he would not disown, but kept " it in *petto* till a fitter opportunity. But yet it was not car- " ried so covertly, but that even in their sermons wise and " willing men might know their meaning. *Ravaillac*, upon his " examination, alleged the *Lent sermons* before his assassina- " tion of *Henry* IV., as the ground and encouragement to " that execrable fact. But after that magnanimous prince " had thus fallen a sacrifice to their restless furious zeal, and " his son succeeded young and fenceless to the government, " then they set up again the *deposing doctrine* on high; be- " cause then they durst do it. With which our king James " does justly upbraid them, particularly his opponent, the " cardinal of *Perron*, in his preface to his book entitled *a* " *Defence of the Right of Kings;* for it was but five years after " the murder of *Henry* IV. *viz.* Ann. 1615, that cardinal *Per-* " *ron*, in the assembly of the *three estates* of *France*, and in " the name of the *first estate*, that is, of the *clergy*, did reassert " the power of the Pope to *depose kings*, with this reason, " *that otherwise there had not been any church for many ages* " *past, and that indeed the church* (he meant the *Church of* " *Rome*) *would be the very synagogue of antichrist.*

" But, to come to a fresh instance now on foot, Pere *Jou-* " *vency*, a *French jesuit*, has lately printed a book at *Rome*, in " defence of the Pope's power to depose princes: and the

" unwillingness and shifts of the *jesuits* at *Paris* to disown " him in this, and to disclaim that doctrine fairly and above " board shews, that it is not yet quite extinguished in *France*, " but kept up in the embers as in the reign of *Henry* IV. " For all, who understand that order of the *jesuits*, know full " well that none of them dare print, especially upon such a " subject, without the approbation of their superiors, and " that *France* is not entirely free from the infection. And, " though the vigour of this king has depressed it very much, " we cannot say it is totally extinguished, or that there is no " danger of a relapse, whilst the authority of the Pope is " revered as *head* of the *Catholic Church*, and the *council* of " *lateran* is still owned as truly *general* and *infallible*, and " the bishops of *France* still take an oath of *fidelity* and *obe-* " *dience* to the Pope."—*pp.* 72—74.

L.—Well, Sir, I presume you have now finished your satyr upon the *deposing doctrine.* But what is it you chiefly drive at?

G.—My lord, I have told you that already. It is to convince your *lordship*, that the people are safer in the *Church* of *England*, than in the *Church* of *Rome.*

L.—Truly, Sir, if *deposing* be a *godly work*, I own the people to be very safe (as to that article) in the *Church* of *England.* But if it be true what you say, *viz.* that *deposing* is the same as *rebelling;* then all you have said, nay though you could say ten times more against the *Church of Rome* upon that head, is fully answered by these two verses in St *Matthew*, c. vii.: *Why beholdest thou the mote, that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam, that is in thy own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thy own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.* Matt. vii. 3, 5.

However I desire you not to expect that I shall join issue with you in your notion of it, or call the practise of it *rebellion*, *witchcraft*, *idolatry*, and what not! For I am not so void of sense as not to reflect that I live under the protection of a government, which will not perhaps relish such harsh expressions. I likewise remember that not many years ago a certain *protestant divine* was upon the

very brink of utter ruin for presuming to preach up the doctrine of *passive obedience*, and *non-resistance;* and an eminent member of *parliament*, who was one of the managers against him, stuck not to say, that if the doctrine of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance* were maintainable, *queen Anne had no more title to the crown of Great Britain than my lord mayor's horse.* Nor have I forgot that the bold author of *Hereditary Right, &c.* was condemned to eat the bread of sorrow, and drink the waters of tribulation for two whole years together in the *Marshalsea*, even whilst the *high church* had the reins of government in their hands. Now, to deal plainly with you, I have no ambition to be a boarder in that place, and therefore will not meddle with *politics*. But, whoever will but give himself time to reflect upon the part your church has had in the transactions of above thirty years past, must be surprised to find you so very sharp upon the *deposing doctrine*, and *practice* of a few *papists*, when it was your business to consider first, whether all were well guarded at home. For let me tell you, Sir, this caution is very necessary in disputes: since without it you only put stones into the hands of an adversary to throw at you: nor are any privileged *to throw the first stone*, but they, *who are free from sin.*

Now, Sir, I have shewed from undeniable facts, that a man may be a very *good protestant*, nay a good *Church of England-man*, though he holds the *deposing power* of the *people*, and *believes* it, and *practises* it too. Whether therefore that doctrine be true or false, right or wrong, it is certain you cannot condemn those amongst *papists*, that hold that power lodged in the *Pope* without condemning your own church in the highest degree. For it is beyond my comprehension, that *deposing* should be *rebellion, witchcraft*, and *idolatry*, when it is commanded by the *Pope* against a *protestant prince*, and have nothing of this foul aspect, when it is executed by *protestants* against a *popish prince.*

Nay, Sir, you quarrel with us merely for the *speculative* doctrine of the *Pope's deposing power* (for there is no

great danger of its taking effect) when at the same time the *practice* of the *people's deposing power* runs violently on the *protestant side;* as may be clearly proved from the histories of all the *protestant* countries in *Europe.* Alas, Sir, the *deposing power* of the *Pope* is but a fleabite to that of the *people:* and give me leave to tell you, that one *act* of a *British parliament* does more execution in the business of *deposing* than twenty *papal bulls.* For the *Pope* can never depose without the *people,* but the *people* have deposed many a prince without the *Pope.* So pray, Sir, let the good old gentleman live quietly at *Rome,* and meddle no more with him, till he meddles with you.

SECTION XLII.—THE OATH OF THE BISHOPS TO THE POPE IS NO PREJUDICE TO THEIR ALLEGIANCE.

G.—My lord, I must beg your pardon; I have not yet done with him. Nor have you said any thing to what I objected concerning the *oath* of *fidelity,* which the bishops of *France,* as well as others, take to the *Pope.*

L.—Why should they not? that oath is not inconsistent with their fidelity to the king.

" *G.*—Pray, my lord, let me ask you, is not an *oath* to be " taken in the *known* and *declared* sense of the *imposer,* for " whose security it is taken ?"—*p.* 74.

L.—Well, what then ?

" *G.*—Then the question will be, what the *Pope* means " by the *regalia* of St *Peter,* and all the *rights, prerogatives,* " *&c.* of the *apostolic chair,* as he calls his own ; to which the " bishops are sworn *contra omnem hominem,* against all men " in the world ? For it is the *Pope* who imposes this oath, " and it is taken for his security."—*p.* 74.

L.—Very right, Sir. But, if the Pope's sense of it be *known* and *declared,* as you told me just now, how can there be any question about the meaning of it? I think it very plain, that neither the *imposer* nor *taker* of the oath can mean any thing more, than the *just rights* and *prerogatives* of the *apostolic see.*

" *G.*—But, my lord, has he not sufficiently declared what

" he means by the oath? Take it in the words of *the pro-*
" *ceedings of the parliament of Paris* in the *Appendix*, p. 42,
" where they say that by this decree (of the *bulla cœnæ*) the
" Popes declare themselves *sovereign monarchs* of the world."
—*pp.* 74, 75.

L.—Surely, Sir, you are seized with a more than ordinary dissipation of mind, to talk thus wildly from the purpose. Our dispute is concerning the *oath*, which *bishops* take to the *Pope*, and you refer me to Mr *Talon's* speech in *parliament* interpreting the *bulla cœnæ* according to his own notion. Is Mr *Talon* an authentic interpreter of the *bull?* What is it then to the purpose, if in the violence of his heat he tells us, that *the Popes by that decree make themselves sovereign monarchs of the world?* For my part I find no such thing in the bull; nor do I think it can be drawn as a legal consequence from it.

I add, that *rights and prerogatives in an edict signify those, that are certain and uncontested. For in the eye of the law a disputed right is not one absolutely, but at most a probable and reasonable pretension to it.* [The *Case Reviewed* in the preface.] Whence it follows, that the oath taken by the bishops at their consecration to maintain the *regalia* of St *Peter* can only be understood of the *uncontested rights* and *prerogatives* of the *apostolic see;* for they swear to no more than what the words of the oath expressly import; and the Pope himself knows very well, that no bishop in the world intends to bind himself by that oath to maintain him in any pretensions, that are prejudicial either to his lawful sovereign, or the ancient liberties of his own particular church.

" *G.*—My lord, this (viz. *the Pope's absolute sovereignty*
" *over kings and bishops*) is no more than is given at their
" coronation: as you have it in the *Roman pontifical;* where
" the triple crown is put upon the Pope's head with these
" words, *receive this diadem adorned with three crowns and*
" *know yourself to be the father of princes and kings, the*
" *governor of the world, and vicar upon earth of our Saviour*
" *Jesus Christ.*"—p. 75.

L.—Sir, the words of the *pontifical* are not improper,

and express no more, than the Pope's *spiritual supremacy* over the *whole church*, which in scripture language is called the church *of all nations*, or *the whole world;* as I have said before. He is *vicar of Christ* upon earth, as he is the *successor* of St *Peter*, to whom *Christ* committed the care of his *whole flock*. He is likewise the *spiritual father* of princes and kings, and the *governor of the world* in *spirituals:* because he has a spiritual jurisdiction over the whole *church* of *Christ*. Yet all this comes not up to the ridiculous title of *sovereign monarch of the world*. Because a *sovereign monarch* is properly one, under whom all others in employment are no more than *substitutes*, or *vicars*, placeable and displaceable at pleasure: whereas each bishop governs his respective diocess in his own right; and, as to all manner of *episcopal functions*, has an *independent jurisdiction* in it, nor can he be deprived without a *canonical fault*.

" *G.*—But must not this *governor of the world* have power " to dethrone all petty kings and princes, that are under " him? Else how can he govern the world?"—*p.* 75.

L.—Just as a *bishop* can govern his *diocess* without having the power to absolve children from their duty to their parents, or take their estates away from them, or turn them out of doors.

" *G.*—The Popes think, that this their power of deposing " princes is fully recognized to them in the foresaid *canon* " of the *Lateran council:* and no Pope has ever yet been " brought to disown this power."—*p.* 75.

L.—And *princes* think, that this power is not recognized in that *canon*. And they have the great body of *catholic bishops* and *divines* on their side. And these have never yet been brought to disown their opinion, and yet they are united in communion with the *bishop* of *Rome*. Which shews, that the *faith* of the *church* is not at all concerned in it.

" *G.*—Nay the *Pope* is so far from disowning this power, " that he, who most of any asserted this *bulla cœnæ*, and set " it up high, causing it to be affixed and published not only " at the doors of the churches in *Rome*, but in the *field* of " *Flora*, that all might take notice, as you find at the end of

" the *bull* p. 37. *Append.* and who practised the *deposing* " *power* the last in *England* upon queen *Elizabeth*, absolving " their subjects from their allegiance, and commanding all " the *catholics* in *England* to pay no more obedience, nor " taxes, &c. I say, this same Pope has been picked out to " be canonized for a *saint* this very last summer, Ann. 1712, " by the present Pope with all the solemnity and requisites " in the *Church* of *Rome* for making a *saint*."—pp. 75, 76.

L.—Sir, it is God alone makes saints, and the church only declares them to be so. But she never declares any to be so without a *moral certainty* of the holiness of their lives past, which without a positive revelation is all we can have of the the greatest saints. It is true *Pius* V. was the last Pope, that exercised the *deposing power*. But he exercised it upon a person, whose illegitimacy he was convinced of: and he thought it his duty to do justice to an injured princess, the queen of the *Scots*, whom the crown was judged to belong to by many more besides himself. So that I see no reason why that action should unsaint him.

SECTION XLIII.—THE BULLA CŒNÆ.

" *G.*—My lord, to return to the *bulla cœnæ*, this present " Pope, as well as his predecessors, do every year thunder " out the *excommunications* of this *bull* by *bell*, *book*, and " *candle*, which like *dracansor* cuts down *friends* and *foes*. For " there never was a *Roman catholic* king in *England*, or in " any other kingdom either before the *reformation* or since, " but is excommunicated by the *bull;* and by the 24th article " past the power even of the *Pope* to absolve him, unless " he first abrogates and annuls all the laws of his country, " which are contrary to the tenor of this *bull*. And this never " yet was done, and I daresay never will be done in any *popish* " country in *Europe*. And there is not, nor ever was any " *popish country* in any other part of the world, unless you " will except the late *Spanish* plantations in *America*."—p. 76.

L.—Sir, according to my small knowledge in *geography*, neither *Asia* nor *Africa* are in *Europe;* and yet they were in communion with the *bishop* of *Rome*, and

acknowledged his *supremacy* for many hundred years together, as I have shewed before. But this being wholly foreign to our present purpose, let us consider what you have said concerning our terrible *dracansor*, which indeed is both curious and new. For it seems he makes clear work once a year, and cuts down *friends* and *foes* without distinction: and I presume when *friends* themselves are cut down, *neuters* must expect no quarter. So that, as you have ordered the matter, the *Pope* sends his whole flock to the *devil* regularly once a year in *holy week* to prepare them for their *Easter devotions*. Miserable condition of *papists!* I hope however matters are not quite so bad as you make them. There are some news-writers, who destroy whole armies in their papers, whilst they are perfectly sound and safe in their quarters: and I am apt to think you have done more execution in two lines, than all the Pope's *bulls* have ever done since the time of the *apostles*.

But to give some serious answer to this ridiculous *gasconade* I shall recite the words of an ingenious author upon this subject. *We believe* (says he) *the Pope is head of the church* jure divino. *But how far this prerogative reaches is not agreed upon. The council of Florence seems to limit it to the canons of general councils.* Quemadmodum et in sacris canonibus continetur. *And although many divines stretch it so far as to make all his decrees laws for the whole church, yet this is opinion only, not faith. Nor can we find this doctrine defined in any council, or proposed in any profession of faith, or in any book put out by the authority of the church for the instruction of the faithful. Nay the rules of discipline prescribed by the very council of Trent are not received in many places and provinces, though we believe a general council to be the highest tribunal ecclesiastical upon earth.*

Now the bulla cœnæ *regarding discipline and not faith, and containing some things derogatory to the authority of princes (as they think) several states have not received it. And this the Pope knows; yet he never put out another bull to exact obedience, or censured those who refused submission.*

Which is a mark, that though he went not beyond his power in publishing it, he left to all states the liberty to receive or reject it, except his own subjects. And besides he communicates as freely with those states that do not receive it as with those that do. Is not this an evident sign, that he regards them not as aliens, but as domestics, and true sons of the church?——But where it is received, it has the force of a law, and the transgressors are as liable to the penalty of this bull, as to that of other laws. [The Case Reviewed. Preface, first Edit.]

The same author (as I mentioned before) observes very judiciously, *that liberties and rights in an edict signify those, that are certain, and uncontested. For in the eye of the law a doubtful privilege, or a right disputable on both sides is not a right absolutely, but a probable or reasonable pretension to it.*

Whence it follows, *first*, that the *excommunications* of the *bulla cœnæ* fall only on the transgressors in those kingdoms or states, where it has been received: as the *canons* of the *council of Trent* relating to *discipline* oblige only those countries, that have received it without limitation.

It follows, 2*dly*, that it only reaches such princes, as invade the *known liberties* of the *church*, or the *uncontested prerogatives* of the *apostolic see.* And so you will be hard put to it to find a king in danger of dying without *absolution*, though he never thinks of *abrogating* and *annulling* the laws of his own country; which, as you observe very well, *never was, nor ever will be done in any popish country:* because I presume there never was, and perhaps there never will be any occasion for it. And so the numberless *excommunicated kings* and *princes*, you have thrown into your black list, will prove to be like Dr *Oate's* army of 30,000 *Spanish pilgrims*,

Which lay hid on the shore,
And never were heard of since or before.

But you have said one thing, which is very remarkable, viz., *That there never was a Roman catholic king in England or in any other kingdom either before the refor*

mation or since, but is excommunicated by the bulla cœnæ. That is very strange indeed. For several kings of *England*, and other countries have been canonized by the Pope. And does he then canonize them first, and excommunicate them afterwards! But I long to hear some more news of this terrible *dracansor.*

"*G.*—Not only the *kings* themselves, but all their *parliaments, councillors, judges, officers,* even to *printers* and *publishers,* or any whosoever, *that either directly or indirectly, tacitly or expressly violate, depress, or restrain the ecclesiastical liberties or rights of the apostolic see, and holy Church of Rome howsoever and whensoever obtained, or to be obtained,* are all here together excommunicated: as likewise *archbishops, bishops,* and *clergy,* who shall do the same; and all who shall presume to attempt any *opposition* or *contravention* to any thing contained in the *bull,* are left under the displeasure of almighty God, and his blessed apostles, *Peter* and *Paul;* which is the concluding sanction of the *bull.* And here *saints* must be joined with *God,* least his displeasure should not be sufficient. By all this it appears, that there is hardly any *Roman catholic* in the world, above the condition of a *ploughman,* who is not excommunicated by this bull."—*pp.* 76, 77.

L.—Sir, I think I am something above the condition of a *ploughman,* yet I thank God, I do not know I ever was excommunicated by the *bulla cœnæ.* But I shall put this short dilemma to you. Either the persons mentioned in the bull invade the *known liberties* of the *church,* and *uncontested prerogatives* of the *apostolic see,* or not. If not, the *bull* cannot hurt them. If they do, why should they not be punished for their injustice? Has not the *church,* and her *supreme pastor* as just a title to the *immunities* and *rights,* that have been granted them by the *canons* of councils, and the liberality of christian princes and emperors, as the people has to *liberty* and *property,* or any secular prince to the *prerogatives* of his *crown?* Or is the *church* and *clergy* so despicable a part of the universe, that they must be treated like *bandits,* and any man shall be permitted to invade their rights *impune?* Kings are armed with *secular power* to do themselves

justice; if they be wronged by any other king. But when the *church*, or her *common father* is wronged by any prince, they have nothing, but *spiritual arms* to defend themselves. And therefore the Pope does but act within his proper sphere, when he uses the *spiritual sword*, I mean, the power of *excommunicating*, which God has undoubtedly put into his hands, to punish the invaders of his own or the church's rights, together with their accomplices and abettors, let them be as numerous as they please.

However where are those vast numbers of *excommunicated* offenders? Who are the *kings*, *archbishops*, and *bishops*, that *violate*, *depress*, or *restrain* the *ecclesiastical liberties*, or *undoubted rights* of the *apostolical chair?* I know not where to find them in *Europe*. Nor have we any news of them from the *Spanish plantations* in *America*. I hope then by the grace of God, there may be a good reasonable number above the condition of a *ploughman*, who as they never transgressed against the *bull*, never incurred the penalty of it. So that you will be obliged to make some amendments and deductions in your bill; before I shall give my assent to it.

"*G.*—At least, my lord, you plainly see the *Pope* assuming a *temporal* or *civil* power over all *emperors*, *kings*, and *princes;* limiting them by the 5th article as to the raising taxes upon their own subjects without his express license, and exempting all *ecclesiastics* from being taxed by them, Art. 18, or being under their power either in *civil* or *criminal* causes, as by Art. 19, though it were *treason*, *murder*, *&c.* For which noble principle *Thomas Becket*, archbishop of *Canterbury* was canonized for maintaining the liberties of the *holy church*."—p. 77.

L.—Sir, had *Thomas Cranmer* had the honesty and courage to maintain the liberties of the *holy church*, as his predecessor *Thomas Becket* did, the *English clergy* would not be so overawed by the *secular power*, as they now are. But *Thomas Cranmer* had something nearer to his heart, than his *holy spouse* the *church*, whom he basely betrayed to the cruelty and avarice of an arbitrary prince. And the memory of the one will always be as

contemptible and odious, as that of the other is venerable in *God's church.*

However I never read, that *Thomas Becket* (as you call him) was ever guilty of *murder* or *treason.* For he neither stirred up the people against his *sovereign*, nor levied troops against him, nor called in forces from abroad, nor met him armed in the field. But *tears* and *prayers* were all the arms, he used against his violent persecutor, because he was the *Lord's anointed.* He truly practised the doctrine of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance;* not indeed by a base and wicked compliance, but by a patient suffering of persecution, banishment, and death for *justice' sake.* For this, and the holiness of his life, attested by undeniable miracles, he was *canonized* by the *church*, and *Christ* himself has canonized all such. *Matt.* v. 10.

G.—I perceive, my lord, I have warmed your zeal. But what do you say to the three articles of impeachment against the *bulla cœnæ?*

L.—Sir, the first is a mistake, and the two latter are frivolous. It is a mistake, nay a thing unheard of, that *sovereign princes* are limited by that *bull* as to their raising taxes upon their *lay-subjects.* Neither has the *papal sentence*, you refer to, any relation to *sovereigns*, but only to *inferior princes*, who without leave from their respective masters oppressed their subjects with unjust taxes. So that the Pope's pretended tyranny, you complain of in this point, is a real vindication of the people's liberties, and the rights of *sovereigns.*

But, as to the exemption of the *clergy* from taxes, and *secular tribunals*, these two privileges of the church are as ancient as the first *christian emperors.* So that when St *Thomas* of *Canterbury* (if I may call him so without offence) stood up for the *privileges* of the *church* against the encroachments of *Henry* II., he only maintained what he had found established before him. And let me tell you, Sir, it is no dishonour to the memory of a *good shepherd* to leave his *flock* in as good a condition as he found it.

" *G.*—But, my lord, I leave it now to yourself, whether,

" if you were a *king*, you would desire all the *bishops* of your " kingdom to be under an *oath* of *fidelity* to another, who " pretended an *absolute* and *civil power* over you with autho- " rity to *depose* you, as he has done to several of your pre- " decessors, and would by no means be brought to disclaim " such a power, but on the contrary made a fresh claim of it " every year, and of his being the *sovereign monarch* of the " world?"—*p.* 77.

L.—You say, *you leave it to me, whether, if I were a king, I would desire all the bishops of my kingdom to be under an oath of fidelity to another, &c.* To deal plainly with you, Sir, if I found by experience, that *bishops* under that oath were generally more *loyal* and *faithful* to their *lawful sovereigns* than some other *bishops*, who take no such oath, I should have no reason to be against it. Now I have already shewed that the *oath* of *fidelity*, or *canonical obedience*, which *bishops* take to the *Pope*, can never prejudice the just rights of any *sovereign*. For surely men can *render to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar* at the same time that they *render to God what belongs to God*. And, as to the *bulla cœnæ*, it neither calls the Pope *sovereign monarch* of the world, nor gives him an *absolute* and *civil* power over *catholic crowned heads*, whom all the world knows to be in *temporals* as *absolute* in their *dominions*, as any *protestant* prince in *Europe*. Nay far more absolute than the kings of *Great Britain*, who cannot raise one farthing of money, nor impose any taxes without the consent of the people. For this is the great bulwark of the *liberties* and *properties* of *English* subjects. And why then is it a disparagement to *catholic princes* not to have the power of levying taxes on the *clergy* without their own, or the *Pope's* consent, which never was refused by either in any reasonable exigency of the state?

Nor does the exemption of the *clergy* from *secular tribunals* even in *capital causes* any ways obstruct the course of justice. For when a *clergyman* is first tried before the *ecclesiastical tribunal*, it is not done to shelter him from justice, but to shew a respect to the *character*

he has dishonoured. For, if he be found guilty, he is first *degraded*, and stripped of the marks of his dignity: and being thus *secularized*, as I may call it, and thrown into the rank of *laymen*, he is delivered up to the *secular power* to be punished as he deserves. So that there is no danger of the *Pope's* putting in his *caveat* against it, or intercepting the course of justice in any kingdom whatsoever, though you will needs make him the *sovereign monarch* of the world.

"*G.*—Nay, my lord, he puts in his *claim* for more, if "more can be thought of, as it is worded in the *bulla cœnæ* "*Art.* 24. *All the rights of the apostolic see, and holy Church* "*of Rome, howsoever and whensoever obtained, or to be obtained,* "*&c. Howsoever obtained:* that is, you are not to enquire "whether *right* or *wrong:* and *whensoever;* that is you are "not to go back to *antiquity*, or the *institution*, or look "farther than the *present possession*, which with him gives "right, when it is for him. And, *to be obtained*, secures any "new acquisitions he can make, and all *future pretensions.* "This is like swearing to *et cæteras.* And now, I think the "plenitude of his power is sufficiently guarded. And all "this is included in the *regalia* of St *Peter*, and the *rights* of "the *Roman church*, to which the *bishops* of *France*, as well "as of other *popish* countries are sworn, if they take that "*oath* sincerely, that is, according to the known and declared "sense of the *imposer.*"—p. 78.

L.—Sir, it is the first time in my whole life I have been informed, either that the word [*rights*] signifies *prerogatives* or *possessions* got *right* or *wrong:* or that the *Pope* has ever declared, that when his interest is concerned, *right* and *wrong* signify the same thing. And, if he never has made such a declaration, a person must be void of shame and conscience to tell me, that this is the *known* and *declared sense* of the *imposer* of the oath in question.

G.—Why, my lord, what do these words then mean, *howsoever, whensoever obtained*, or *to be obtained?*

L.—What do they mean, Sir! why, every man of common sense and honesty will tell you, that *howsoever obtained* signifies, whether got by *donation*, or *bargain*,

or any *just way* whatsoever, whereby a lawful possession is acquired. And *whensoever obtained*, imports, whether the title be of a *fresh* or *ancient* date. Because a title is equally just and valid, whether it was obtained yesterday, or a thousand years ago. Finally, a *right* not yet obtained may be obtained hereafter; and when it is obtained, it is as just as those, whereof we are already in possession: and they who wrong the possessor in it are as much guilty of injustice, as if they invaded the rights of a thousand years' standing.

This, Sir, is the true, natural, and obvious sense of the 24th *article* of the *bull*. And therefore you are bound to retract your injurious comment upon it; unless you will die guilty of slander in representing the *Pope* as a profligate villan for imposing a wicked oath, and all the *catholic bishops* in the world as perjured wretches for taking it.

SECTION XLIV.—SOME TOUCHES OF THE GENTLEMAN'S POLITICS.

G.—My lord, I suspect the *bishops* of *France* take that *oath* but with a very ill will. For it would certainly have been taken away, if that model of *government*, which was once proposed by the *parliament* of *Paris* had gone on. "And it had gone on, but for the success of that confederacy "formed by *Innocent* XI., against the king of *France* to re-"establish his *supremacy* there."—*pp.* 78, 79.

L.—Do you say, Sir, *to re-establish his supremacy there?* Pray, when was it lost? Has not the *Pope* always communicated with the *kings* and *church* of *France?* And did you not tell me a while ago, *that the Church of Rome by her principles cannot communicate with any, who will not own her supremacy?* Pray, save this from a contradiction, if you can.

"*G.*—You interrupted me, my lord; for I was going to "tell you, that in order to this confederacy the *Pope* sent a "*nuncio* to our late king *James* to invite him to be the *head* of "it. But he, who had learned no other than *French popery*,

" absolutely refused, and opposed the encroachments of the " Pope's *supremacy*, as appears plainly by his concurrence " with Mr *Barillon* the *French* ambassador, then residing " with him, to cause the *proceedings of the parliament of Paris* " against the *Pope's supremacy* hereunto annexed to be tran- " slated into *English*, and printed at *London*, Ann. 1688, which " was the last of his reigning here."—*p.* 79.

L.—Surely, Sir, you study to make mistakes. Else how can you tell me, that *the proceedings of the parliament of Paris* deny the *Pope's supremacy?* When every body, that has but eyes to read, can disprove you. They oppose indeed the *Pope's infallibility*, and power over the *temporality* of *princes*, but in plain and express terms acknowledge his *supremacy* in *spirituals*, as I have already shewed, sect. 19. And if you will but do this, and profess the same *French popery*, as king *James* did, I assure you, Sir, there will be an end of all disputes betwixt us.

" *G.*—However, my lord, the *Pope* was not content with " it, and had this for his excuse, that he could not have " otherwise carried on his confederacy than by concerting " the *deposition* of king *James:* who would not have agreed " to the first of the articles sworn at the *Hague* by the *prin-* " *ces, allies*, and *confederates* in *February*, 1691, and printed " here at the same time, viz: *that no peace be made with Lewis* " *XIV, till he has made reparation to the holy see for whatso-* " *ever he has acted against it; and till he annul and make void* " *all those infamous proceedings against the holy father Inno-* " *cent XI.* These are the *proceedings of the parliament of Paris* " here annexed. And in the *treaty* of king *William* with " *Spain* bearing date, Dec. 31. Ann. 1690, it is stipulated " Art. 4. *That all things in the ecclesiastics (in France) should* " *be restored as in their former state.* Now, if king *James* " would not come into these things, was there not sufficient " reason for the Pope to exercise his *deposing power* against " him in the best manner he could? And, if he had such " power from God, then king *James* had no injury to com- " plain of as done to him; being deposed by his lawful su- " perior. King *James's* fate was certainly very hard. He " was *abdicated* in *England* because he was a *papist:* and the " *Pope* wrought his *deposition*, because he was too much a " *protestant.*"—pp. 79, 80.

L.—I perceive, Sir, you are most deeply read in politics, and will needs have it, that Pope *Innocent* XI. wrought the *deposition* of king *James:* for which you quote two articles agreed to, as you tell me, by the confederates at the *Hague*, and printed in *London*. Now every thing is not an infallible truth that is printed in *London;* and the abovesaid articles appear very extraordinary, because it follows from them, that king *William* was a more *zealous papist* even than king *James* himself, which I have some difficulty to believe. But let that pass, and take it now for granted, that the articles were *genuine*, where do you find that the *Pope* had a part in the consultations at the *Hague?* Had not the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* both hatred enough for *France*, and zeal enough for the *Pope* to concert those articles in favour of him without his being personally concerned in the matter? And if so, it can be no proof, that the *Pope* was accessory to the *deposition* of king *James*. Nay let us suppose he even was concerned in that treaty, which (as you say) was set on foot in Feb., 1691. What connexion could it have with king *James's deposition*, which was fully completed Ann. 1688. Besides I cannot but think the *French* are sound *papists:* and therefore king *James* being a *French papist*, as you call him, could be no provocation to the *Pope* to desire his deposition.

"*G.*—My lord, such *protestants* are the *French* at *Rome*, "that they are reckoned there to be tolerated *heretics*."—p. 80.

L.—Under favour, Sir, that smells as rank of *Grub Street* as king *William's* being a *papist*, and designing to establish *Italian popery* in *France*.

"*G.*—Nor would they be tolerated, if the *Pope* could "help it. That is, if he durst imitate the example of his "predecessor the new saint Pope *Pius* V. to depose the so-"vereign, absolve the subjects from their allegiance, and "*interdict* the kingdom. But that experiment proved so fatal "to the *Pope* in *England*, that it is not likely it will ever be "tried again either in *France*, or any where else. The *thun-*"*der* of the *Vatican* is spent, and become a *brutum fulmen*."—pp. 80, 81.

L.—That is good news indeed. But why then will you not cease railing at the *Pope*, since he is never like to give you any farther molestation?

" *G.*—The *emperor* keeps *Commachio* still, notwithstanding it is particularly named by the *Latin* name *Comaclum* in the *bulla cœnæ*."—p. 81.

L.—So much the worse for him, unless he can justify it before God. And it is more than you or I can tell, whether he can or no.

" *G.*—The 2d article damns all, who appeal from the *Pope* to a *future council*. Yet have we not seen it done in form by the king of *France*, and the *parliament* of *Paris*, and that very *bull* named, and thrown off without any regard?

L.—Sir, it was never *thrown off*, because it was never received in *France*.

" *G.*—The whole *Gallican* church are under *excommunication* in almost all the articles of it by the four memorable propositions here annexed: which were established in the general assembly of their *bishops* and *clergy*, Ann. 1682. Upon which the *Pope* refused his *bulls* to the bishops there, as is complained of in *the proceedings of the parliament of Paris*, and was the ground of their quarrel with Pope *Innocent* XI. And the learned *du Pin* wrote his treatise *De la Puissance Ecclesiastique* in defence of these propositions against all the objections of the *Pope*, and *Church* of *Rome*."—p. 81.

L.—He did so. And is it any wonder, that in disputes about *privileges* both sides should write in defence of their own cause? However that be, the four propositions you speak of, were never condemned as *heretical* by the *Pope*: but being displeased with the proceedings of the bishops, which he looked upon as disrespectful, he refused to send *bulls* for the filling up of the *bishoprics* that were vacant. Nor do I see how those propositions could put the *Gallican church* under the excommunications of the *bullà cœnæ*: because the whole subject of that *bull* being matters of *discipline*, it does not oblige but where it is received: since even *rules* of *discipline* made by the *supreme tribunal* of the *church* oblige not all nations equally, as I have already remarked. And where

they do not oblige, a non-compliance cannot be punishable by *excommunication*. And so the four propositions, though never so contrary to the *bulla cœnæ*, could not involve the *Gallican church* in that punishment.

Now then, as to what you have asserted with a positiveness as if you had a revelation of it, *viz.*, that *Innocent* XI. wrought the *deposition of king James*, I shall beg leave not to believe one word of your story till you produce some uncontested facts to prove it. Did *Innocent* absolve king *James's* subjects from the *allegiance*, they had sworn to him? Did his *holiness* give a dispensation to the *lords spiritual and temporal* to invite the *Prince* of *Orange* over? Was it by his orders that the *English fleet* let him pass, and that the *army* went over to him? Finally, did he send his *bull* to authorize the *convention* to place the *crown* upon king *William's head?* For, if he wrought king *James's* deposition, as you pretend he did, it must certainly be upon record, that he employed some of the means, I have mentioned, in order to it. For I am sure he neither sent *men* nor *money* to assist the *Prince* of *Orange.*

But is it not ridiculous to run upon a fool's errand as far as *Rome* in quest of the true instruments of the *Revolution*, when they may be found without the trouble even of crossing the seas? Why will you needs rob your own *church* of the glory of it, after she has signalized herself so eminently in that important service? Why must the *Pope* go away with the honour of an exploit, the maintaining whereof has cost *England* so much true *protestant blood* and *treasure?* Surely king *William*, who understood the bottom of that business the best of any, never thought himself indebted to his *holiness* for the success of his expedition. For if he had, he would never have requited his *benefactor* by suffering him to be burnt *in effigy* several times a year as long as he lived. But suppose it were so, what is it to our purpose? Do you make no difference between the *church*, and the *court* of *Rome?*

"*G.*—I understand not the distinction. If you mean "nothing by the *Church of Rome* but a *general council*, then

" there is no *Church of Rome* now in the world. But if there " be a *Church of Rome*, where shall we look for it but at " *Rome?* And what is it there, but the *Pope* and his *cardi-* " *nals?* And is not that it which you call the *court* of *Rome?* " Where then is the difference?"—*pp.* 81, 82.

L.—Really, Sir, I cannot but admire your affected ignorance, as if you knew no better than you pretend to do. You tell me you do not understand the difference between the *Church and court of Rome.* How can that be? Is not the *Pope* a *temporal prince*, and a very considerable one as well as *head* of the *church?* As he is a *temporal prince*, he has his *court* and *politics* like other princes. But as he is *bishop* of the *diocess* of *Rome*, and *head* of the *church*, he is considered purely in a *spiritual capacity*, and as such he has no *court*, as that word is usually taken. For St *Peter* (whose successor he is in *spirituals*) was both *head* of the *church*, and *bishop* of *Rome*, yet had no *court.* And when St *Paul* wrote his epistle to the *Romans*, he wrote to the *Church*, but not the *court* of *Rome.* They are therefore separable, and by consequence distinct.

You tell me next, *if I mean nothing by the Church of Rome but a general council, then there is no Church of Rome now in the world.* But who was ever so ridiculous, as to have such a meaning? For a *general council* is neither the *episcopal see* of *Rome*, nor the *diffusive body* of the *Roman Catholic Church*, but the *representative* of that body. And therefore as there is a *British* nation in being, when there is no *British parliament* sitting, so I hope that neither the *episcopal see* of *Rome*, nor the *Roman Catholic Church* lose their being, when there is no *general council* assembled.

You ask, *if there be a Church of Rome, where is it to be looked for but at Rome?* I answer, that it is a probable opinion amongst the learned, that neither the *city*, nor *diocess of Rome* is the whole *Roman Catholic Church*, which however we commonly call the *Church* of *Rome.*

You ask again, *what is there at Rome but the Pope and his cardinals?* Go to *Rome*, Sir, and you will find some-

thing else besides the *Pope* and his *cardinals*. I hope however they are not the whole *Roman Catholic Church*.

But I am weary of *politics*. For that is not our business but *religion;* especially since neither you nor I are ever like to be ministers of *state*. I am a member of the *Church*, but not of the *court* of *Rome;* and will always pay a due submission and obedience to the *Pope*, as he is the *chief bishop*, and *supreme pastor* of the *church*.

SECTION XLV.—THE SUPREMACY MISREPRESENTED BY THE GENTLEMAN.

" *G.*—The *precedence* of bishops is not a matter of that " consequence, as to break the peace of the church for it: " or which of them should *preside* in a *council*. If that were all " the difference, the bishop of *Rome* should have it with all my " heart, or any other bishop they should agree upon. And " if this were all that is meant by the *supremacy* of the *Pope*, " we should not trouble the world much about it. But he " will not be content with any such thing. The *supremacy* " he claims is no less than an *absolute sovereignity* over all " the *churches*, and *kingdoms* of the earth, their *bishops*, and " their *kings*. And this not by any *ecclesiastical* constitution, " or grant of *temporal princes*, which might be *conditional*, " *limited*, and *revocable*, and would infer their superiority to " him; but by a *divine* and *indefeasible* right, as *successor* of " St *Peter*, and heir of all the promises to him, *unalterable*, " *unlimitable*, and *unaccountable* to any power upon earth." —*p.* 82.

L.—What a hideous monster have you here made of the *Pope!* You tell me the *supremacy* he claims is no less *than an absolute sovereignty over all the kingdoms and churches of the earth, their bishops and their kings, unalterable, unlimitable, and unaccountable to any power upon earth.* But where is the proof of this exorbitant notion of the *supremacy?* Not a word of that. Nay I only desire you to name the Popes, who pretended that all *bishops* were their *vicars* placeable and displaceable at pleasure; and all *kings* their *deputies* and *viceregents?*

For that is the immediate consequence, if they pretend, as you say they do, to be *absolute sovereigns, unlimitable, and unaccountable to any power upon earth.*

This therefore is all exaggeration; nay the *council* of *Florence* in its definition of the *Pope's supremacy* tells us expressly, that *in the person of St Peter he has received from our Lord Jesus Christ full power to feed, rule, and govern the whole church in such a manner as is expressed in the acts of oecumenical councils, and the holy canons.*

G.—But does not *Bellarmin*, and other *Italian divines* give him a great deal more?

L.—*Bellarmin* allows him an *indirect power* over the *temporality* of princes, and an *infallibility* in defining doctrinal points *juridically*. But he is far from being guilty of raising the *supremacy* to the fantastical height, in which you have placed it. For he tells us expressly (L. 2. *de Pont.* C. 29.), *that as it is lawful to resist the Pope, if he attempts upon our lives, so is it also, if he invades our souls, or raises sedition in the commonwealth; and much more if he endeavours to destroy the church.* So that the *spiritual supremacy* is here declared *limitable* and *accountable* by *Bellarmin* himself, whom *protestants* usually stile the *Pope's champion.*

"*G.*—But when the *Pope* means one thing by his *supre-*
"*macy*, and you mean another, and he has sufficiently
"declared what he means by it, and requires your owning
"it, and swearing to it for his security, who deals more
"sincerely with him, we, who not believing any such *supre-*
"*macy* in him, will neither own it, nor swear to it; or you,
"who not believing it more than we in the sense you know
"he means, yet own it in general terms, but in a quite con-
"trary sense to what you know he means, and trusts to as
"his security? We disown it, and fight against it; you
"fight against it as much as we, yet seem to own it."—*p.* 83.

L.—Pray, Sir, answer me this plain question if you can. *Where, when, and upon what occasion has the Pope sufficiently declared, that by the supremacy he means an absolute sovereignty over all bishops and kings unlimitable, and unaccountable to any power upon earth?* For if you

cannot produce any such declaration, as I am sure you cannot, your reflection upon the *Pope's* pretended meaning, and the *oath* which *bishops* take to him, is highly injurious and defamatory. I shall add an observation, which I take to be a positive proof against you.

There never was a book more solemnly and universally approved than the bishop of *Meaux's Exposition de la Foy.* This book in the article of the Pope's *supremacy* gives him no more, than what the whole *church of France* owns to belong to him *jure divino.* Yet *Innocent* XI. who was the very Pope, that acted so vigorously against the bishops of *France*, was so far from censuring it for lowering his *supremacy*, that he approved it by a special brief writ to the bishop himself, *Jan.* 4. *An.* 1679. Which we may reasonably suppose he would not have done, had he meant any thing more by the *supremacy*, than what he found in the bishop's exposition of it. So that it is literally true indeed, *that the Pope has sufficiently declared what he means by it*, but in a sense very different from the extravagant notion, you pretend to have of it.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*After the* gentleman's *last words in his* Case Stated, *his* lordship *is so complaisant as to give all for granted. He only says, that, notwithstanding the supposed extravagant pretensions of the Pope,* we still keep communion with him. *Which I presume he was made to say only to usher in the following questions.*

SECTION XLVI.—OF EXCOMMUNICATIONS.

" *G.*—My lord is not *excommunication* putting a man out " of his communion ?"—*p.* 84.

L.—Well, what then ?

" *G.*—Can then a man be said to be in the communion " of a bishop, who has excommunicated him ?"—*p.* 83.

L.—No, Sir, if he be effectually excommunicated.

" *G.*—Then none can be truly said to be in communion " with the *Pope*, who are excommunicated by him every " year in the *bulla cœnæ.*"—p. 84.

L.—It is certain, Sir, that they, who are effectually

excommunicated by that or any other *bull*, are not in the *Pope's communion.*

" *G.*—And that is all *France*, and you, my lord; and all, " who are on your side of the question concerning the " *supremacy* of the *Pope.* For that is the main, almost the " whole subject of the *bull.*"—p. 84.

L.—Surely, Sir, you speak by rote, and never gave yourself the trouble to read it. For I do not find any one article concerning the Pope's *supremacy* in the whole *bull;* nor any one excommunicated by it for denying the Pope to be the *absolute sovereign over all the churches and kingdoms of the earth, their bishops, and their kings, &c.*

But what better proof can there be that *France* is not effectually excommunicated by the *bulla cœnæ*, than that all *Popes* not only communicate with the *Gallican church*, and have their *nuncios* residing at the *French* court, but moreover acknowledge the *king* of *France* to be *the most christian king*, the *eldest son of the church*, and *protector* of the *holy see?* For, if *excommunication* according to your own notion be *putting a man out of his communion*, does it not follow that communicating with him is owning in *fact*, that he does not look upon him as effectually excommunicated by him?

ADVERTISEMENT.—*Instead of the answer now given to the* gentleman's *last words in his* Case Stated, *his* lordship *to shew his learning tells him,* that all casuists agree that an excommunication does not bind, which is made *clave errante, i. e.* by a judge that errs. *To which the* gentleman *answers as follows:*—

" *G.*—But who is the *judge*, whether the sentence be pro- " nounced *clave errante*, or not? And how far the Pope's " authority extends?"—*p.* 84.

L.—Sir, it is in the business of *excommunications*, as in all other *penalties* inflicted by a judge in the exercise of his *jurisdiction.* For the case is either *clear* on one side, and then it decides itself. Or it is *doubtful*, and then the presumption is generally on the *superior's* side. However, as long as it remains undetermined, both parties are justifiable before God, provided all passion be laid aside; and a sincere conscience be made their rule and guide. Now, Sir, proceed if you please.

" *G.*—My lord, the *Pope* has excommunicated you. All " of you, *as if each one were particularly named.* For so it is " expressed in the *bull.* On the other hand you despise this " *bull,* and say with the *parliament of Paris,* pp. 44, 45, that " he is thereby excommunicated himself. And so you have " a head of the church, who is excommunicated. And so of " every Pope, who gives his sanction to this bull. That is, " all the Popes in our time and long before. And from whose " communion is the *Pope* of *Rome* excommunicated? Is " there any other communion but that of *Rome?* Is a per- " son excommunicated any longer a *member* of the *church?* " And can he then be the *head* of it? These are matters of " no small importance; no less than whether we are members " of the church, or cut off from it. You are cut off, says the " *Pope* and the *Church* of *Rome.* No, says *France* to them, " you yourselves are cut off. And yet these churches are " the same. And is there no *judge* in this case? Is every " man left to his *private judgment?*"—pp. 84, 85.

L.—Sir, I must beg leave to put a familiar question to you, though perhaps somewhat unmannerly. Pray, Sir, does your pulse beat regularly? For I really fear you stand more in need of *physic* than an *answer.* I have already endeavoured to convince you modestly that neither *France* nor I myself are excommunicated by the *bulla cœnæ:* yet you will needs have us all excommunicated by it, even in spite of the Pope's actually communicating with us. Then (to complete the farce) we forsooth excommunicate the *Pope* in our turn, and for proof of it you produce the *proceedings of the parliament of Paris:* whereas to the credit, Sir, of your admirable skill in quoting there is not a word of it in the piece, you refer me to, as I have fully shewed, sect. 19. And have I not then reason to fear all is not well with you? For how should you otherwise talk such wild stuff as this: *You are cut off, says the Pope and Church of Rome. No, says France to them, you yourselves are cut off.* Whereas every body knows that *France* and *Rome* communicate together.

But suppose the *French advocate* had been so mad as to declare the *Pope excommunicated,* would any man in his senses take it for granted, that he was therefore *really*

excommunicated? Nay and run descant upon it, as if i were an undoubted fact, and break forth into these vehement interrogatories, *and from whose communion is the Pope of Rome excommunicated? Is a person excommunicated any longer a member of the church? And can he then be the head of it?* After which you conclude with a serious air, *that these are matters of no small importance*, and demand very gravely, *who is the judge in this case?* Why, Sir, the parties on both sides communicating with each other determine the question; nay every man in his right senses will be surprised at your asking it.

" *G.*—My lord, how have we been teazed with that ques-
" tion, *who shall be judge?* This answers all objections with
" you. For begin at what point of *popery* you will, and bring
" arguments never so convincing, we are always stopped
" with this question, *who shall be judge?* And so you refer
" all to the *authority* of the *church*. But when you answer
" this as to your own case, you will have answered it as to
" us too."—*p.* 85.

L.—Sir, I must beg your pardon. For I have already answered it as to my own case: and you are as far as ever from answering it with relation to any of your pretended *reformers*. However I do not remember I have yet troubled you with the question, *who shall be judge*, in answer to your objections: but have made a pretty good shift to stop your career with other answers.

But let that be as it will, the true meaning of the question you speak of is this; viz., *who has a better title to be the judge of controversies in religion? The* church of Christ, *or a* private man *appealing from her authority to his own private judgment?* And let me tell you, Sir, the question thus understood suffices to confound any *pretended reformer* of the church's *faith*. But the case is quite otherwise as to the question in reference to *excommunications*, or disputes about *privileges;* as is obvious to the reflection of any man, who can distinguish between articles of *revealed religion*, and *facts*, that have no relation to it.

" *G.*—My lord, if the *Pope* be *supreme head* of the *univer-*
sal church, he must have power of excommunicating over

" all in his own communion. That is, according to his scheme " over all christians in the world. And to dispute the vali- " dity of his excommunication is a total denial of his *supre-* " *macy*, and setting up another *supreme* above him. And who " is that? Who is *judge*, whether his excommunication is " valid or not? And by what *authority* does he judge? It " must be by some authority superior to that of the *Pope*, " and so he is *supreme* over the *supreme*."—p. 85.

L.—Sir, that the *Pope* has the power of *excommunicating* for a just cause is as certain, as that *kings* have power to punish *rebellious* subjects. But pray, Sir, is it impossible for me to judge that my *superior* is mistaken in the *exercise* of his *authority* over me without disowning the lawful extent of it? Or do I become *superior* to him by judging myself wronged by him? What wretched stuff is this! I have heard of *subjects* that have gone to law with their *sovereign*, and sentence has been pronounced in favour of them: yet I never heard the *sovereign* has lost his *prerogative* or *superiority* by it. But, Sir, in the question we have before us, viz., *whether France be excommunicated by the bulla cœnæ*, we need no other *judge* than the *Pope* himself who has sufficiently decided the matter. For he knows the bull has never been received by, nor has any force in *France:* and therefore communicates (as I told you before) with the *Gallican church*, as with other churches; he has his *nuncio* residing at the *French court.* He acknowledges their *king* to be the eldest son of the *church*, and protector of the *holy see.* What do you require more? Is not this declaring in *fact*, that the *Gallican church* is not under *excommunication?* Is it not declaring, that he judges their *profession* of *faith* relating to the *supremacy* to be orthodox; without which it is certain he would not communicate with them?

" *G.*—My lord, if the Pope's *excommunication* stands " (without which his *supremacy* falls) we may say, who can " be saved? All *christian kings* and *princes* that are, or ever " were in the world, even those of his own communion, par- " ticularly in *England* as well before the *reformation* as since, " are all together *cursed* and *anathematized* to the pit of hell

" by the *bulla cœnæ*. And with them all their *bishops, divines,* " *parliaments, judges, lawyers, clerks, printers,* and *publishers,* " or any others, who have any manner of way been *aiding,* " *assisting,* or *consenting,* though tacitly, to the *contravention* " of their princes to any part of this *bull:* that is, as I said " before, almost every one above the condition of a plough- " man, are here all damned by all the *authority* the *Pope* has. " Therefore have a care of giving him too much. For he " will take all any body will give him."—*pp.* 85, 86.

L.—Sir, all this has been answered already. I thank you however for the prudent caution you give me not to be too liberal to the *Pope*. Though you have set me but a very bad example. For I assure you, Sir, you have given him more than the *Roman Catholic Church* ever dreamt of.

SECTION XLVII.—BELLARMIN AND GRATIAN EXPLAINED.

" *G.*—He accepted this from *Bellarmin*, that *if the Pope* " *should command the practice of vice, and forbid virtue, the* " *church were obliged to believe vice to be good, and virtue to be* " *wicked.* De Rom. Pont. L. 4, C. 5."

L.—But pray, Sir, was not *Bellarmin* put into *bedlam*, when he taught this mad doctrine?

G.—Not that I ever heard of.

L.—Then by the grace of God we may hope he never taught it. So let us hear out the rest of your story.

" *G.*—Nay his own *canon law* says, that *if the Pope were* " *so wicked as to carry with him innumerable people by troops* " *as slaves to hell to be with him for ever tormented, yet no mor-* " *tal man whatsoever must presume here to reprove his faults,* " *because he is judge of all, and himself to be judged by none.* " Decret. Part. I. Dist. 40. Can. *Si Papa.* So then they " must keep their reproofs, and not endeavour to stop the " career till they are with him in *hell;* and then I presume " his *supremacy* ceases. Behold the *machine* of human inven- " tion, which God never thought of, nor ever once mention- " ed, of climbing to heaven by a sort of *mechanism* upon a " ladder of *Popes, cardinals, councils, &c.* And though we " see them leading us by troops to *hell*, we must give no ob-

" struction because it would break their *machine* of being our " *infallible guides* to *heaven*."—pp. 86, 87.

L.—I must beg leave to advise you, Sir, that when you intend to be very witty, you forget not to speak sense, as you have unluckily done this time. For I desire to know what is nonsense, if this be not? viz., that the *pretended machine of Popes being infallible guides to heaven would be broke*, if they were not permitted *to carry as many as they please to the devil without reproof or molestation.*

But let us see, what justice you have done either to *Bellarmin*, or *Gratian's canon law*, which you miscall the *Pope's.* As to *Bellarmin*, the plain meaning of his proposition is this. That if an *infallible person* (as he maintains the *Pope* to be) should teach the most impious errors, we should be bound to follow him: which mad supposition, together with its consequence as ridiculous as itself, does no manner of harm, unless you can show, that *Bellarmin* was so mad as to hold it possible that an *infallible person* can teach the most gross and impious errors. All therefore that *Bellarmin* teaches is, that an absurd consequence would follow from an absurd supposition: which is certainly true: as it is true to say, *that if a man were a horse, he would not have a rational soul.* And if I should maintain this conditional proposition, would it be fair to charge me with holding, *that a man has not a rational soul?*

As to *Gratian's canon law*, besides that he is an author of little or no credit amongst us, you have very much misrepresented his words; if *coining* one part and *clipping* another may properly be called *misrepresenting.* For you make it begin thus: *If the Pope were so wicked as to carry with him, &c.* Whereas the true translation of it is as follows: *if the Pope being neglectful of his own salvation and that of his brethren, be found unprofitable, and remiss in his duty; nay and moreover is silent when he ought to speak; which is a greater mischief both to himself and his whole flock: nevertheless draws with him, &c.*

Now, Sir, there is a difference betwen this and your

saying, *if the Pope were so wicked as to carry with him, &c.* For this imports no less than a *deliberate design* to damn whole multitudes: in which *chimerical* case no man surely is so mad as to say he might not justly be resisted. Whereas the true words of the pretended *canon* import no such thing, but only a *neglect* of his own and neighbour's salvation; a *remissness* in his duty, and a *criminal silence*, which may occasion the loss of many souls; in which case it says, he cannot be proceeded against *judicially*. For the word *redarguere* can bear no other meaning, as is plain from the reason immediately added to it, viz., *because he is judge of all, and himself to be judged by none.* However you thought fit to omit the exception immediately following, viz. *unless he be found swerving from the faith.* Which is *clipping* a material part of the text: and the reason why you stifled it is plain, because it utterly overthrows what you chiefly charge us with., *viz.*, that the *Pope* is free to damn as many as he pleases. Nay *Bellarmin*, the most zealous of all *catholic* writers for the *Pope*, teaches expressly, *that he ought to be opposed by force of arms if he endeavours to destroy the church.* De Conc. Auth. C. 19. L. 2.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*It is plain from the* gentleman's *last words that he supposes the* Pope's infallibility *to be a part of our faith. And his lordship saying nothing in contradiction to it in the* gentleman's Case Stated; *he goes on as follows under the same mistake.*

SECTION XLVIII.—THE SUBJECT OF CHURCH AUTHORITY, AND PRIVATE JUDGMENT RESUMED.

"*G.*—My lord, I must have some *reason* to believe the "*Pope* such an *infallible guide.* And I cannot be more "sure of it, than of the *truth* of that *reason*, upon which I "believe it. So that all recurs upon my *own reason* still. "And if *my reason* misleads me in this, it is the most fatal "delusion, because it stops all methods of recovery, when "I have once given to another the *dominion* of my *faith.*" —p. 87.

L.—Sir, you run upon a false supposition. For you

take it for granted, that the *Pope's infallibility* is an *article* of our *faith*, which I never have allowed of: and therefore your arguing against it, is but beating the air. However since your argument strikes equally at the *infallibility* of the *church*, or indeed at any article of *revealed religion*, I shall give myself the trouble to answer it.

You say, *we cannot be more sure of any thing, than we are of the truth of that reason, upon which we believe it.* Whence you conclude, *that all recurs upon our own reason still.* I answer as before, that since all faith is rational, I believe nothing without a solid reason to build my faith upon. But the word *reason* is equivocal. Because it may be taken for any *motive* or *inducement*, for which I assent to the truth of any thing, whether that motive or inducement be *human* or *divine.* Thus if any one asks me *why*, or *for what reason* I believe the *blessed Trinity?* I may answer him, *because God has revealed it.* If he asks me again, *why*, or *for what reason* I believe, *that God has revealed it?* I may answer him, because the *church*, which all the *motives* of *credibility* convince me to be *the pillar and ground of truth*, has declared it to be a *revealed truth.* And if you will needs call this *recurring to my own reason* in matters of *faith*, you may do as you please; for I cannot hinder you from trifling with words: though I should rather call it *submitting* my *reason*, when it acts no other part than to oblige me to believe a thing, which I neither do, nor can comprehend.

However it follows hence that every man's own reason suffices to convince him, that he cannot rationally doubt of any *mystery* of *faith:* because it is not rational to doubt of a thing, when we have a *moral evidence* or *certainty* of the *revelation* of it. For surely our reason cannot mislead us in this: nor need we fear the *fatal delusion*, you speak of, in trusting the *dominion over our faith* with that *church*, which the strongest motives of credibility mark out to us to be the *true church of Christ*, with which all truth is deposited; and which he has promised *to lead into all truth unto the end of the world.*

" *G.*—My lord, the *apostles* disclaimed this *dominion.* For " when they exhorted the churches, they said, *not that we* " *have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy :* " *for by faith ye stand,* that is, *by your own faith.* 2 Cor. i. 23. " And *if we, or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel* " *unto you ; let him be accursed.* Gal. i. 8. Did not this " make them *judges,* whether any *new gospel* or *doctrine* were " preached to them ? And our *Saviour* bid them stick to " their own judgment, and said unto them, *yea and why even* " *of yourselves judge ye not what is right ?* Luke xii. 57. And " *if I do not the works of my father believe me not,* John x. 37. " Was not this *appealing* to their judgment, whether he did " the *works* of his *father* or not ? And as many as followed " their own *judgment,* they believed in him. But they who " were tied up implicitly to the *authority* of the *church,* re- " jected him. They said, *have any of the rulers, or the* " *Pharisees believed in him ? But this people, who knoweth* " *not the law are cursed.* John vii. 49."—pp. 87, 88.

L.—I have already told you, and I repeat it again, that no authority upon earth is to be obeyed, when it has *uncontestable evidence* against it ; such as the *miracles* of *Christ* were against the authority of the *Jewish synagogue.* So that the people who followed *Christ,* judged indeed by the light of their own *natural reason* assisted by grace, that the *miracles,* they had seen with their own eyes were an *uncontestable proof* of the truth of his doctrine, and that therefore no authority upon earth could oblige them to *reject* him. But when they had once formed that judgment, then they believed every thing he taught with an *implicit faith* according to the direction insinuated to them in the words you have quoted from *John* x. *viz.,* that, *if he did the works of his father* (as was manifest both to their *reason* and *senses*) then they were bound to *believe* him. Which was not *appealing* from his own *infallibility* to their *private judgment,* as you have the boldness to affirm, but teaching them their duty of an *entire submission* to his doctrine.

As to your first quotation from St *Paul* 2 Cor. i. 23. Surely, Sir, you will not renounce your reason so far as to suppose St *Paul* meant, that he had no *power,* or

authority from God to oblige the *Corinthians* to believe the doctrine he had taught them, or that he submitted it to their *private judgment;* and gave them full liberty to *examine, change,* or *reform it* as they pleased. And if this be not your meaning, to what purpose do you quote his words? All therefore that St *Paul* disclaimed was a *tyrannical* or *arbitrary* dominion over their *faith:* that is, he would not have the *Corinthians* imagine, that because he had been the chief instrument of their conversion to the faith, he had a power to impose any doctrines upon them, or make them believe any thing he pleased.

Your next quotation from St *Paul* to the *Galatians* i. 8, is as flat against you as a text can be. But you have omitted a part of it, for his words are these: *Though we, or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you,* THAN THAT, WHICH WE HAVE PREACHED UNTO YOU, *let him be accursed.* Pray, Sir, did St *Paul* in these words exercise no *dominion* over the *faith* of the *Galatians?* Did he submit the *mysteries* he had taught them to the examination of their *private judgment,* when he would not allow it even to an *angel* from heaven, and pronounced those *accursed,* whoever they were, that should pretend to *reform* the doctrine he had preached unto them? And is not this a rare text for *private judgment* in opposition to *authority?*

G.—But did not that text of the *apostle* make the *Galatians* judges, whether any *new gospel* or *doctrine* had been taught them?

L.—Sir, it certainly made them judges, that *new doctrines* were not the same as *old ones.* But it did not make them judges of the *truth* of the *doctrines* themselves, which St *Paul* had taught them. Nay it tied them down to the belief of every thing he had taught them, and obliged them not to receive any other doctrine even from the mouth of an *angel.*

G.—But what does your *lordship* say to the text from St *Luke* xii. 57.

L.—I say, Sir, that it is just as much to the purpose as the first verse of *Genesis.* Our Saviour in the two or

three verses immediately before the text you have quoted reprehends the *Jews* for being very watchful in observing the *seasons*, and drawing consequences from them for their temporal advantage, but neglectful in discerning the times of *grace* and *mercy:* and then he asks them, *why they do not also judge of themselves what is just?* And is not this again a most admirable text for *private judgment* against *church authority?* Is this bidding the people stick to their own judgment in opposition to their *pastors* and *teachers?*

Thus, Sir, you have trifled away no less than *five texts* of *holy scriptures* at once to support a cause, which, besides its being false, is really no credit to your *religion.* For in showing yourself thus zealous for *private judgment* in opposition to *church authority*, and even wresting the *scriptures* from their plain and obvious sense to maintain it, do you not plainly give us to understand that your religion is entirely built upon the sandy foundation of *private judgment*, and has the whole weight of *church authority* against it? For why else should you be so fond of the one, and such a declared enemy upon all occasions to the other?

But can you be so prejudiced as not to see, that by it you undermine the very foundations of all *revealed religion?* Do you not see, that it opens the widest gate imaginable for all sorts of *sects* to break in upon the *church?* That it is the source of endless disputes, and tears *Christ's seamless garment* into a thousand pieces? I am sure, when you wrote your *Christianity Demonstrated* you were very sensible of all these inconveniences, and described the fatal consequences of *private judgment* in the most pathetic manner. And is it then possible, that such an evil should be either authorized by *Christ*, or have the *word of God* to vouch for it? If you now mean by *private judgment* something different from what you meant before, you only play with words. But if you mean the same (as I am sure every body will suppose you do) you plead for a cause, which you cannot maintain either with truth or honour.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*After the* gentleman's *last words in his* Case Stated, *his* lordship *suitably to the wise part allotted to him, answers,* that it seems strange, that God did not order it so, as that the church should have first known their Messias, when he came, and have declared him to the people, and then all would have believed in him. *Whence the* gentleman *takes occasion to flourish in the following manner, and trifle away a great many excellent texts of holy* scripture.

"*G.*—The *apostle* says, that *the foolishness of God is wiser* "*than men.* 1 Cor. i. 25. And he gives the reason, in the "following manner: Why *God chose the foolish things of the* "*world to confound the wise, that no flesh should glory in* "*his presence, but he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.* "And he applies this to the case we are upon, to the *Revela-* "*tion* of *Jesus Christ,* when he came. For, if he had been "received upon the *declaration* and *authority* of the *church,* "we had gloried in the church, whose authority would have "been *prior* and *superior* to *Christ* himself, as being the "ground, upon which we believed him. But as the *Sun* "cannot be seen but by its own light, so *God* and *Christ* "cannot otherwise be known. No adventitious, or borrowed "light can show the original light, whence all lesser lights "are derived, which like the *moon* and *stars* disappear at "the presence of the *sun.* So the *church* disappeared at "the presence of *Christ,* who was known by his own light "only. *We beheld his glory, the glory of the only begotten of* "*the Father, full of grace and truth.* John i. 14. Here was "going to the *church* to know which was he; or if you had, "she would have misled you. It would have been like going "to the *moon* to ask where the *sun* is? The *church* is the "*moon,* and the *stars* are the particular *bishops* and *doctors,* "and other eminent men. But *Christ* is the *Sun* of *righteous-* "*ness, and will not give his glory to another.*"—pp. 88, 89.

L.—Here is a dish of *jargon* cooked up with the most exquisite skill. Truly, Sir, as great wits are said to border upon madness, so the profound piece of reasoning, you have here presented me with, appears to my dull capacity to border as near upon what we usually call nonsense, as any thing I ever heard or read. But you have larded it so finely with *scripture texts,* to make it go down; and set it off so beautifully with the glittering ornaments of *sun, moon,* and *stars,* that I fear, I shall be thought impertinent to find any blemish in it.

However I shall make bold to criticise a little upon it. *First* you tell me (and it is the groundwork of all the rest), that *if Christ had been received upon the authority of the church, we should have gloried in the church, whose authority would have been prior and superior to Christ himself, as being the ground upon which we believed him.* It seems then the *Jewish church* did well in not receiving *Christ*, nor declaring him to the people, least by so doing she might have become guilty of the greatest impiety in making herself *prior*, and *superior* to *Christ* himself However several of the *Jews* believed in *Christ* upon the testimony of St *John Baptist:* yet I never heard any of them blamed for making St *John Baptist's* authority *prior* and *superior* to *Christ* himself. In like manner after the *ascension* of *Christ*, the *Gentiles*, and many of the *Jews* before them, believed in *Christ* upon the *testimony* of the *apostles;* for none of them had *beheld his glory* upon mount *Thabor* (of which St *John* speaks in the text most impertinently quoted by you) yet I hope that did not make the *authority* of the *apostles superior* to *Christ himself.*

But, Sir, I ask you, whether we may not believe in *God* and *Christ* upon the *testimony* or *authority* of holy *scriptures?* If you say no: then *scriptures* are no *rule of faith.* If you say we may, then according to your argument we make scriptures *prior* and *superior to God and Christ.* Nay, Sir, you told me a while ago [*Case Stated*, p. 52] that you received the *Old Testament* from the *church* of the *Jews.* And do you then *glory in the Jewish church*, and make her authority *superior* to the *word of God?* You likewise told me [*Case Stated*, p. 46] that *private judgment is all we have for the belief of God and Christ.* And is every man's private judgment then *superior to God and Christ?* Truly, Sir, I begin to fear that neither *sun*, nor *moon*, with all the *stars* in the firmament, will suffice to give any light to the dark mystery you have advanced.

But you tell me, 2*dly*, that *God and Christ, like the sun, cannot be known but by their own light, because no adven-*

titious or borrowed light can show the original light, whence all lesser lights are derived. But how then is *private judgment all we have for the belief of them*, as you told me a while ago? Why do you allow that to *private judgment*, which you deny to the judgment of the *whole church* with her *bishops* and *doctors?* Your reason is, *because the church being the moon, and her bishops and doctors the stars, they cannot show us the light of the sun.* A very pretty reason indeed! But, if neither *moon* nor *stars* can shew us the *sun*, will the *candle* or *glow-worm* of *private judgment* have light enough to do it?

You tell me, 3*dly*, that *as the moon and stars disappear at the presence of the sun, so the church disappeared at the presence of Christ?* What, Sir, did the *church* cease to be, when *Christ* appeared? On the contrary, it is an unquestionable truth, that the *Mosaic law* subsisted in its full force till the *death* of *Christ.* For it was precisely then and not before, that the *synagogue* died, as *divines* speak. And so it may be much more properly said, that the *Jewish church* disappeared upon the *absence*, than the *presence* of *Christ*, and your pretty similitude dwindles away into a mere jingle of empty words.

You tell me lastly, *that there was no going to the church to know who was Christ: and if I had, she would have misled me.* To which I answer, that when *Christ* began to appear *publicly*, there was no need of going to the *Jewish church* to ask, *who was he?* For he was sufficiently distinguished by his *heavenly doctrine*, and the lustre of his *miracles.* *Christ* himself referred the *Jews* to these; and by them they might have known him to be the *true Messias;* especially if they had consulted the *ancient prophets*, and their own *rabbies*, who had interpreted their prophecies of the *Messias.* But instead of that they studied nothing but to satisfy their private *malice* and *revenge.* And this alone was the true reason, why *Christ* became to the *Jews* a *stumbling block*, as St *Paul* expresses it. 1 *Cor.* i. 23.

" *G.*—The *stumbling block* to the Jews was the *authority* " of their *church* against him, as I have shewed. And the

" *Gentiles* could not till after the *resurrection* have any notion " of the economy of our redemption by him, nor was he " preached unto them till after the vision of the *sheet* to St " *Peter*. Acts x. For the *gospel* was to be preached to " the *Jews* first: but when they, rejected it leaning upon the " *infallibility* of their church, then it was sent to the *Gentiles*, " Acts xiii. 16, who being free from the *stumbling-block* of " the *church*, received it readily, and now make up the whole " body of the *Catholic Church* thoughout the world."—*pp.* 89, 90.

L.—This, Sir, is the 3d or 4th repetition of the same story; and the whole force of it amounts to this, *viz.*, That as the *Jews* were seduced by the *pretended infallible authority* of the *synagogue* (which however had *uncontestable evidence* against it) so *Roman catholics* are seduced by the *real infallibility* of their *church;* against which no such evidence can be produced. And who is able to withstand the strength of such an argument?

SECTION XLIX.—AN INFALLIBLE GUIDE IS AN INFALLIBLE ASSURANCE, THOUGH WE BE NOT INFALLIBLE OURSELVES.

" *G.*—But suppose *God* gave us an *infallible Guide*, this " would not be an *infallible assurance* to us, unless we were " *infallible* too. For besides our not knowing him, or mis- " taking another for him (for there have been *false Christs*), " we might misunderstand his doctrine, and turn it to " quite contrary purposes from what he intended. This " was the case in our Saviour's time. He was a *Guide* truly " *infallible*, and yet how few followed him notwithstanding " all his *miracles*, and heavenly doctrine? Therefore while " we are *fallible* ourselves, liable to errors, and mistakes, " in vain do we grope after an *infallible assurance* otherwise " than the *evidence of things* makes them plain to that reason, " which God has given us."—*p.* 90.

L.—Do you say so, Sir! Then we are not *infallibly sure*, that there is *one God in three persons*, since there is no *evidence* in the *thing itself*, which can make this *plain* to *human reason:* nay the reason, which God has

'given us, is seemingly against it. So that I doubt not, Sir, but the whole body of *deists* in *Great Britain* will vote you a worthy member of their society for this good and commodious doctrine, which in effect delivers us from the obligation of believing any thing we cannot understand.

But what a strange paradox have you advanced in saying, *that an infallible guide can be no infallible assurance to us, unless we be infallible too?* Pray, Sir, have not you and I an *infallible assurance*, that the *word of God* cannot deceive us? And does not this make us *infallibly sure*, that, for example, all the historical facts contained in *scripture* are true? Yet I am far from thinking that either you or I are *infallible*.

You say, *we may mistake our infallible guide, or misunderstand him.* If we will wilfully shut our eyes to follow the dictates of *interest* or *passion*, we may mistake him. But if we will follow the *lights* which *God* has given us; the *visible marks*, that point him out to us, are so clear, that it is morally impossible we should mistake him. Neither can we *misunderstand* his doctrine so, as not to know what he teaches; unless you suppose us to be so ignorant as not to know our *catechisms*. Am not I, for example, *infallibly sure*, that my guide teaches me, that there is but *one God in three persons?* It is true, I cannot comprehend this *mystery:* but I know with an *infallible assurance*, that I am taught to believe it. And the same may be said of all other *articles* of faith.

You pretend *it was the case in our Saviour's time, who though he was a guide truly infallible was followed by few.* But can you find no other reason, why few of the *Jews* followed him, than because they were not *infallible* like himself? For if this was the reason of it, then *Christ* condemned the *Jews* unjustly, when he told them, *if I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin, but now they have no cloak for their sin.* John xv. 22. For truly, Sir, you have provided them a very good *cloak for their sin;* because their being *fallible* men was not their fault. The true reason therefore, why few of the

Jews followed *Christ*, was, because most of them were *rotten at heart*: which is also the true reason, why many now a days shut their eyes against the *clearest light*: and to these indeed the most *infallible guide* is rendered wholly useless.

" *G.*—My lord, the *angels* of heaven fell, *Adam* fell from " his innocence, and the seven bishops, who were the *seven* " *stars* in the right hand of *Christ*, Rev. i. 20, and the *seven* " *golden candlesticsk*, the *seven churches*, in the midst of which " he walked; these are all fallen. And what are we, that " expect *infallibility* ?"—pp. 90, 91.

L.—If you had asked me, what are we, that expect *impeccability?* Your question would have been to the purpose, and I should have had my answer ready for it.

" *G.*—What *bishop*, what *church* now is so *infallibly seated* " as these *beloved seven* were ?"—*p.* 91.

L.—I will tell you, Sir, what church is so *infallibly* seated. It is the *church of Christ;* the *Catholic Church;* in a word, the *church*, we profess in the *creed*. This church, I say, was *then*, is *now*, and will be *so infallibly seated* to the end of the world. And the reason, why notwithstanding all this any *particular church* may fall, is, because the promises of *infallibility* were not made to any *particular diocess*, but to the *church of Christ* in general: as it is certain by virtue of God's promise to *Noah*, that the *whole world* shall never perish by a *second deluge*, though several parts of it have already been overwhelmed by the sea.

" *G.*—Pray, my lord, what church has a promise of being " exempted from the *general defection*, which is foretold will " be before the *second coming of Christ*, when he *shall not* " *find faith upon earth* ?"—p. 91.

L.—This, Sir, is the same old story again; twenty times repeated, and as often answered. But if you will needs have a direct answer; the *Catholic Church* has this promise made to her. *Matt.* xxviii. 20.

" *G.*—May we not rather think, that the plea of *infallibility* " in the *Church of Rome* (so many ways detected) which " hides repentance from her eyes, and hinders her return " from any of her errors, which by this means continually

" flow without any ebbing on any side; I say, may we not " think this always increasing corruption the chief cause to " bring on that *universal defection* in the latter times?"—p. 91.

L.—Alas, poor church! How is she to be lamented, since the very *infallibility*, which *Christ* has promised her, is the source of all her *errors!* How happy would she have been, had he never promised her, that *the gates of hell shall not prevail against her*, nor ever engaged his word, *that he will be with her to the end of the world?* Matt. xxviii. 20. For then there would have been no danger of the *universal defection* in the latter days. But I fear I interrupted you.

" *G.*—Does it not seem to hasten apace, to be even at " the doors, when we see no *absurdity* so great, no *text* of " *Scripture* so full and express, to be too hard for this *infalli-* " *bility?*—p. 91.

L.—Sir, just so *Arius* spoke, when his *blasphemies* were condemned by the *church*. For no man ever had a more plausible pretence both of *reason*, and *scripture* on his side, than that vile *heretic*. But what seemed a *gross absurdity* to him, and contrary to the express *word of God*, was declared a *revealed truth* by the *infallible church* of *Christ*.

" *G.*—Nothing, I say, is too hard for this *infallibility;* " not even the denying all our outward senses, at once, and " owning that we neither *see, hear, feel, taste,* nor *smell!*" —p. 91.

L.—Sir, your saying, that we *own* this, betrays either a gross *ignorance* or *insincerity*. For we own no such thing. On the contrary, it is a ridiculous absurdity, you constantly charge us with, and we as constantly disown; as shall be fully proved in its proper place. But since you are in so good a way, it is a pity to stop you. So pray go on.

" *G.*—Not the express institution of the *Lord's supper in* " *both kinds*, to which the *council* of *Constance* claps a *non* " *obstante*, and takes away the *cup* from the *laity!* Not the " authority and strong reasoning of the *apostle*, 1 Cor. xiv., " against public prayer in an *unknown tongue!* All these " are overruled by *infallibility*, and many more we have to " instance in the particular doctrines in dispute with the

" *Church* of *Rome*. In all which by virtue of her *unlimited* " and *infallible* power of interpreting, she leaves no texts of " *Scripture* of any other meaning, than she thinks fit to put " upon them, let the words be never so express. And " this indeed is no other than taking the *Scriptures* wholly " from us, while we must not tread them with our under- " standing. And the result of this is, that the whole foun- " dation of our faith is in the *Church* of *Rome* without *Scrip-* " *ture*, or any thing else: because the *Scripture* and every " thing else is put absolutely and implicitly in her power." —*pp.* 91, 92.

L.—A terrible grievance indeed? That the *flock* should be fed and guided by their *pastors!* That ignorant laics should not be permitted to interpret *scriptures* according to their own caprice, but be bound to submit to the interpretation of their superiors, and of those, who are not only wiser and more learned than themselves, but expressly appointed by God to teach and govern them. *Acts* xx. 28. Sir, though I had no other reason to convince me of the necessity of submitting to the church's interpretation of *scriptures*, the forced and absurd turns you gave just now [sect. 48.] to about half a score *scriptural texts* would alone suffice to convince me of it. But as to your flirts at our doctrine of *transubstantiation*, *communion in one kind*, and our *Latin liturgy*, it will be time enough to expose the weakness and injustice of your reflections, when we come to discuss those points in particular. For I assure you, Sir, you shall have full satisfaction given you in every point.

" *G.*—My lord, no man alive knows, what this *Church of* " *Rome* is, or where to be found. I mean, the *Church of* " *Rome*, to which the *infallibility* is annexed. For if you " travel to *Rome*, you will see nothing there, but what by a " modern distinction you call the *court of Rome*, where then " is this *infallible Church of Rome?*—p. 92.

L.—Sir, it is the church of *all christians* the whole world over, united in *faith* and *communion* with the *bishop* of *Rome*, who is the *head* of this church. So that all *Roman catholics*, whether living in or out of *Rome*, are of the *church*, but all are not of the *court of Rome*. I think this answer is precise and clear.

SECTION L.—THE FOUR PRETENDED CONTRADICTORY SCHEMES OF LODGING THE INFALLIBILITY EXAMINED.

" *G.*—Some, my lord, place the *infallibility* in the *Pope* " *alone*, as the only *heir* of St *Peter*, and *living judge* of con- " troversy; and therefore above *counsels*, and the whole *body* " of the *church* put together."—*p.* 92.

L.—Sir, you are always very lavish in bestowing *titles* on the *Pope*. You have already made him the *universal monarch* of *kings* and *bishops;* and now you make him *heir* of St *Peter*, whose title never was *hereditary*, but *elective*. Let us therefore style him St *Peter's successor*, which title he has by the *election* of the *church*, as he has his power annexed to it immediately from *God*.

However that be, it is true what you say, that many *catholic divines* place the *infallibility* in the *Pope*. But no *catholic divine* in the world ever placed it in the *Pope* ALONE. Because the word *alone* excludes both *general councils*, and the *diffusive body* of the *church*, to which no *catholic divine* ever denied *infallibility* in matters of faith. But this was a necessary stratagem to make your *first scheme* appear to be a *contradiction* to the rest. So I desire you to keep the word *alone* to yourself, and then go on.

' *G.*—Others like not this. And because some *Popes* " have approved heretical, and have been censured and *deposed* " for it; and others of them have proved most wicked and " flagitious men, who besides the viciousness of their own " lives have filled the world with *blood*, *rebellion*, and *usurpa-* " *tions* in pursuance of the *deposing power*, they have assumed " over princes, for these and other reasons they would not " have the *infallibility* trusted with the *Pope*, but lodge it in " a *general council* as *superior* to the *Pope* with power to re- " form, and even to *depose* him."—*pp.* 92, 93.

L.—Sir, there is one thing strictly true in this your *second scheme*, viz., that many *catholic divines* deny the *Pope's infallibility:* and all these agree unanimously in placing it both in the *diffusive body* of the *church*, and *general councils* received as such. But as to what you

say concerning their opinion, *that a general council is superior to the Pope*, this is wholly foreign to the question we are upon. For whether that be true or false, I defy you to make good the *contradictions* you pretend to charge us with in lodging the *infallibility*.

" *G.*—A third party approve of neither of these ways. " For as they think a *Pope* alone without a *council* not to " be *infallible*, so neither a *council* without a *Pope*, who is " *head* of it, and without whom there cannot be a lawful " council as no *parliament* without a *king*. These are for " *king* and *parliament*, and place the *infallibility* in neither " *Pope* nor *council* apart, but only when both together, and " agreeing. But because this will defeat several of those " councils, called *general*, and split others; as when the *Pope* " or his *legates* withdrew from the council (like a king leaving " his parliament) then such was no longer a lawful council, " but a *schismatical conventicle*; as was said of the council of " *Basil and Constance, &c.* And because there have been Popes " against Popes, and councils against councils, and that the " requisites necessary to constitute a lawful council, and " consequently *infallible*, are some of them disputed, as the " authority of *summoning* and *convening* the council, and " *presiding* in it, and other requisites allowed by all to be " necessary are impossible to be known with any certainty: " as, that all the fathers there met should use all diligence " to examine and canvass to the bottom every point, that " comes before them: and that they should be under no " terror or fear of any, nor biassed by party, hopes of prefer- " ment, or gain, or any other corrupt passion, but doing all " things out of true zeal to the glory of God, and good of " the church; otherwise that there is no *infallibility* follows " that council: and this being impossible for any to know " but God alone, consequently the *infallibility* of all councils " is rendered precarious, and no certainty at all in them: " or rather it is certain by the history of all *councils* called " *general*, that these human passions not consistent with *in-* " *fallibility*, had an influence in all, or most of them. So that " we cannot be certain of the *infallibility* of any council, un- " less we are infallibly sure, that none of these human passions " had a mixture in it.

" This makes a *fourth party* in the *Church of Rome:* that " is, of those, who place the *infallibility* neither in *Pope*, nor

" *council jointly* or *severally*, but in the *church militant*, as " they speak. That is, the *church diffusive*, or all churches up " and down the world. We must then travel and learn. " Here is a wild mark, and we are plainly left at last to " *private judgment* to collect and compare, to approve or re- " ject what we find scattered in all the distant churches upon " the earth. And no man's life or capacity will be sufficient " to make the inquiry in any tolerable measure.

" And now, my lord, which of these *four sorts* of infalli- " bility will you take? There are three to one against you, " choose which you will. And all these are of the *Church* " *of Rome.* And what difference is there betwixt having no " guide, or one you cannot find?"—*pp.* 93—95.

L.—Sir, he that cannot find him, must be wilfully blind. But since you are so generous as to give me my choice, I need not deliberate long upon the matter. For the whole body of *catholic divines* has already made it for me, and it is with them I place the *infallibility* both in the *diffusive body* of the *church*, and its representative a *general council* truly so called; that is, approved, and received as such.

And now, Sir, I challenge you to make good what you tell me, viz. *that there are three to one against me, choose which I will.* Nay I only demand of you to produce one single *party* of *catholic divines* against me. They, who place the *infallibility* in the *Pope*, will not surely be against me: for no man in his senses will allow the *Pope* to be *infallible* by himself, and deny him to be so, when he delivers his judgment at the head of a *general council*, or with the whole *diffusive body* of the *church.* I am also secure of having those on my side, who (according to your second scheme) place the *infallibility* in a *council* without the *Pope.* Unless you suppose them to be so void of reason as to maintain, that a council, which is *infallible* without the Pope, becomes *fallible* when he agrees with it, and approves its decrees.

Where then is the *party* of *catholic divines*, which you pretend to draw up against me, to be sought for? Truly, Sir, you must be at the trouble of travelling to *terra incognita*, or the world in the *moon*, to find such a

party. For I am sure it is not to be found in any part of the known world. And have you not then a great deal of reason to triumph over me as you do, as if I were entirely at a loss to know where to find my *infallible guide?* Nay are you not bound to retract what you told me a while ago [*Case Stated*, p. 63] viz., *that there is no greater difference and confusion among any sort of men upon any subject whatsoever, than there is among the divines of the Church of Rome concerning her rule of faith, and infallible judge of controversy. And every one of the different opinions about it is in flat contradiction to all the others; so that if any one of them be true, all the rest must be false?* Pray, good Sir, how can that be? Suppose I lodge the *infallibility* in the *Pope*, does that take it away from the *church?* Or suppose I lodge it in a *council*, does that take it away from the *Pope?* Again, is it impossible for the *church collective* to be *infallible*, because the *church diffusive* is so? But this, you say, *is a wild mark, and we must travel and learn.* You may *learn* if you please, Sir; but you need not *travel* very far to inform yourself of any doctrinal point taught by this *infallible guide.* As for instance; is there any need of your going to *Paris*, *Rome*, or *Toledo*, to know for certain whether the doctrine of *transubstantiation* be taught in those churches? You may as well tell me I must travel to *Constantinople* to know whether *Mahomet* be worshipped by the *Turks.* Now let us examine your objections against the *infallibility* of *general councils.*

First, you say, *that in some councils called general the Pope and council have disagreed. Popes have been against Popes, and councils against councils.* This is true in relation to the *councils* of *Pisa* and *Constance:* both which were opposed by *Benedict* XIII. and *Gregory* XII. two *doubtful* Popes before, and deposed in the council of *Pisa.* These Popes had also their *conventions* against one another, which they called *councils.* But did they disagree either among themselves, or with the councils of *Pisa* and *Constance* about matters of *faith?* No, Sir. The whole difference was about a matter of *fact*,

viz., the *validity* of their *election*. And what is that to the purpose?

2dly, you say, *that in some councils called general, the Pope, or his legates withdrew from the council:* and for this you quote the councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, and conclude from it that then they were no longer lawful councils. As to the Pope's withdrawing from the council of *Constance*, the fact is unquestionable. For *John* XXIII. withdrew privately from *Constance*, intending thereby to frustrate the principal design of that council, which was to extinguish the *schism* by obliging him to resign the *pontificate*, as he had promised to do at his election, in case it should be demanded of him for the good of the church. His *election* therefore was only *conditional;* and his escape to elude this end being a breach of the condition, upon which he had been chosen, he justly forfeited his title: but the council lost nothing of its authority any more than if the Pope had died. In effect, being soon after taken, and imprisoned by the emperor *Sigismond*, he was solemnly deposed.

But the case of the council of *Basil* is very different. For there the *Pope* did not abandon the *council*, but by his authority removed it to another place, and was followed by the greatest part of the *bishops* and *clergy*. But a few bishops, and many of the inferior clergy separated themselves from the *Pope* and *council*, continued to meet at *Basil*, and styled themselves the *general council* of that place: but was never regarded as the true *council* of *Basil*.

3*dly*, you tell me, *that the requisites necessary to constitute a lawful council, and consequently infallible, are impossible to be known with any certainty.* To which I answer, that the requisites to constitute a *lawful council* are as easy to be known by learned *canonists*, as the requisites to constitute a lawful *parliament* are known by able *lawyers*.

You have ushered in your last objection with a long flourish upon the several *passions* and *defects* of human nature, whereby men are apt to be biassed in their judg-

ment, and you conclude from it, *that we cannot be certain of the infallibility of any council, unless we are infallibly sure, that none of these passions had a mixture in it.*

I answer, that if this will defeat the *infallibility* of *councils*, it will likewise defeat the *infallibility* of *scriptures:* because they were certainly writ by *men* subject to the common *passions* and *defects* of human nature. For, according to your way of arguing, how can we be *infallibly sure*, that St *Luke*, for example, who wrote the life of St *Paul*, was not swayed by affection, and that he is wholly impartial in his relation? How can we tell that the authors of the *canonical epistles used all the care and diligence possible in their search after truth?* This is your argument; and if it be good against the *infallibility* of *councils*, you have furnished the *deists* with full as good a one against *scriptures.*

But, Sir, you do not reflect, that as a *blind man* following a *sure guide* can no more miss his way, than the guide himself, so *fallible* men directed by an *unerring hand* walk as securely in the paths of truth, as if they were *infallible* themselves. Now when *Christ* chose *bishops* and *pastors* to be the *rulers* of his church, he knew them to be *fallible* men, and subject to *passions:* and for that very reason he promised them an *infallible guide*, who should govern and direct them, overrule all the infirmities of human nature, or even make them become subservient to his own designs. Our dependence therefore is not on the *personal merits* of any assembly whatsoever; but we depend entirely upon *God's promises;* which can no more be defeated or obstructed by human passions, than the eternal designs of his *infinite wisdom* by the constant vices and follies of mankind.

ADVERTISEMENT.— *The* gentleman, *in his* Case Stated, *having harangued from* p. 89, *to* p. 95, *without any interruption from his peaceable antagonist; his* lordship *at length breaks silence only to proclaim the victory of his adversary, and owns frankly,* that he knows not where to find his guide. *Which having done, he laments the condition of mankind in being destitute of an* infallible guide *to conduct him to heaven. Whereupon the* gentleman *expostulates with him in the following manner.*—

SECTION LI.—OF TAKING UP RELIGION BY EDUCATION, AND HOW REASON IS TO BE CONSULTED IN THE CHOICE OF IT.

" *G.*—You may as well find fault with the creation. *Shall* " *the clay say to the potter, why hast thou made me thus?* Who " was the *guide* to the *angels* that fell? Who was *guide* to " *Adam*? Who was, or who is guide to all the earth? To " the *heathens*, to *Mahometans*, to *Jews*? These last stick to " their *church* as an *infallible guide*, and therefore are most " obstinate, and the most inveterate enemies to *christianity*." —p. 95.

L.—Sir, they that stick to a *church* as an *infallible guide*, when that church has *uncontestable evidence* against it, are only fit to be sent to the hospital of *incurables*. And this has been the case of the *Jews* ever since their *reprobation*, as I have already proved. But with your good leave, Sir, it is not the case of the *Church of Rome*, as you are pleased to insinuate.

" *G.*—Who is guide to *infants* and *idiots?* And shall we " interrogate the *Almighty* what will he do with these, or " why he created them? And perhaps the greatest part of " mankind die before they come to the years of discretion. " And when they are of age, how few are capable to judge, " or have opportunity or capacity to examine the different " pleas betwixt *church* and *church*, *religion* and *religion?* " And do we not see the generality of the world take up " their *church* and *religion* just according to their *education?* " My lord, if you and I had been born and bred in *Turkey*, " we might have been *Mahometans*."—pp. 95, 96.

L.—Perhaps we might, Sir, and we might also have been damned for it, if being come to years of discretion we should have neglected the necessary means of coming to the true faith. For let me tell you, Sir, I never read that *education* was ever reckoned by the ancient fathers amongst the *marks* of the *true church:* or amongst th *motives of credibility* by any *divine* in the world. Though by your way of speaking one would be apt to think, that *education* is as good a *guide* as any under heaven.

As to the questions, you have proposed concerning the guide of the *apostate angels*, *Adam*, *heathens*, *Maho-*

metans, Jews, infants, idiots, &c. I should be glad to know, what reference those questions have to the subject of our dispute. For the question we had just now before us was, *whether I could find my infallible guide?* And I think I have marked him out very clearly to you. In effect, nothing is of moment in reference to this question but only to know, *who is the guide to christians!* And this is easily determined. For there can be no other than the *true church of Christ:* and the pretence of having been educated in this or that religion will be no excuse to those, who, when they are come to the perfect use of reason, are capable of examining, whether they be as truly members of the *church established* by *Christ*, and his *apostles*, as of the *church established by law.* For I presume religion is not to be taken up merely by *chance* according to the place where we are born, or where we receive our education.

" *G.*—No, my lord, *truth* is *truth*, though all the world " should depart from it. And there have been converts of " all nations and religions, but none, where men cannot be " persuaded to overcome the prejudice of education, and ex- " amine impartially for themselves."—*p.* 96.

L.—All this is very right. I wish it may hold. So pray go on.

" *G.*—But *infallibility* barrs all *examination.* For that " implies a *doubt*, and brings us to *private judgment*, and " where then shall we wander?"—*p.* 16.

L.—Sir, I suspected you would not keep long in the good way you were in. But, what is worse, you relapse into a mistake I have already confuted at large [sect. 36.] for I told you then that the *church's infallibility* hinders no more our *examining* the *grounds* of our *religion*, than the *infallibility* of *scriptures*, of which I hope you never doubted.

" *G.*—Examination brings us to *private judgment*, as I " told your lordship; and you must apply to every man's " *private judgment*, when you mean to make him a convert " to your church. Why else do you argue or reason with " him."—*p.* 96.

L.—Sir, examination brings us to the *right use*, but

not the *abuse* of private judgment. For it brings us to a clear knowledge of the *guide* we are to follow, and a full conviction, that it is the most reasonable thing in the world to submit our private judgment in things we do not understand, to the direction of this guide. And when we will make a convert of any person, we argue and reason with him to bring him to this conviction.

" *G.*—Must he not then examine all the arguments and mo-
" tives, you give him for the *infallibility* of your *church*, and
" judge for himself, whether they are well grounded, and
" will bear the test of reason?"—*p.* 96.

L.—He certainly must. And therefore we propose the *motives* of *credibility*, or *marks* of the *true church* to him, that he may examine them thoroughly. For they are proportioned to the capacity of every man of a sound and unbiassed judgment.

" *G.*—But must every body then have *reason*, and examine
" but yourselves? Believe it, then you are in the most
" dangerous condition of any, and you are the men, who re-
" ceive your religion by chance just according to your *Edu-*
" cation."—p. 96.

L.—That is very strange, that we should *reason* others into a belief of the grounds of our religion, and be ourselves void of *reason*. For will not the same motives, with which we convince others, suffice to convince us too? And can we be convinced by them without examination? You therefore talk at random in saying we receive our religion by *chance*.

" *G.*—Suppose any one should return your own answer
" to you, and say, I will not examine, I am infallibly sure,
" and I will hear no more. What would you think of such
" a man? Every *enthusiast* will tell you the same. He will
" take his oath that he is infallible, and will hear no more
" than the *deaf adder* the *charms* of reason. But he will bid
" you silence your reason; for that is it which blinds you,
" though *Solomon* calls it the *lamp of God*, which he has
" planted in our hearts. *Prov.* xx. 27. It is the *image* of
" *God* in which he has created us, and will be our witness
" and judge in the last day, as it is given us for our guide
" here."—*p.* 96.

L.—It is so, Sir. But you make a very ill use of it

at present in talking rather like a man in a raving fit, than one that is guided by his reason.

" *G.*—My lord, instead of *trimming* this *lamp* to make it " burn clearly, we hear the general cry on your side, *put it* " *out, put it out.* We cannot deal with you till that lamp be " extinguished: it thwarts us at every turn, and starts a " hundred objections, that we cannot believe peaceably for " it. But when it is quite taken away (if that were possible " to be done) then you offer to shew us a *meteor* of *infalli-* " *bility* (about which yourselves are not agreed, nor know " where to find it) which will keep us from ever doubting any " more. As when a man's eyes are put out, he cannot see " a dirty step, or a precipice before him; and then he is in " that state of *security* you propose."—*pp.* 96, 97.

L.—No, Sir, we propose no such *state.* We desire no man to *put out his eyes*, but we would not have him trust them farther, than they can see. We therefore advise him to take a *guide*, and be directed by him in a road he knows nothing of, and where he will certainly miss his way, if he has nothing but his own eyes to trust to. For this is our very case in the business of *revealed religion. Reason* is the *eye* or *lamp* of man's soul, as you have justly observed, and *faith* is the way we must walk in during our pilgrimage upon earth. But the *mysteries* of *faith* being above reason, it is a way our reason knows nothing of, and it will certainly lose its way, if it trusts wholly to itself. It therefore stands in need of a *guide* to conduct it. But who is this *guide?* For many false ones offer themselves upon the road; and all depends upon our choosing the true one, which can be no other than the *church of Christ.* But how, and where is this church to be found? Here is the difficulty, and danger of choosing wrong. For *Lutherans* say they are the *true church. Calvinists* say the same. *Anabaptists, Quakers,* and many more put likewise in their claim. And yet there is but *one true church of Christ;* as there is but *one God, one baptism,* and *one faith;* and there can be no more.

Here then (pray mark me well) we say not to men, *you must not examine.* We say not to them, *shut your eyes, renounce your reason, put out your lamp* (as you

most unjustly reproach us) but on the contrary we exhort them to *examine* with all the diligence possible the *grounds* and *motives* of their *religion*. Because these being the principal inducements of their embracing one church preferably to another, if a false step be made in this, it cannot but be attended with a train of the most fatal consequences, and mislead men into the grossest errors.

Here therefore we bid them *open their eyes*, and make use of all the *reason*, God has given them to find this *church*, which is to be their *guide*. Nay we warn them moreover, that in this examination they must lay aside all the *prejudices* of *education*, and give a deaf ear to all the alluring motives of *interest* and *ease*. That therefore they must not consider, whether the church they are of, be the *prevailing* church of the country, where they are born: whether it be most favourable to their *liberty* and *ease;* or finally, whether it be the church, in which they are most like to make their *fortune;* but whether it has all the true and essential marks of the *church of Christ?* As, whether it has always had a *visible being* since the time of the *apostles?* Whether the doctrine it teaches has been confirmed by undoubted *miracles?* Whether the *faith* it holds, has been preached to *all nations?* Whether it has had a *succession* of *bishops* and *pastors*, and a *mission* derived from the *apostles* themselves, &c. For these, Sir, are the true marks of the *church of Christ:* these point out to us the *guide* we are to follow: and these we exhort all men to examine, and inquire into by the clearest light of that *reason*, which God has given them: and would to God all men would examine them with the seriousness and impartiality, which the importance of the matter requires.

It is therefore false what you say, that we forbid people *to examine the grounds of their religion.* It is false that the general cry on our side is to bid them *put out the lamp of their reason*, as if we were afraid of its light. On the contrary, as we defy any man's reason to find the marks of the *true church* on your side, so every man, that follows the light of an unbiassed reason, will find them

all clearly on ours, and they will stand the test of the strictest examination, as I have fully showed. Sect. 36.

G.—But, my lord, though you allow people to *examine* before they come to you, do you not oblige them to *shut their eyes*, when you have once caught them in your nets?

L.—Sir, if the meaning of your question be, whether we oblige them to discard their *reason?* I answer we do not. For we oblige them to nothing, but what *reason* itself obliges them to. But the same reason, which bids us examine the *grounds* of our *religion*, and inquire diligently into the *marks* of the *true church of Christ*, the same reason, I say, tells us that we must obey this church, when we have found it, and pay an entire submission to its decisions. So that we follow *reason* in the one as well as the other. Nay we *reason* ourselves into an entire submission of our *private reason.*

Pray, Sir, when a man has chosen a *guide* for a journey, does not his *reason* tell him; that he must be directed by him? When a *sick man* has chosen an *able physician*, must he not follow his prescriptions? Or when an ignorant client has chosen an *eminent lawyer* to manage his cause, would you have him dispute points of law with his *lawyer?* Or will he not act more prudently in submitting to his directions? Now this is the very case between a man's *private judgment*, and the *church of Christ.* Reason first leads him to this church, with which God has deposited all truth: and then the same reason tells him, that the *revealed mysteries*, whereof she is the *depositary*, being above his understanding, he is bound to submit to her in every thing she teaches. And if this be not acting *rationally* I know not what is. But how do you deal with those, who are out of your church, in order to make converts of them?

" *G.*—We have no other method with them, than to *reason* " on still with them, and shew them, that *reason* is on our " side. "—*p.* 97.

L.—The method is very good, if you can shew it effectually.

" *G.*—Vast multitudes of them have been converted; even

" all *christian churches* now in the world, for all of them are " of the *Gentiles.*"—pp. 97, 98.

L.—Sir, all the *christian churches*, you speak of, were converted by *papists: Great Britain* amongst the rest. And I should be glad to know, what *heathen nation* has ever been converted by *protestant missionaries.*

" *G.*—As for those, who yet remain unconverted, or have " not had the Gospel sufficiently proposed to them, we must " leave them to God, who made them, and will require from " no man more than he has given them, but will judge all " people righteously. Of this I have spoken before."—*p.* 98.

L.—Yes, Sir, I remember your new invented *machine* of *uncovenanted mercy*, and have delivered my opinion upon it.

SECTION LII.—NO SALVATION OUT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

" *G.*—But I observe, that since this notion of *Infallibility* " came into the church, it has rooted out all *charity*, and her " religion has been chiefly employed in *cursing* and *damning* " all the world but herself. Her *councils* are tagged with " *anathemas* upon every occasion, and you hear little in them " who shall be saved, but every page is full of who must be " damned. And the *bulla cœnæ* pins the basket, and leaves " very few to escape even of the *Roman catholic* communion " itself."—*p.* 98.

L.—Sir, we have had enough of the *bulla cœnæ* already; so I shall only make some remarks upon your observation; which indeed is very curious. For if *infallibility*, and *cursing* with *anathemas* came into the *church* together, then I am sure *infallibility* is full as ancient as St *Paul;* who cursed both *men* and *angels*, and *himself* also, if he or they should presume to teach any other doctrine, than what he had preached. *Gal.* i. 8. Besides, Sir, the *canons* of the four *first general councils* are *tagged with anathemas* as well as the *Lateran council*, and that of *Trent.* And since your church allows of the four first general councils, and that, by consequence, the church was then in her purity, your observation is an unanswerable

proof against yourself, that *infallibility* was then the doctrine of the church. Now, Sir, go on.

" *G.*—It is a common argument, with which your priests " frighten *women* and *children*, viz.: *You protestants say, that* " *it is possible for a papist to be saved: but we papists say, it* " *is impossible for a protestant to be saved; therefore it is* " *safer being on our side.* But this has turned to their con- " fusion. For, as there is nothing in it but a confident aver- " ring, it shews that they have no *charity*, which is greater " even than *faith* itself. 1 *Cor.* xiii. 13. And therefore that " they can be no *christian church.* Their want of *charity* " being by this much plainer than our want of *faith.*"—p. 98.

L.—It seems then, that St *Paul*, and the ancient fathers, who pronounced all *heretics* damned, were wholly void of *charity*, and according to your consequence were no members of the *christian church.*

How void of charity was St *Cyprian*, who wrote in the following manner? *Whosoever*, says he, *leaving the church cleaves to an adulteress, is cut off from the promises of the church.* And again, *if it were possible for any to escape, that was not in the ark of Noah, it shall likewise be possible for him to escape, who is not in the church.* Cyp. de Unit. Eccl. St *Austin* was as uncharitable as St *Cyprian*, for he wrote thus: *Being out of the pale of the church separated from its unity and bond of charity, thou wouldst not escape damnation, though thou shouldst be burnt alive for confessing the name of Christ.* Epist. 204. ad Don. And St *Fulgentius* was no less uncharitable than the other two; witness the following words: *For neither baptism, nor liberal alms, nor death itself for the profession of Christ, can avail a man any thing in order to salvation, if he does not hold the unity of the Catholic Church.* S. Fulg. ad Petrum Diaconum. C. 39. Lastly the *Athanasian creed* is most highly guilty of the want of charity, you accuse us of. For it damns all, who believe not every article it contains. And yet this *creed* is highly approved by your church.

Now as to the argument you speak so contemptibly of, I assure you, Sir, it has frightened persons of better ense than those you call *women* and *children.* Nor has

it ever turned to our confusion, as you are pleased to tell me. Nay common sense alone suffices to convince any man that salvation is more secure in that society, in which it is allowed even by its enemies, than in that, in which it is only allowed by those, who are themselves members of it.

" *G.*—Take *Chillingworth's* answer to it, c. 7. of his works, " *p.* 306. *You* (says he to *Knot* the *jesuit*) *vainly pretend that* " *all Roman catholics, not one excepted, profess their protestancy* " *unrepented destroys salvation. From which generality we* " *must except two at least to my own knowledge: and these are* " *yourself, and* Franciscus de Sancta Clara; *who assures us that* " *ignorance and repentance may excuse a protestant from damna-* " *tion, though dying in his error. And this is all the charity,* " *which (by your own confession also) the most favourable pro-* " *testants allow to papists.*"—pp. 98, 99.

L.—I am surprised, Sir, you should give me this answer of *Chillingworth*, and approve of it. For, if *catholics* allow salvation to *protestants* in the case of *ignorance* and *repentance* only, and if this be all the *charity*, which the most *favourable protestants* allow to *papists*, I cannot imagine, how this will agree with what you told me this very moment, viz., *that we have no charity and therefore can be no christian church.* What, Sir! can you *unchurch* us for want of *charity*, and remain yourselves *a christian church*, when you profess to have no more *charity* for us, than we have for you?

As for Mr *Knot* the *jesuit*, and *Franciscus de Sancta Clara*, I cannot see they say any thing more than what *catholic divines* commonly say; *viz.*, that invincible ignorance excuses from the sin of *heresy* as it does from other sins. Because whoever is *invincibly ignorant*, is so disposed at heart in the sight of God, that if he knew himself to be in an error, he would renounce it, cost what it would. And such a one is virtually within the pale of the church, provided he uses all endeavours possible to come to the knowledge of the truth.

" *G.*—*Militiere* was persuaded that king *Charles* I. was " happy in heaven, because he preferred the *catholic faith* " before his crown, his liberty, and life. Now it is known

" to all the world that king *Charles* lived and died in the " communion of the *Church* of *England*, which he declared " with his last breath upon the scaffold. But archbishop " *Bramhal* gave him this answer: *That which you have con-* " *fessed here concerning king* Charles *will spoil your former* " *demonstration, that* protestants *have neither church nor faith.* " *But you confess no more here than I have heard some of your* " *famous Roman doctors at* Paris *acknowledge to be true in gene-* " *ral.* And no more than that which the bishop of *Calcedon* " (a man, that cannot be suspected of partiality) has affirmed " and published in two of his books to the world in print, " that *persons living in the communion of the* protestant *church,* " *if they endeavour to learn the faith, and are not able to attain* " *unto it, but hold it implicitly in the preparation of their mind,* " *and are ready to receive it, when God shall be pleased to reveal* " *it* (which all good *protestants*, and all good christians are) " *they neither want church, nor faith, nor salvation.*"—pp. 99, 100.

L.—Sir I do not see, what advantage you can draw from the *bishop* of *Calcedon's* words. For he plainly supposes all *protestants as such* to be without *faith:* since it cannot be said of a person, who already has faith, that he *endeavours to learn it, and is not able to attain to it.* His meaning then can only be, that *protestants*, who endeavour, but are not able to come to the knowledge of the truth, may be saved, if they be so disposed in their hearts, that they are ready to embrace and profess it, whenever God shall be mercifully pleased to bring them to the knowledge of it. Because whoever is so disposed (which I fear is not so common a thing as you seem to imagine) whoever I say, is so disposed, is *virtually* within the pale of the *Catholic Church*, as I have already said, though he be outwardly in the *protestant communion.* And in this *catholics* generally agree with the *bishop* of *Calcedon*, because *invincible ignorance* excuses from sin.

As to *Militiere*, it is the first time I ever heard him named. But I do not comprehend, how any demonstration should come to be spoiled by his saying, that *Charles* I. (whom he supposed to have died a *catholic*) *was happy in heaven.* I am indeed but too much inclined

to be of your mind, that *Militiere* was mistaken in his supposition. But allowing that king *Charles* died in the bosom of the *Catholic Church*, which according to his principle implies, that he was *inculpably ignorant* of the true faith, he had all the reason in the world to *think him happy in heaven*. Nor could *archbishop Bramhal* conclude any thing from it against his former demonstration, because he supposed the king died united to the *Catholic Church*.

" *G.*—Then no *protestant*, at least no *protestant king*, need " despair."—*p.* 100.

L.—Sir, neither *protestant king* nor *protestant subject* needs to despair, if you can prove them to be reunited to the *Catholic Church*.

" *G.*—But to the divines I have mentioned, let us add " some royal testimonies. King *James* I., in his *Premonition* " *to Christian Monarchs*, tells us, that his mother (*queen Mary*) " as she was ready to lay her head upon the block, sent him " this message ; *that although she was of another religion, than* " *that, wherein he was brought up, yet she would not press him* " *to change, except his conscience forced him to it : not doubting* " *but if he led a good life, and were careful to do justice, and* " *govern well, he would be in a good case in his own religion.*

" This was perfectly agreeable to the sentiments of his " grandson the late king *James* II., who often spoke to those " divines, who had the instruction of both his daughters, to " be diligent in making them religious and good christians " in the way of the *Church of England* without so much as " hinting at any change of their principles towards the *Church* " *of Rome* : as I have heard myself from two of them, Dr " *Turner* late *bishop of Ely*, and Dr *Ken* late *bishop* of *Bath* " and *Wells*. And neither before, nor after his coming to the " crown would he suffer any attempt to be made upon them " as to religion ; of which there is an eminent witness now " alive, who knows if I speak truth. And when a certain " zealot pressed him to endeavour their reconciliation to the " *Church of Rome*, and offered his service for that purpose, " the king answered, *No, let them alone, they are so good : they* " *will be saved in any church.*"—*pp.* 100, 101.

L.—Alas, that poor prince did not then foresee, that those two *good protestant daughters* would soon after send

their *popish father* and *mother* a begging. However that be, as to the first of your *royal testimonies* from king *James* I., I will not presume to give him the lie. But I dare boldly give it to the person, whoever he was, that brought the message. For it seems it was not sent by letter, but delivered by word of mouth. And how easy was it for the messenger to go beyond his commission, and forge the latter part of his message; both to flatter the king, and make *catholics* appear to contradict one another; and so cast an aspersion upon their religion; which was a popular thing, and the way to please at that time.

That queen *Mary* should tell her son, *that she would not press him to a change of religion, unless his conscience forced him to it*, may very well be. But that she should add, *that he would be in a good case in his own religion, provided he lead a good life and governed well*, is wholly improbable, and inconsistent with common sense. For either she was convinced in conscience, that her son might be saved in the *protestant religion*, or not. If not, then she acted against her conscience in sending such a message to him; and that, in the very moment, she was going to lay her head upon the block: which cannot be suspected of such a pious princess, as she certainly was. But if she was convinced in conscience, that her son was safe in the *protestant religion*, then she must have judged, that it was equally safe for herself: unless she could think, that the same religion could save one, and damn another. Now her actions and sufferings are a demonstrative proof, that she never thought herself safe in the *protestant religion*, since she chose to lose her crown, liberty, and life, rather than conform to it.

Add to this, that *Sanderson*, a *protestant* historian, who relates every minute circumstance of her death, and particularly a message she delivered upon the scaffold to her servant, *Melville*, mentions not a word of the message you speak of.

I find the very same improbability and incoherency in the latter part of your story concerning king *James* II.,

whatever vouchers you may pretend to have for it. For all the world knows, that king *James* suffered as much for his religion as any prince, we shall read of in history Nay all his sufferings were attended with the most mortifying circumstances, that could give an aggravation to them. This renders it unquestionable, that he had a full conviction of conscience, that he could not be saved in the *protestant church.* And is it consistent with common sense to believe, that a person under this conviction should say, *his children would be saved in any church whatsoever?*

You say, *he forbade the divines, that had the instruction of his children even to hint at any change in their principles towards the Church of Rome.* But nothing can be more unlikely than this story. For no man forbids a thing, but when there is some danger or probability of its coming to pass: and king *James* knew very well, that the *divines*, who were about his children, had such a mortal hatred to *popery*, that though he had commanded them to tamper with them, they would not have obeyed him. There was therefore no manner of occasion to forbid them to do it. Nay he might as well have forbid them to preach *judaism* to them as *popery.* I believe indeed he never molested his children about their *religion.* For as he gave free *liberty* of *conscience* to all his subjects, it was not reasonable that his own children should be the only persons excluded from the benefit of it. But he could never be capable of such a gross solecism in practice, as to declare his children safe in that religion, which he had renounced himself upon a conviction of conscience, that he could not save his soul in it.

" *G.*—Yes, my lord, he might think his own religion best " for himself without thinking those in any hazard, who were " sincerely of the *Church of England*, and lived up to the " rules of it."—*p.* 101.

L.—Sir, when you convince me that king *James* was a *latitudinarian* in religion, then I shall be of your mind, that he might think one *church* best for himself, and another better for his children. I am sure he could not think his own religion best for himself as to this world; and if he only thought it best as to his future happiness,

he could not but have the same opinion of it with relation to his children.

" *G.*—However king *James* did not think it unlawful to be " present at our *common prayers*, because he heard them at " his *coronation*."—p. 101.

L.—But did any man in the whole nation look upon his being present at your *common prayers* on that occasion as a *distinctive mark*, whereby he professed himself to be of the *protestant communion*, or that he therefore approved of your *liturgy?* No surely. Nor can you conclude from what he did at his *coronation*, that therefore he thought it lawful to be present at your *common prayers* in other occasions. For if he had, he might have kept the crown upon his head.

G.—My lord, what is lawful once, is lawful always.

L.—I beg your pardon, Sir. For the same external action may be lawful or unlawful as circumstances vary. As for instance: a case of necessity may oblige a virtuous person to go into very scandalous company, where it would be unlawful for him to appear at other times. And the same action may give great scandal at one time, and none at all at another. If I should go upon Sundays to hear prayers at my own *parish church*, where most of the congregation know me, every body would conclude I came with a design to *conform :* because going to church in that manner is regarded as *a distinctive mark.* But if I went only out of curiosity to hear the parson exercise his talent in a place, where I am not known, I should give no handle to any one to interpret it as a *renouncing* of my own religion. It is plain then that the same thing may be lawful in one circumstance, and unlawful in another. Now the circumstances of king *James* being present at your *common prayers* were such, as rendered it impossible for any man to interpret it either a *dislike* of his own, or an *approbation* of your *liturgy* or *communion.* Nor can you, by consequence conclude from it, *that he did not think it unlawful to be present at your common prayers in ordinary occasions ;* as I am sure no *Roman Catholic* thinks it lawful.

SECTION LIII.—POPE PIUS V. WAS NOT THE AUTHOR OF THE ENGLISH SCHISM.

"*G.*—My lord, formerly they thought it lawful, for after "the *reformation* the *Romon catholics* of *England* came to "our churches, and to our *common prayer without any scruple.* "And this continued till about the tenth year of the reign "of queen *Elizabeth*, when Pope *Pius* forbade it by his *Bull.* "So that he made the *separation.* And if he had not sufficient power to do it, or that there was not sufficient "cause for it, then he made the *schism* too, and it lies "wholly at his door. Now it is the undoubted right of "every *national church* to reform, alter, and model their own "*liturgy*, as shall be most convenient; provided there be "nothing put into it, that is contrary to the *faith:* which is "not so much as alleged against our public offices. They "have a *Breviary* at *Milan*, and other places different from "that at *Rome.* And in *England* before the *reformation* there "were diverse in several dioceses. As what was used in "the church of *Salisbury*, of *Hereford*, of *Bangor*, of *York*, "of *Lincoln*, *&c.*, as is mentioned in the preface of our Common Prayer-book concerning the service of the church. "But these differences did not break *communion;* nor did "the alteration made at the *reformation*, till the Pope by "the plentitude of his *supremacy*, and to be revenged upon "queen *Elizabeth*, took upon him to break the communion. "For which, as there was no sufficient cause, *our liturgy being "all orthodox, even our enemies being judges;* so on the other "hand the Pope's supremacy did not extend to break in "upon the *rights* and *liberties* of any *national church*, as has "been, and is still maintained by the whole *Gallican church*, "and others the most learned in the *Church of Rome.* And, "my lord, I know some *Roman catholics* of figure, and good "sense in *England*, who merely upon this account have come "over to our church, and thought themselves obliged to return to the communion of their *national church*, and to heal "the breach made by that excess of the *Pope's supremacy*, "which no sober man on this side of the *Alps* will own. It "is strange to own it in fact, and deny it in words. Whoever owns this *bull* of *Pius* V. for breaking communion in "*England*, must also own the full extent of the *bulla cœnæ*, "which has his authority in a particular manner, as well as

" of all the Popes since. And it damns almost all *papists* " as well as all who are not *papists*."—pp. 101—103.

L.—What, Sir! Will you never leave off baiting that poor bull? But we have now a question of greater moment before us, to wit, whether *Pius* V. was the author of the *English schism*, which you boldly affirm, and endeavour to prove from a fact, which upon examination will appear to be a gross mistake. You say, *that after the reformation the catholics of England came to your churches and common prayer without scruple till the tenth year of queen Elizabeth.* This, I say, is a gross mistake, because your meaning (to be any thing to the purpose) must be, that either the *whole body* of *Roman catholics*; or at least the *most eminent part in England* came to your churches and common prayer; and that they did it upon a full persuasion of the lawfulness of it. For whoever does a thing *without scruple*, unless he be an *atheist*, is convinced in conscience, that he may lawfully do it. Now it is neither true, that the *whole body* of *Roman catholics* or the most *eminent part* did conform: nor that they who conformed, did it *without scruple.*

I prove the first from Dr *Heylyn*, who writes thus (*p.* 286, 3d Edit. *London*): *It was upon the 8th day of May, that the parliament ended* (viz. 1. of Eliz.) *and on the 24th of June that the public liturgy was to be officiated in all the churches of the kingdom. In the performance of which service the bishops giving no encouragement, and many of the clergy being backward, it was thought fit to put them to the final test, and either to bring them to conformity, or to bestow their places and preferments upon more tractable persons.*

In the same page he tells us, that many of the bishoprics being vacant when queen *Elizabeth* came to the crown, there were no more than fifteen living of that sacred order. And of those fifteen only one conformed, viz. *Kitchin of Landaf; who* (as Dr *Heylyn* remarks) *having formerly submitted to every change resolved to show himself no changeling in not conforming to the pleasure of higher powers.* So that no less than fourteen bishops of

fifteen refused to conform, and were accordingly deprived of their *bishoprics.*

In the next page he tells us, that besides the fourteen *bishops*, six *abbots*, *priors*, and *governors* of religious houses (that is, all that were at that time in *England* restored by queen *Mary*) twelve *deans*, and as many *archdeacons:* fifteen *presidents*, or *masters* of *colleges:* fifty *prebendaries* of cathedral churches, and above eighty *parsons* or *vicars* were deprived of their preferments.

But Mr *Rishton*, who lived in those unhappy times, and could not but know what happened, relates that great numbers of the laity, and many eminent persons of both universities quitted the kingdom, and chose to undergo a voluntary banishment rather than comply with the times. Many also of the *Inns* of *Court* were turned out of their places for non-compliance. And it is notoriously known, that the few religious houses, which queen *Mary* had re-established, as the *Nuns of Zion*, the *Carthusians of Richmond*, and the *Friars of Greenwich* entirely refused to bow their knees to *Baal;* left the kingdom, and sought a refuge in foreign countries rather than conform contrary to the dictates of their conscience.

Now, Sir, give me leave to propose a question. Suppose *all* the *bishops* but one of *great Britain*, and many of the best character amongst the *inferior clergy*, and *laity* should refuse to take the *oath of abjuration*, I ask, whether in that case it would be true to say, *that the protestants of the Church of England take the oath of abjuration without scruple?* Surely no. Because when we say absolutely, and without restriction, that the *protestants* o *catholics* of *England* do such or such a thing *without scruple*, the natural and obvious meaning of it is, *first* that either the *whole body*, or at least the most *eminen part* do it. And 2*dly*, that they do it by *principle.* An how can it be said, that either the *whole body*, or at leas the most *eminent part* of a church does a thing, when a the principal *heads* and *rulers* of that church refuse to do it? Or how can the conforming party, though it be the greater in number, be said to do it *by principle*, when

those, who are their *spiritual governors* by divine appointment, their *guides* of conscience, and *judges* in matters of religion, declare against it both by word and deed? Since therefore all the *catholic* bishops but one, all the *abbots* and *religious* that were then in *England*, and many of the most eminent amongst the *inferior clergy* refused to conform, it is false to say absolutely, that *for the ten first years the Roman catholics came to your churches and common prayer without any scruple.*

G.—Your lordship must own at least, that the greatest part of the *catholic prebendaries* and *rural clergy* conformed.

L.—Whatever they did, I deny they did it by *principle*, and *without scruple:* and unless they did it by *principle* and *without scruple*, your argument from their outward conformity for the lawfulness of your *liturgy* is not worth a rush. For it will only prove, that the greatest number in conforming acted contrary to their conscience. But let us once more hear Dr *Heylyn*. *The bishops* (says he p. 287) *being thus put to it, the oath is tendered next to the deans and dignitaries, and by degrees also to the rural clergy: refused by some, and took by others, as it seemed most agreeable to their consciences, or particular ends.*

The *doctor* is so modest as to leave it undecided, whether they, who conformed, did it for *conscience sake*, or *particular ends.* But a few lines after he explains himself pretty well. *But then* (says he) *we are to know withal, that many, who were cordially affected to the interest of the Church of Rome dispensed with themselves in these outward conformities: which some of them are said to have done upon a hope of seeing the like revolution by the death of the queen, as had before happened by the death of king Edward: and otherwise that they might be able to relieve their brethren, who could not so readily frame themselves to a present compliance.* I think we may modestly conclude from these words of the *doctor*, that the *prebendaries* and *rural clergy* he speaks of, did not conform without some qualms of conscience: unless they forgot the old maxim, that *evil is not to be done, that good may come of it.*

But I must here observe to you, that the oath mentioned by Dr *Heylyn* was the *oath* of *supremacy*, whereby the *Pope's spiritual power* was utterly disclaimed. And this oath was tendered to all persons without exception, that enjoyed any *ecclesiastical benefice*, whereof they were deprived immediately upon their refusing to take it. Those therefore that continued in their *deaneries*, *prebends*, or *parsonages*, and conformed to the new *liturgy* to save their bacon, had all swallowed the oath; and by that very act renounced the communion of the *Church of Rome*. They were not therefore *Roman catholics*, when they conformed, but *apostates* from their religion. And all you can infer from their conforming is, that they, who turned *protestants* without scruple, came to your *church* and *common prayer* without scruple, which no man will ever dispute with you.

As to the *laity*, they, who had not strength enough to weather the storm, were forced into a compliance by the severity of *penal laws*. And let me tell you, Sir, that when a person conforms merely upon force, and goes to church like a bear to the stake, it is no mark of his doing it *without scruple*. However many among these to silence as well as they could the murmurs of an uneasy conscience, pretended that there could be no great harm in a mere *outward conformity*, as long as they remained sound *catholics* in their hearts. But they were vigorously opposed by others, who abhorred this scandalous trimming and dissimulation in matters of religion: and so the case was sent up to *Rome*, and the Pope decided it in favour of the latter; declaring such an *outward compliance* to be unlawful; as being a distinctive mark of a *protestant* from a *catholic*, and a denial of the *catholic religion* in fact.

G.—But was not then Pope *Pius* the author of the *separation*, and by consequence of the *schism?*

L.—Sir, he separated, if you please, the *corn* from the *chaff*, and true catholics from false ones: as St *Paul* did, when he commanded *Titus* to *avoid the company of an heretical man after the first and second admonition.* **Tit. iii. 10.** And as he forbade the *Corinthians* to keep

company with scandalous sinners. 1 *Cor.* v. 11. But as to the *separation*, or *schism* between the *Church of England* and the *Church of Rome*, how could Pope *Pius* be the author of a separation, which had been made ten years before he sent his *bull?* For when queen *Elizabeth* came to the crown, she found the *Church of England* perfectly reconciled and united to the *Church of Rome;* and in the first year of her reign she dissolved that happy union, undid every thing her predecessor had done, divested the Pope of his *spiritual supremacy* and broke all communication with the *Church of Rome.* All this, I say, she did in the very first year of her reign. And if this was not making the *separation* of the *Church of England* from the *Church of Rome*, both words and actions must lose their natural meaning.

Pray hear what Dr *Heylyn* says upon this subject: *When the act of supremacy came to be debated, it seemed to be a thing abhorrent even in nature and polity, that a woman should be declared to be the supreme head on earth of the* Church *of* England. *But those of the reformed party meant nothing less than to contend about words and phrases, so they might gain the point they aimed at, which was the stripping the Pope of all his authority in these dominions.* p. 280.

This then was the point they aimed at, *viz.:* The *renouncing* and *abjuring* the Pope's *spiritual power* in *England.* And this point was effectually carried, though but by the majority of two or three votes, in that very *parliament* which was the first of queen *Elizabeth.* And therefore as the *parliament* in queen *Mary's* reign reunited the *Church of England* to the *Church of Rome* by owning the Pope's *supremacy*, so this very *parliament* of queen *Elizabeth* separated the *Church of England* from the *Church of Rome* by renouncing the same *supremacy.*

But pray, Sir, let me ask you, whether after this act of parliament, wherein the Pope was thrown off, the *Church of England* was in *communion* with the bishop and *Church of Rome?* This, Sir, is a puzzling question. Because you cannot be so void of reason as to say she was:

and if she was not, as it is certain she was not, then her *communion* with the *Church of Rome* was broke by the queen and parliament. And is it not then ridiculous to say, that *Pope Pius* made the *separation* and *schism* by a *bull* sent full ten years after the breach had been so effectually made? Really, Sir, I cannot but wonder that a man of your sense and learning should undertake such a defenceless cause.

As to what you say, *that your liturgy is all orthodox even your enemies being judges*, I should be glad to know what *Roman catholic divine* ever gave his approbation of it. I am sure I never heard of any. Nay, if it were worth my pains, I could mark you out several parts of it, which would never be acquitted by a *popish jury*, nor found orthodox, *your enemies being judges.*

What you have alleged concerning the diversity of *Breviaries* or *Missals*, that were in *England* before the pretended reformation, or are still in use in our churches, makes nothing against us. For besides that they are approved by public authority, they all agree in every *essential* point of *worship.* Nor do they contain the least word contrary to *faith*, or *omission* in favour of *heresy.* And therefore it is no wonder, that this diversity should cause no breach of communion. Whereas your liturgy is guilty of both, *if we be judges.*

But suppose your *liturgy* were all *orthodox* that would not justify our being present at it, unless your Thirty-nine *Articles* were likewise *orthodox.* Because we do not think it lawful to communicate in *public prayers* and *sacraments* with any but those, with whom we also communicate in *faith.* Whence it follows, that Pope *Pius* had sufficient cause to forbid our coming to your churches. And as to his *power* or *authority* to do it, you will have a hard task to make good your plea against him, unless you can prove either from the *word of God*, or the *practice* of *antiquity*, that queen *Elizabeth* had a better title to the *spiritual supremacy* over Christ's mystical body in *England*, than the *successors* of St *Peter*, who had held it for the space of 900 years by a

title never contested till the 23d of *Henry* VIII.; and then only in order to bring about the most unjust, and scandalous design.

G.—But, my lord, has not every *national church* an undoubted right to *reform, alter*, and *model* their *liturgy*, as they please? And is not this maintained by the whole *Gallican church?* Or has the Pope a right to break in upon the *rights* and *liberties* of any *national church?*

L.—No, Sir, he has not, provided those *rights* and *liberties* be not only well grounded, but also maintained within their *just bounds*, as we must suppose the *Gallican church* does; since we hear of no breach of communion between her and the *Church of Rome.* But if the *Gallican church* should pretend to reform her *liturgy*, as the *Church of England* did in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, to the prejudice of the *public faith* and *discipline* of the church, you might then freely reckon them amongst your *protestant* brethren. For I am sure the *Church of Rome* would not own them for her children, nor her king for the *eldest son* of the *church*, as she now does. I therefore answer your first question directly, that no *national church* has a right to *reform, alter*, or *model* her *liturgy* to the prejudice of the *public faith*, for the encouragement of *heresy*, or in opposition to *canons* universally received.

As to what you say, *that you know some Roman catholics of figure, and good sense, who thought themselves bound to return to the communion of their national church:* the persons, you speak of, may be men of *figure*, but I very much question their *good sense*, unless you mean the *sense of flesh and blood*, which is generally most prevalent in men of *figure:* because they have the most to lose by our religion, and are most like to gain by conforming to yours.

G.—But, my lord, do any of those, that have once left your communion, ever return to it? And if they do not, does not that shew, they are fully satisfied?

L.—They, Sir, who change for *interest, liberty*, and *ease*, cannot but be fully satisfied to find all these

charming advantages in your communion, and will not easily come back for the sake of *persecutions*, *restraints*, and *penance*. However many have come back, particularly upon the approach of death, when men are serious if ever, and all worldly motives give place to that of securing their souls. And it is a remarkable observation, which I desire you to take notice of, that whereas thousands, who have been brought up *protestants* from their *infancy*, have desired to die *Roman catholics*, I defy you to name me one single person, who having been brought up a *Roman catholic*, from a *child*, ever turned *protestant* upon his *death-bed*.

G.—And what does your lordship conclude from thence?

L.—I conclude from it, that *popery* is the safest religion to die in, *even our enemies being judges*. And if it be the safest religion to die in, one needs not the wit of an *Aristotle* to conclude it is also the safest to live in.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*After the* gentleman's *last words in his* Case Stated, *p.* 103, *there is a little scuffle betwixt him and his* lordship *about the word* papist *and* Roman catholic. *His* lordship *likes neither the one, nor the other, and will only be called* catholic *absolutely. The* gentleman *lays claim to the same title for his church, and discourses as follows:*

SECTION LIV.—PROTESTANTS ARE NO PART OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

"*G.*—We call ourselves *catholics* too, and in the same "sense, and pray every day for the *catholic church* in our "*liturgy*. Therefore we call not you *catholics*, because it "would not distinguish you from us: but *Roman catholics* "is calling a part of the whole."—*pp.* 103, 104.

L.—You need not be afraid, Sir, that calling us *catholics* will not distinguish us from you, or any *protestant church* in *Europe*. For go to what country you please, where there is a mixture of *Roman catholics* and *protestants*, and we are perfectly well known by the name of *catholics*; I know this to be true in *Holland* by my

own experience, where if a stranger asks the first *protestant* he meets with, where the *Catholic* church is, he will never direct him to his own church, but to some *popish chapel.*

The like observation was made near 1300 years ago by St *Austin* writing thus in his book *De vera Rel.* C. 7. *We must hold* (says he) *the christian religion, and the communion of that church, which is catholic, and is not only called so by her own children, but by all her enemies. For heretics and schismatics, whether they will or no, when they speak not to their own people, but to strangers, call catholics* catholics *only. For they cannot be understood, if they give them not that name, which all the world gives them.*

Now I am sure St *Austin* was no other than a *Roman catholic,* as appears from his following words, *contra Epist. fund.* C. 4. *Thirdly,* says he, *a succession of bishops descending from the see of St* Peter *to whom Christ after his resurrection committed his flock, holds me in the church.* Then he proceeds to the same observation upon the word *catholic* as before. *Lastly* (says he) *the very name of catholic holds me: of which this church alone has not without reason so kept the possession, that though all heretics desire to be called catholics* [pray, Sir, mind this] *yet if a stranger asks them, where catholics meet, none of the heretics dare point out his own house or church.*

Thus, Sir, it has been the vain ambition of *heretics* in all ages to be styled *catholics,* in order to cover the infamy of their *new-broached* doctrines, and *upstart church* with that honourable title. But truth and good sense have always prevailed: their efforts have proved vain; and they never were able to gain it to themselves, or dispossess the legal owners of it.

However let us examine the thing seriously, and go fairly and plainly to the bottom of the cause. Pray, Sir, what does the word *catholic* mean?

G.—Why, my lord, it is a *Greek* word, and signifies *universal.*

L.—Very right, Sir. And you know there is a two-

fold *universality* belonging to the *church of Christ*, viz, *universality* of *time*, and *universality* of *place*. And therefore it is ridiculous for any church to assume to herself the title of *catholic*, unless she can shew, that the *faith* she professes is universal both as to *time* and *place*. Now then let us consider, whether the *faith* of the *Church of England* (as it differs from *popery*) can be called universal either as to *time* or *place*.

The church's *universality* in respect of *place* must certainly be understood in a limited sense; or it will follow, that Christ never had a *Catholic Church* upon earth: because there never yet was a time, wherein her communion was so universally received by the whole world, but that great numbers of *heretics*, and several *heathen nations* were out of it. Yet in scripture language both of the Old and New Testament she is styled the *church of all nations*. *First*, because she is the great body of christians, from whence all went forth, as I have fully proved before. And 2*dly*, because she either has been, or will be in every nation of the world. *That so all nations may be blessed in the seed of Abraham* according to the promise made to him, *Gen.* xxii. 17, 18, and the prophecy of *Isaiah* xlix. 6, *and* liv. 1—3.

This, Sir, is the true meaning of the church's *universality* in respect of *place*. But her universality in respect of *time* is without limitation. That is, it suffices not, that she be the church of many ages, as the *Arians* and *Nestorians* have been ever since the 4th century, but it imports, that she has been the church of *all ages* since the time of the *apostles*. Whence it follows that *catholics* truly so called are the standing body of christians throughout all ages, from which all christian societies of *heretics* and *schismatics* have been cut off, as so many branches from the body of a tree, which continues standing and growing, whatever branches are lopt off from it.

Now, Sir, let us see, whether the *Church of England* can make good her claim to *universality* either of *time* or *place*: is she the great body of christians, from which all *heretics* and *schismatics* went forth ever since the time

of the *apostles?* Alas, she came forth into the world near 1500 years too late for that. Can she be styled the church of *all nations?* she, I say, who but a little more than 160 years ago was not the church of any one nation in the world? Have the Thirty-nine *Articles*, which contain a profession of her faith, been ever preached in *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, or any nation under the sun, but what belongs to the crown of *Great Britain?* No man is so mad as to say they have.

It is then a plain case, that she has no *universality* of *place* even in the *limited* sense, in which it is always understood. And as to *universality* of *time* (which from the very first preaching of the gospel is without limitation) she may as well pretend to date her *faith* and *religion* from the time of *Noah*, as from the time of the *apostles*. For how is it possible she should? Since *popery* was in possession of the whole kingdom of *England* for 900 years before the reformation: nay and the book of *Homilies* declares *that whole Christendom was drowned in abominable idolatry* (meaning *popery*) during that whole space of time. And where then was the *protestant Church of England* all that time? Where was her doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles in those nine centuries? Where was her succession of *protestant bishops*, whilst the *protestant* religion had no being? Was she a *christian church*, and yet in no part of *Christendom?* For in *Christendom* I am sure she could not be, because *whole Christendom was drowned in popery* even *our enemies being judges*. The plain truth then of the matter is, she had no being at all till about the middle of the 16th century, and she wants about 1500 years of *universality* of *time*. So that you may as well style yourselves *antediluvians*, as *catholics*. Nay you cannot say you believe the *Catholic Church*, or pray for her, as you say you do in your *liturgy*, without bantering Almighty God.

G.—But, my lord, how can your church be the *Catholic Church* properly speaking, since you are not called *catholics* absolutely, but only *Roman catholics*, which is but a part of the whole?

L.—Sir, if by *Roman catholics* you only mean those who belong to the *diocess of Rome*, they are but a part of the whole. But this is not our meaning, but your darling equivocation. On the contrary, we mean the whole *diffusive body of christians*, which is in communion with the *successor* of St *Peter* (who actually is, and has always been *bishop* of *Rome*) and is therefore called the *Roman Catholic Church.*

" *G.*—If this be the frame of the *Catholic Church* it must " have been so always."—*p.* 104.

L.—Sir, the essential frame of the *Catholic Church* has always been the same: and no particular church has ever been a part of the *Catholic Church*, if it was not in communion either with St *Peter*, or his *successors*, who have always been *bishops of Rome.*

" *G*—Pray then, my lord, tell me what particular church " was so called in this sense, before there was a *christian* in " *Rome?* And how that church came to lose it? And how " was it translated to *Rome?*"—p. 104.

L.—To these wise questions I answer, that neither any particular church, nor *catholics* in general were called *Roman catholics* before there were *christians* at *Rome:* nor had they that denomination generally given them till after some ages: and it is impertinent to ask how a name was lost or translated before it was given. But are we disputing about *names* or *things?* If St *Peter* had fixed his *see* immoveably at *Antioch*, and not translated it to *Rome:* and if *Antioch* had always been the *episcopal seat* of his successors, it might have happened, that in process of time the *diffusive body of christians* in communion with the *successors* of St *Peter* would have been called the *Antiochean* instead of *Roman Catholic Church.* But would a difference of name have made any difference in the essential frame, or constitution of the church? Really, Sir, you are put to hard shifts, when you are forced to lay a stress upon, and give an air of importance to such a wretched argument as this, viz.: *The Catholic Church was not always called Roman*, ergo, *the Roman Catholic Church is not the Catholic Church absolutely.*

" *G.*—My lord, every church, and every member of it " may be called *catholic*, as being included in the general " notion of the *catholic church.* But in the sense you have " mentioned as *head* and *principle* of *unity* to all churches, " no *bishop* or *church* ever had it till taken up in latter times " by the *bishop of Rome.*"—p. 104.

L.—Sir, whenever it may reasonably be questioned, whether *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus* were once emperors of *Rome*, it will not be then unreasonable to question, whether the *bishop* and *Church of Rome* were owned by all antiquity to be the *head* and *principle of unity* to the whole *Catholic Church.* I have fully proved it in the beginning of our conversation, and therefore will not trouble you with tedious repetitions. But as to what you say; *that every church, and every member of it may be called catholic, as being included in the general notion of the Catholic Church*, if you speak of such particular churches or persons, as are in the communion of the *true Catholic Church*, the thing is true, but nothing to the purpose, unless you prove the *Church of England* to be in the communion of that church. But it is utterly false, if you speak of *heretical* or *schismatical churches*, as all new raised communions are, and as I have fully proved your church to be.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*Here the* gentleman *in his* Case Stated *intending to make an harangue of about five pages without interruption, had no way to introduce it but by making his* lordship *ask this notable question. L.* But how came the bishop of Rome to that great sway, he has long obtained in the church? *To which the* gentleman *answers as follows.*

SECTION LV.—THE SUBJECT OF THE SUPREMACY RESUMED, AND THE GENTLEMAN'S FORMER OBJECTIONS AGAINST IT REPEATED.

" *G.*—It is very obvious: because *Rome* was the *metropolis* " of the empire, and consequently her bishop must be more " conspicuous, than any other, have more respect paid him, " and more applications made to him, especially after the " emperors were made *christians.*"—pp. 104, 105.

L.—If that were the only reason, why more *respect* has been paid, and more *applications* made to the *bishops of Rome*, it would follow, that more *respect* should be paid, and more *applications* made to the *bishop of London*, which is the *metropolis* of *England*, than to the *archbishop of Canterbury;* who I believe will not relish this sort of logic. Not but that the greatness and dignity of cities has been an occasion of bestowing greater advantages and prerogatives both *secular* and *ecclesiastic* upon their bishops, than upon cities of a lower rank. But neither the donation of *princes*, nor decrees of *councils* can increase or lessen the *divine right* of bishops. So that if St *Peter* and his *successors* had fixed their seat in a *village* they would have been the same *supreme governors* of the church, and their *see* the *centre* of *unity*, and the *ecclesiastical metropolis* as much as now.

" *G.*—It was for the reason I have given, that when the " seat of the empire was translated to *Constantinople*, the " bishop of that church took upon him, and aspired farther " to the *universal supremacy*, but was opposed by *Gregory* " *the great* bishop of *Rome*."—p. 105.

L.—Sir, the *seat* of the *empire* was translated to *Constantinople* by the very first *christian* emperor; and it was not till two hundred and fifty years after, that its patriarch, whom St *Gregory* opposed, affected to style himself *oecumenical patriarch* in relation to the *eastern churches*, but he never had the vanity to aspire to the *universal supremacy*, as I have fully proved. Sect. 9.

" *G.*—My lord, there was no other consideration in former " times for the *superiority* of one *bishop*, or *church* but the " secular *dignity* of the *place*. For which reason the *Patri-* " *arch* of *Jerusalem* (which was uncontestably the *mother-* " *church* of all) was postponed, and made the lowest of all " the *Patriarchs*."—p. 105.

L.—Sir, the secular dignity of places was certainly a consideration of weight to the church to erect them either into *patriarchal*, *metropolitan*, *archiepiscopal*, or *episcopal* sees, and allow a larger extent of jurisdiction to one *see*, than another. And thus it was that *Jerusalem*, though the *mother church* in age, became inferior to other

churches less ancient than herself. For all this depends upon *human institution*, and is liable to change. But *divine right* is unalterable, nor is it appropriated to *places* but *persons*. And therefore St *Peter's* authority, and that of his *successors* is not owing to the majesty of the city where they reside, but to the *institution* of *Christ*, which is not subject to change.

" *G.*—My lord, for *divine right*, and *Christ* having named " one *bishop* or *church* as *head*, and superior to all others, " there is not a word, and it could not be *Rome*, before *Rome* " was *christian*. And *Christ* never named her upon any " occasion whatsoever, or gave the least hint towards her. " Strange and unaccountable, if he meant to build the whole " *christian faith* upon her, and to make her the *Catholic Church*, " as including all other churches of christians, and in all ages " throughout the whole world."—*p.* 105.

L.—Sir, it is much more strange and unaccountable, that a man of your learning can argue thus with a serious countenance. For (as I have already told you several times) *Christ* did not vest *towns* but *persons* with authority; and St *Peter* was the man he named; and I cannot think it either strange or unaccountable that St *Peter* should choose *Rome* for his *episcopal see*. So that it is neither here nor there whether *Christ* ever named *Rome* or not, so he nominated St *Peter*, and did not forbid him to make *Rome* his *episcopal see*. *Christ* therefore made St *Peter* the *head* of his church; but did not appoint him *Rome*, or any other place for his residence. This was left to his own choice, and he chose *Rome*, as the whole current of antiquity testifies: and to doubt of it is the same absurdity as to doubt, whether that city ever was the *metropolis* of the *empire*. But I should be glad to know who ever was so ridiculous as to say, that the *city* of *Rome includes all other churches of christians*.

" *G.*—But, my lord, *fact*, as I have said before, is the " surest way to give us a true light of things. And the frame " or government of the church is a fact, which must be ex- " amined by histories and records, and not criticising upon " words, which afford no certainty. Let us look therefore " into the frame of the church from the beginning. I hope

" I have made it plain from the history of the *Acts* of the " *Apostles*, that there was none of them appointed as *sovereign* " over the others, whatever words may be strained in favour " of St *Peter*."—pp. 105, 106.

L.—That is to say, though the words of *Christ* be never so plain, and the judgment of antiquity be uncontestably in favour of St *Peter*, you are resolved he shall be degraded, because St *Luke* does not tell us in express terms, that he *presided* in the council of *Jerusalem*. However you are forced to give a ridiculous name to truth, to make falsehood go down. If therefore instead of *sovereign* you would be pleased to say *head* or *governor* over the others, the hope you speak of will appear vain and groundless to any one, who knows what I answered, Sect. 6, to your objection from the history of the *Acts* of the *Apostles*.

" *G.*—My lord, if St *Peter* was called a *rock*, or *foundation*, " so were all the others. They are called the twelve *foun-* " *dations* of the church. *Rev.* xxi. 14. Which is said *to be* " *built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus* " *Christ himself being the chief corner stone.* Eph. ii. 20. " And not any particular *apostle* or *prophet*. And if the *keys* " of *heaven* were promised to *Peter*. Matt. xvi. 19. This " was fulfilled in giving them to him jointly with all the " others, without any mark of superiority in him. As in " the commission to *teach all nations*, it was equal to them " all. And we find in fact, that it was exercised by them " all with equal authority."—*p.* 106.

L.—Sir, all this has been fully answered in our first dispute concerning the *supremacy*, where I told you that the *apostles* considered precisely as *doctors* or *teachers* were all equal, and independent of one another. For as they all had their *inspiration* immediately from God, and were no less *infallible* than St *Peter*, they could not depend on him as their *doctor* teaching them the mysteries of *christian faith*. And so their commission *to teach all nations* was likewise equal to them all, because all this belonged to them as *teachers*. But the *supreme government* of the church was promised to St *Peter alone*, when *Christ* told him *alone*, Matt. xvi. 19, *that he would build*

his church upon him: as all the ancient fathers understood that text. If therefore *Christ* kept his word, the whole church is built upon St *Peter* in a *particular manner*. And since the *apostles* were surely a part of the church, they were likewise built upon St *Peter*. But they were not built upon him as their *doctor*, therefore as their *supreme governor*. Now, Sir, you may go on if you please.

" *G.*—All the regimen of the church, which the *apostles* " appointed was that of *bishops* in their several districts, " without any *head* or *sovereign bishop* over them all as su- " preme judge of controversy."—*p.* 106.

L.—Sir, there was no necessity for the *apostles* to appoint a *head*, since *Christ* himself had done it for them. But I presume the *apostles* did not pretend to undo, what *Christ* had done, or oblige St *Peter* to abdicate in order to make way for a church of *independents* without a *head*.

" *G.*—There is not the least title of this [*head*] to be found " in any of the histories, or writings of those ages after the " apostles: though there were many controversies even in " faith amongst them, which an appeal to this judge had " speedily ended. But no such thing appears, which could " not have been missed, had it been known."—*pp.* 106, 107.

L.—Those, Sir, who have eyes to read, will find in the histories and writings of antiquity, that the church never was without a head; provided they have but some grains of sincerity to own what they read, and understand. But, though the fact be uncontestable, there is one very good reason, why controversies even in faith were not always ended in the primitive ages any more than in aftertimes. And the reason is, because there have been true *heretics* in all ages. And these, like our modern *protestants* never were of an humour to submit to lawful authority. Have you any thing more to say?

" *G.*—Yes, my lord, I have something to say concerning " the ancient constitution of the church. *Metropolitans* were " early, that is, the bishop of the *metropolis*, or chief city o " a province, who presided in the synods of that province, an " had other ecclesiastical privileges granted him by the com- " mon consent of the bishops of the place for order sake, and

" greater harmony of discipline. But a *patriarch* with jur-
" isdiction over several *metropolitans* or provinces was never
" heard of in the church till the council of *Calcedon*, An. 450.
" And many provinces were not put under these *patriarchs*,
" but had exempt jurisdictions of their own as before: of
" which *Britain* was one. For the *patriarchat* of *Rome* ex-
" tended only to *Italy*, and the isles adjacent."—*p.* 107.

L.—Sir, the Pope claims not his jurisdiction over the whole church either as *bishop* of the *diocess* of *Rome*, or as *patriarch* of the *west*, but precisely as *successor* of St *Peter*, and by consequence, the *vicar* of *Christ* upon earth. This he has by *divine institution*. This is his unalterable and unalienable right. So that I cannot imagine, what it is to our purpose to know, when *patriarchs* or *metropolitans* were first instituted any more, than when towns were first divided into *parishes*. For whether this was done soon or late; or whether their jurisdiction was of a large or narrow extent: or whether some towns or provinces had a jurisdiction independent of their *patriarchs* or *metropolitans* after they were instituted; all this has no manner of connexion with the *supremacy* either of St *Peter*, or his *successors*: and you may as well make the instituting of *lords-lieutenants* of counties, or *governors* of cities an objection against the *sovereignty* of the crown of *Great Britain*.

" *G.*—My lord, the first pretence to *universal supremacy*
" was set up by *John* bishop of *Constantinople*, after the seat
" of the empire was translated thither. Against whom
" *Gregory* the *Great* wrote, and said, that though the *see* of
" *Rome* had always the precedence of *Constantinople*, yet that
" none of his predecessors the bishops of *Rome* had ever
" assumed such an arrogant title, which he calls a *Luciferian*
" pride, and declares him, who should take it, to be the fore-
" runner of *Antichrist*."—p. 107.

L.—Sir, I have fully answered this frivolous objection, Sect. 9. And pray remember what I then both said and proved; *viz.*, that no Pope ever maintained the *spiritual supremacy* more vigorously both in *words* and *facts* than *Gregory the Great:* though he had the humility to style himself *the servant of the servants of God.*

" *G.*—Yet, my lord, his next successor but one, that is, " *Boniface* III. took it, being given him by *Phocas* that " traitor and usurper, who murdered his master *Mauritius* " the emperor, and siezed his throne; whom *Boniface* owned " and abetted, and was made universal bishop for his reward " in the beginning of the seventh century. Thus the *su-* " *premacy* now claimed by *Rome* was introduced, and has " been maintained *pro viribus* ever since. And under this " *Britain* has been subdued, which never was under the *patri-* " *archat* of *Rome*. So much has the government and unity of " the church been altered from what it was in the time of " the *apostles*, or in the first ages of the church. And thus " has *Rome* usurped the name of the *Catholic Church*, and " placed all its *Unity* in submission to her bishop. Here " we see the decrees, by which this encroachment crept on. " The *patriarchats* began in the fifth, and the *universal su-* " *premacy* in the seventh century. And *Britain*, which held it " out against the *patriarchat* of *Rome*, was at last conquered " by the more apparent usurpation of her *universal supremacy*, " so obtained as I told you."—*pp.* 107, 108.

L.—As you have told me indeed, but with the same ground of truth, as a man tells a fable or romance. I must own you have here given me a most ample proof of your skill in misrepresenting and disfiguring historical facts. For who would not conclude from the account you gave of *Boniface* III. that he was an accomplice in the murder of *Mauritius*, and a promoter of *Phocas's* usurpation? Whereas that tyrant murdered his master, and invaded the imperial throne during the pontificate of *Gregory the Great*, and *Boniface* was not made Pope till the fourth year of *Phocas's* reign. It is therefore both false and malicious to say, *that he was made universal bishop in reward for owning and abetting that wicked murder*. It is true he owned *Phocas* for emperor, and so did his two predecessors *Sabianus* and *Gregory the Great*, who even sent a *nuncio* to reside at *Constantinople*. For it was not the Pope's business to dispute the lawfulness of an *elective title* with the possessor of it, though he had obtained it by the most wicked means.

2*dly*, it is a noted falsehood, that the Pope's *supremacy*

was introduced by *Boniface*. For if he had introduced it, no Pope before him could have claimed it; which is contrary to innumerable historical facts and the whole current of antiquity; as I have fully proved, Sect. 3, 9, 10, 16, &c. The only difference therefore between Pope *Boniface*, and his predecessors is this, *viz.*, that he prevailed with *Phocas* to deprive *Cyriacus* bishop of *Constantinople* of the vain and pompous title of *oecumenical patriarch*, and accepted it himself. But he accepted it not in the sense in which St *Gregory* had understood and opposed it in *John* of *Constantinople*, but only in the same sense, as it had before been offered to St *Leo* by the *council of Calcedon*, [*Conc. Calced.* Act 3.] which council is allowed off by your own church. But was not Pope *Leo* a hundred and fifty years before *Boniface* III. And all men of learning know how vigorously he asserted the *supremacy* of his *see*. It is therefore a notorious falsehood that it was first introduced by *Boniface*.

3*dly*, It is false that any part of the *essential* frame or government of the church has been changed since the time of the *apostles*. And

4*thly*, It is both false and a blunder to say, that *Rome* has usurped the name of the *Catholic Church*. *Rome* is indeed the *head church*, but it must be a head without brains to call itself the *whole body*. As it must likewise be a *head* without authority (which is the same *chimera* as a *head* and no head) if a rational obedience and submission be not due to it.

Thus, Sir, we see what credit is to be given to persons prejudiced as you are. Yet the deluded people depend upon you, and take every thing you say upon trust, especially when it is delivered with a positiveness and confidence, which takes away all suspicion of insincere dealing.

" *G.*—My lord, I have heard some *Britons* say, that though " they thought the *Church of Rome* the most corrupt part of " the *christian church* both as to doctrine and worship, and " to be a cage full of unclean birds, yet that they must be of " her, and enter into that cage, because she was the *Catholic*

" *Church.* This is like that desperate maxim in the *canon law* " I quoted before out of the *decretals:* that though the Pope " should draw infinite numbers of people with him into hell, " yet we must not find fault with him, nor reprove him." —*p.* 108.

L.—Sir, after what I have said, Sect. 47. to shew how you have mangled and misrepresented the sense of that *canon*, you must have a good stock of assurance to repeat it. But as to what you say concerning *some Britons*, I presume those noble *Britons* had their lodging in *Moorfields:* and it is to that learned academy I refer you for an explanation of their meaning.

" *G.*—But, my lord, I must also observe here, that though " *France* has thrown off the *Pope's infallibility*, and his *de-* " *posing power* over princes, and has limited his *supremacy*, " that is indeed, taken it wholly away; for no *supremacy*, " properly so called, can be limited, for then it ceases to be " *supreme:* yet *France* remains still in the dregs of the cor- " ruptions of *Rome* both as to *doctrine* and *worship*. The " religion of the people there, is the *adoration* of the *host*, and " of the *cross*, *invocation of saints*, *worship of images*, praying " souls out of *purgatory*, telling their *beads*, and going to " *confession*."—p. 109.

L.—Which I advise you as a friend to do: and if you will be so kind to yourself as to follow my advice, pray, Sir, forget not to examine yourself well upon the articles of *misrepresentation*, *falsehoods*, and *slander*. For they are most damnable sins, and oblige to retractation, and reparation of honour.

But you have here broached so much fresh matter, that I must crave your leave to reserve the examination of it to another meeting. For I am pretty well tired with this day's work, the chief burden whereof has laid upon me. You have asserted a great deal, and proved little or nothing: whereas the drudgery both of proving and disproving has been continually my task. I shall only add a word or two relating to your observation concerning *France*, and so take my leave of you for this time.

I desire you therefore to observe, that the Pope's *in-*

fallibility and *deposing power* are no articles of our faith, as I have often told you: and so it is nothing to the purpose, whether *France* has thrown them off or not. But I cannot imagine what you mean in saying, *that a power ceases to be supreme, when it is limited.* Pray, Sir, can there be no *sovereign prince*, which is even more than *supreme*, unless he be *arbitrary* and despotic in his dominions? Is not every prince bound to govern his subjects according to *law?* And are not those laws made to *limit* the exercise of his power? It is therefore absurd to say, that a power ceases to be *supreme*, when it is limited. I think the kings of *Great Britain* are *supreme*, nay *sovereigns* in their dominions: and yet their power is limited by the *Magna Charta.* And so it is with the Pope. For though he be the *supreme governor* of the church, he is bound to govern according to the *canons* of *general councils;* as the *council* of *Florence* expresses itself. And this is all the limitation of the Pope's *supremacy* you will find in *France.* So that if *France* remains still *in the dregs of the corruptions of Rome* (as you are pleased to call them) both as to *doctrine* and *worship*, it follows evidently, that *France* has not thrown off the Pope's *spiritual supremacy*, which you know very well is an *article of faith* in the *Church of Rome:* and the belief of it is required as a *necessary condition of communion.*

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.

CONVERSATION.

PART II.

SECTION I.—OF THE VIRTUE OR EFFICACY OF THE SACRAMENTS.

L.—Sir, as we were last time upon the point of parting, you were pleased to tell me, that *France remains still in the dregs of the corruptions of Rome;* and amongst those *dregs* you reckoned *confession* for one. Well, Sir, if *confessing* our sins be among the *dregs of corruption*, I must own the *reformation* has effectually *purged* your *church* of it: and the *drudgery* of *satisfaction*, which according to *protestant* doctrine is derogating from the *infinite satisfaction* of *Christ*, is purged away with it.

Blessed *reformation!* Which has delivered her children from the *popish yoke* of *confessing their sins*, and *doing penance for them!* It is true, this was the *old way* of going to heaven after the loss of *baptismal grace.* For which end the *solemn fast of Lent*, besides double the number of other fasting days were commanded by the *church*, and innumerable *religious houses* were set up to serve as *sanctuaries* for *repenting sinners.* But who would have cared one farthing for the *reformation*, if this *old way* had been kept up? It was therefore wisely done to remove these obstacles to that *godly work* by persuading the people, that *confessing* and *punishing* their sins, as *papists* do, are but unnecessary ceremonies, and that the way to heaven is both *easier* and *safer* without them. However I have heard you say sometimes, that *confession* is a good thing if rightly used.

" *G.*—And I say so still, but not in that sense it is gen-
" erally used with you, and is expressed in your *Catechism ad*
" *Parochos de Pœnitentiæ Sacramento.* Sect. 46, 47. That

" such repentance, as God will not accept nor pardon for " it, is made sufficient by the *sacrament of penance*, and all " our sins remitted by it: and that *paucissimi*, very few can " be saved without it; they might have said, *none*. For they " here require in repentance acceptable to God a sense and " sorrow for sin, that shall be *fully equal* to the demerit, *ut* " *cum scelerum magnitudine æquari conferriique possit;* which " is impossible for mortal man: and therefore all must be " damned without the *sacrament of penance*."—p. 109.

L.—I fear, Sir, there are but few saved without it: nay most certainly none of those, who are *wilfully* out of the *pale* of the *Catholic Church;* because the *repentance* of such can never be *sincere*. However to come to the words of the *catechism*, though you have quoted them fairly, you have translated them very unfairly. For the word *conferri* (which you have omitted in your translation) *mollifies* and *explains* the word *æquari;* and shows it to import not a *full equality*, as you have rendered it in *English*, but an *equality* of *proportion*. So that the meaning of the *catechism* is no other, than that our sorrow must be such, that it may be *compared with*, and *bear a proportion* to the grievousness of our sins; which is not impossible by the help of God's grace.

It is likewise true what the *catechism* says, that there is a *twofold contrition*, or repentance: one so *perfect*, that it suffices to obtain the full pardon of our sins without the *sacrament of penance;* though it always implies a *sincere desire* of it: but whether there be *few* or *many*, that have this *perfect contrition* is all a *guess*, and known to God alone. But there is another *contrition*, or repentance of a more *imperfect nature*, yet it is *hearty* and *sincere* not only as to its *detestation* of *past sins*, but likewise as to its *purpose* of *amendment* for the time to come. This the *catechism* says is insufficient to blot out sins without the sacrament; yet is a sufficient *preparation* to it. Nor do I see any thing you can reasonably object against it.

" *G.*—My lord, the *catechism* says it was necessary that " God should institute this sacrament as an *easier way* for " men to get to heaven."

L.—Pray, Sir, can any *christian* doubt, but that *Christ* has instituted the *sacraments* as *means* to *facilitate* our way to heaven?

"*G.*—My lord, you interrupted me: the words of the "*catechism* are these: *Quare necesse fuit, ut clementissimus* "*Dominus faciliori ratione communi hominum saluti consuleret.* "An easy way indeed! *Confess to a priest*, and get *absolution*, "and this makes up the *defects* of your *repentance*, and you "are saved *ex opere operato*, by the work wrought, the bare "performance of this *sacrament*. And the *council* of *Trent* "anathematizes all those, who say, that the very *sacraments* "of the gospel do not confer *grace* in the same manner by "the bare performance. *Si quis dixerit per ipsa novæ legis* "*sacrmenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam——Anathema* "*sit.* Sess. 7. Can. 8. It is true, that God did institute his "*sacraments* as *means of grace* (for which we bless his name "daily in our general thanksgiving) but this turns them into "*charms*, when the *very sacraments* themselves, *ipsa sacramenta*, "confer the grace *ex opere operato*, by the bare performance "of the work."—*p.* 110.

L.—Sir, I heartily subscribe to the *definition* of the *council* of *Trent*, and join with it in pronouncing *anathema* against all that deny it. But, Sir, you are not quite so much out of the way as you will needs appear to be. For you grant the *thing*, and only quarrel with the *expression*, to have the malignant pleasure of lampooning *popery*.

You say it is true, that God did institute his *sacraments* as *means of grace;* we say the same. Because almighty God, who can make us become partakers of his *holy grace* by what *means* he pleases, has thought fit to institute certain *outward* and *visible signs*, which we call *sacraments*, to serve as *means* to convey it to us. And because they do this *independently* of the *holiness*, the *merits*, or *faith* of the *minister*, they are said to *confer grace ex opere operato*, that is, by that *virtue* or *efficacy*, which *Christ* gave them in their *institution*. And if you will needs call this a *charm*, you are free to please yourself with the *profane fancy*. But if you will stand to it in good earnest, I shall make you sensible, that you

bespatter yourself with the dirt you throw at us. Pray, Sir, is not *baptism* a *sacrament?*

G.—Who doubts it?

L.—Well, Sir, let us suppose the *minister*, who *baptizes* a *child* to be an *heretic* or a *wicked man*, will not the *baptism be valid*, and the child receive the *full grace* of the *sacrament?*

G.—I cannot deny but he will.

L.—I know you cannot deny it, unless you will renounce your 26th *article of religion*. But here, Sir, you are trepanned into the *opus operatum* of the *council* of *Trent*, which you nickname a *charm*. For the *minister* being supposed to be an *heretic*, or a *wicked man*, and the child being *void of reason*, the *baptismal grace* he receives must be attributed wholly and solely to the *virtue* and *efficacy* of the *sacrament*. So that *the sacrament itself confers grace by the bare performance of the work according to Christ's institution:* that is, *independently* either of the *holiness* of the *minister*, or *co-operation* of the *child:* and if you call this *turning it into a charm*, it is a *charm* of *divine institution*, and I hope both *priests* and *parsons* may make use of it without danger of becoming *conjurers* or *magicians* by it.

G.—Then I presume, my lord, you require no more *preparation* for the *sacrament of penance*, than a *child* is capable of for the *sacrament of baptism:* that is to say, none at all.

L.—Sir, you cannot be such a stranger to our doctrine as to think so. We require a *diligent examination* of *conscience*, a *sincere repentance*, and an *humble confession*. And therefore your *comment* upon the *catechism;* viz., *that we need but confess, and get absolution, and we are saved by the bare performance of the sacrament*, is a rank calumny, and you know it to be one; because you cannot but know that all our printed *catechisms*, and *books* of *instruction* to prepare people for the *sacrament of penance*, tell them positively, that to receive a *profitable* and *valid absolution*, they must have a *true sorrow* for their sins, and a *sincere purpose* not only to abstain for the future

from *sin*, but the very *occasions* of it. And is this *barely confessing, and getting absolution*, as you have both falsely and maliciously represented the matter.

G.—But, if the *preparation* you speak of be really required, pray, my lord, what becomes then of the doctrine of *opus operatum?*

L.—Sir, the doctrine of *opus operatum* is in no danger of being prejudiced by it; because as *original sin* is remitted by the very *virtue* and *efficacy* of the *sacrament* of *baptism*, so are *actual sins* remitted by the very *virtue* and *efficacy* of the *sacrament* of *penance:* but with this difference, that a child can put no *obstacle* to the *grace* of *baptism;* whereas the *efficacy* of the *sacrament of penance* is certainly obstructed by *impenitence:* and therefore a *sincere repentance*, and *purpose of amendment* are *conditions* indispensably requisite to qualify a sinner for the *benefit* of *absolution*, which is the *peculiar grace* of that *sacrament.* But it does not produce *this grace* but in souls *worthily disposed*, that is, in souls, which bring no *positive obstacle* to it; and in these it infallibly produces it, whether it be administered by a *saint*, or a *reprobate:* which is the true, and a clear explication of the doctrine of *opus operatum.* But they are *popish* words: and therefore though their true meaning cannot be disputed, they must be condemned and ridiculed by a *true Son* of the *Church of England.*

"*G.*—My lord, let us exemplify this matter by the use "made of the *institutions* of God under the *law.* The *Jews* "had got a notion of the *opus operatum*, that the *bare per-* "*formance* of the *letter* of the *law* in their *sacrifices*, *feasts*, "*fasts*, and other *observances*, was all that was required of "them."—*p.* 110.

L.—Had they so, Sir! Then they had got a very wrong notion.

"*G.*—Whence the voices of all the *prophets* were against "these *institutions.* They call them *iniquity, abomination*, "and *hateful to God.*"—pp. 110, 111.

L.—What, Sir, was the *voice* of the *prophets* against the *institutions themselves!* I presume you mean the *abuses* of them. Pray, Sir, explain yourself.

" *G.*—Nay, God denies that he did require them, or ever " institute them; that is, as a *dead carcass* without a soul, " and working like *charms* by the bare *opus operatum*. God " did never institute such, nor require them at our hands." —p. 111.

L.—Very right, Sir, God never ordained his *holy rites* or *sacrifices* with an intention, that they should be *profaned*, or made use of as *magical charms;* but that himself should be honoured and worshipped by them. What then?

" *G.*—And may we not say, no more under the *Gospel* " than the *law?* For the *Gospel* introduced a more *pure* " and *spiritual worship*. But the *council of Trent*, by naming " *only* the *sacraments* of the *new law*, applies the *opus operatum* " to them also, if not chiefly."—*p.* 111.

L.—You should say to the *sacraments only*. For they alone confer grace *ex opere operato*. But I perceive those terrible words have frightened you both out of good *sense*, and *good manners*. For otherwise you would not make this ridiculous *parallel* between the *Jews* and *us*, viz., that as the *Jews* placed their hopes of salvation in the *bare performance* of the *ceremonial law*, though their lives were most wicked, so *Roman catholics* do the same with relation to the *sacraments* of the *new law*. This, Sir, is the charitable drift of your discourse: though there be not a *catechism*, or *book of instruction* for receiving the *sacraments*, but detects the foulness of the aspersion by declaring positively, that the *abuse* of the *sacraments* is a most *grievous sin*, and that the *unworthy receiver* gets nothing but *damnation* to himself by it. But let me tell you, Sir, that *lampooning* the *sacraments*, and *rejecting* the greatest part of them is a sin of as black a die, as to receive them *unworthily*.

SECTION II.—OF BEADS.

" *G.*—My lord, it is plain, that your doctrine of *opus* " *operatum* runs through all your *devotions*. What else " is the meaning of tying men up to the repetition of such a " precise number of *aves*, *paters*, and *creeds*, at such particular

" times, *whether the mind go along with them or not?* For " you will see people in the markets buying and selling, or " discoursing of common business, and dropping their *Beads* " all the while, to keep count, if they have rightly performed " their task of the *opus operatum*."—p. 111.

L.—This *opus operatum* sticks strangely on your stomach; yet you know not what to do without it in the *sacrament* of *baptism*, as I have plainly showed.

As to what you tell me, *that we tie men up to the repetition of such a precise number of aves and paters, and creeds at such particular times;* I know of no such obligation laid upon any by the church: for the beads are a devotion principally designed for those, who cannot read, and every one is free to use or not use it just as he pleases. However I can see no harm in repeating the same prayer often over *provided the mind go along with it.* But this, you say, is not required. Pray, Sir, be pleased to read our books of instruction concerning the *duty* of *prayer*, and they will inform you better. But at the same time look over the *table of sins*, and you will find the sin of *slander* amongst them.

What you add, viz., *that we may see people in the markets buying and selling, or discoursing of common business, and dropping their beads all the while*, will not clear you from the guilt of slander. *First*, because the people do not always as they are taught. And 2*dly*, because people that attend the markets, have many broken intervals of time, which they may employ very piously in repeating some short prayers. I hope at least you will own that even in the greatest hurry of business *dropping* of *beads* is better than *dropping* of *oaths* and *curses;* which is but too much practised both in shops and markets on this side of the seas. But if I should insinuate, that this is done by *principle* and the *doctrine* of your *church*, would you not post me up for a *liar?*

SECTION III.—OF BLESSINGS, AND CONSECRATIONS.

" *G.*—But, my lord, if *prayers* and *sacraments* which are

" *means* of *grace* of God's own *institution* may be abused, and " rendered hateful to God, what shall we say of those *means* " of *grace* which are of *man's mere invention?*"—p. 111.

L.—Sir, if you speak of *means of grace* strictly taken, such as the sacraments, I am wholly ignorant of any, that are of *man's mere invention.*

" *G.*—None can appoint the *means* but he, who has the " bestowing of the *end* to be obtained by those *means.* As, " if I have a thousand pounds to bestow, I may put what " conditions I think fit, and appoint the *means* for ob- " taining it. Now *grace* is the gift of the *Holy Ghost*, and " none can appoint the *means* of obtaining it, but who has " the bestowing of the *Holy Ghost*, which it is the highest " *blasphemy* for any creature to assume to himself. Hence " *Christ's* sending the *Holy Ghost* is a sure proof of his *di-* " *vinity.*"—pp. 111, 112.

L.—Sir, all this is very true, if you mean that *Christ alone* has the *power* of *instituting sacraments.* For this is the express doctrine of our *church.* But what do you infer from it?

" *G.*—My lord, the *Church of Rome* takes upon her to " appoint *means of grace* many and various. The *pontifical* " is made up of the *forms* of *consecration* of every thing almost " one can think of into *means of grace*, as *bells*, *books*, *candles*, " *water*, *salt*, *oil*, *ashes*, *palms*, *swords*, *banners*, and *vestments* " of diverse sorts, even of *children's clouts;* besides *crosses*, " *pictures*, *images*, *Agnus Deis*, *&c.*, by the use of which in the " manner prescribed several *graces* both ghostly and bodily " are said to be obtained, as besides the favour of God, and " the remission of sins, the saving from *fire*, from *diseases*, " from *storms at sea*, *thunder*, *lightning*, and *tempests at land;* " at which time they ring the consecrated *bells* to allay the " *winds*, and chase away the *demons* of the *air*, who seeing " the *sign of the cross* upon such *bells*, and hearing their sound, " shall be *frighted* and *fly away*, as it is expressed in the *form* " of *consecration* of *bells* in the pontifical. Nay there is no- " thing in the world so insignificant, a *rose* or a *feather*, which " the *Pope* may not consecrate into a *means of grace*, and is " in use every day, and at *Rome* they are counted *atheists* " who have not *faith* in these things, so much they place their " *religion* in them."—*pp.* 112, 113.

L.—Before I give a direct answer to this piece, I

make bold to ask, whether the *dissenters* will not object many practices of the same nature against your church?

" *G.*—But without ground. For we *consecrate* no *crea-*
" *tures*——"

L.—Sir, you forget yourself: but I shall refresh your memory immediately.

" *G.*—Nor do we attribute any *virtue*, ghostly or bodily,
" to the use of them. They are used purely for *decency* and
" *order*, and we may change them, or take them quite away,
" as our governors think fit."—*p.* 113.

L.—So may the governors of our church, if they think fit, *change* or *take away* the practices, you are pleased to find fault with. But for all that I fancy you would think that man somewhat *atheistically* inclined, who should venture to *lampoon*, and very *impertinent*, if he should pretend to *reform* the *rites* and *ceremonies* of your church; which perhaps appear as ridiculous to *dissenters*, as some of ours do to you.

" *G.*—But can they shew any outward *action* or *thing* ap-
" pointed in *our church*, by the use of which *evil spirits may*
" *be chased away*, *women* helped in *labour*, or *storms* at sea
" *quelled*?——"

L.—I really believe they cannot. The *evil spirit* may *possess* as many good *protestants* as he pleases, without being *molested* or *disquieted* by any *person* for it. They are all so just, as to give the *devil* his due.

" *G*—But all these, and many more *virtues* are attributed
" in *your church* to the use of what they call *holy water*, and
" many other such like institutions of mechanical *means of*
" *grace*."—p. 113.

L.—Sir, as for *means of grace strictly taken.* I know no *such means* but the *sacraments themselves* instituted by *Christ*: because these alone by *virtue* of their *institution* confer grace *ex opere operato*, when no *wilful obstacle* is put to it. But there are many more *means of grace*, if we take the word in a *larger sense.* Thus *praying*, *fasting*, and *giving alms* are *means* of *grace*, because they move God to bestow his *grace* upon us. Thus likewise *hearing sermons*, *reading pious books*, *seeing good example*, or a *moving picture* of our Saviour's sufferings, may in a

large sense be called *means of grace*, because they incite us to the practice of *virtues*, by which we obtain an *increase of grace:* and if some *débauché* should ridicule these, and call them *mechanical means of grace*, I believe you would have no great opinion of his *morals* for it.

But, Sir, you own yourself that *prayer* is a *means of grace.* The *sacraments* therefore are not the only *means of grace* in the *large sense* I speak of: for *prayer* is no *sacrament.*

G.—But, my lord, I told you at the same time, that *prayer* is a *means* of *grace* of God's own *institution.*

L.—You did so, and it is very true, if you speak of *prayer* in *general.* But I know of no particular *form* of *prayer* but *one*, viz., the *Lord's prayer*, expressly commanded by *Christ.* The rest are left to the *prudence* and *devotion* of the *church*, which either orders them to be composed, or approves them, when composed by private persons. Now, Sir, all *blessings*, *hallowings*, *consecrations*, or call them what you please, are but so many *different forms of prayer* ordained by the *church* to implore God's blessing for such or such an end in the lawful *use* of his *creatures;* and if this be an *allowable*, nay, a *religious* practice in some things, as I shall presently shew you must grant it is from the *practice* of your own *church*, I see no reason why it should be ridiculed in others.

But first let us see, what encouragement the *practice* of the *Roman Catholic Church* in *blessing inanimate* things has from the *word of God* itself. And here occurs to me first the *solemn dedication*, or *consecration* of the *temple* of *Solomon.* And *atheists* may call this making a *church* a *mechanical means of grace.* But this custom of *blessing*, and *consecrating* churches (which I think are *inanimate things* as well as *bells*, *books*, *candles*, *&c.*) was the constant practice of the *Catholic Church* even in her purest times, as all men of learning know.

But what do you think of the *waters* of *jealousy*, by the due use whereof *clandestine adultery* was discovered? *Num.* v. The *shew-bread*, which is called *hallowed*, or *holy* bread? 1 *Sam.* xxi. 4, 6. The *salt* used by *Elisha* for sweetening the infected waters of *Jericho.* 2 Kings ii.

The *liver* of the *fish* taken by the *angel Raphael* for expelling the *devil?* Lib. Tob. The *clay* and *waters of Siloam* used by *Christ* to open the eyes of the *blind man? John* ix. 6, 7. And lastly, the *oil* used by the *apostles* to cure the *sick?* Matt. vi. 13.

Here are *charms*, or *mechanical means of grace*, as you call them, in abundance, authorised by the word of God itself. And St *Paul* has laid down a *principle* of so large an extent, that the frequent *blessings* or *consecrations* used in the *Church of Rome* are fully justified by it. For he tells us expressly, *that every creature is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.* 1 Tim. iv. 5. Now I presume *bells*, *books*, *candles*, *water*, *salt*, *oil*, *&c.*, are in the number of *creatures:* they may therefore be *sanctified* (according to St *Paul*) by the *word of God and prayer.* And this answers every thing you have said, or can say against the *blessings* or *consecrations* contained in the *Roman pontifical*, though they were twice as many in number.

But is not the daily practice of your own *church* in *blessing* the *meat* upon the table as liable to *buffoonery*, as any of the *blessings* in the *Roman pontifical?* For when the parson says *grace* over a *pig* or *pudding* in these words, *Bless us, O Lord, and these thy gifts, &c.;* or, *Lord, sanctify these thy gifts;* I ask, whether the *pig*, or *pudding* be *consecrated* into a *mechanical means of grace*, or not? If you say it is, you run into the *absurdity* you reproach us with. If not, what you object against us is *frivolous.*

I likewise find the following prayer in your administration of *public baptism: Almighty and ever living God, whose most dearly beloved Son——regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation.* SANCTIFY THIS WATER *to the mystical washing away of sin, &c.* And the *liturgy* in *Scotland* has it thus: SANCTIFY THIS FOUNTAIN *and baptism, thou, which art the sanctifier of all things.* If this be not a *consecration*, there is no such thing in the *Roman pontifical.*

But the ceremony of the king's *coronation* is the most remarkable piece of this kind of *popery.* The history of the *coronation* of king *James* II. tells us, *p.* 91, in the

margin, that the OIL, with which he was anointed, was SOLEMNLY CONSECRATED on the morning of the coronation by the *dean* of *Westminster*, assisted by the *prebendaries*. But *Baker* specifies the very *form* of *blessing* the *royal ornaments* thus: *O God, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, by whom kings do reign, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, in thy favour to* BLESS THIS KINGLY ORNAMENT. *Vouchsafe to* BLESS *and* SANCTIFY THIS SWORD, *which is hallowed for the defence of thy holy church. God, the crown of the faithful,* BLESS AND SANCTIFY THIS CROWN, *so this thy servant that weareth it, may be filled with thy manifold graces. Bless, O Lord, and sanctify this ring. Baker*, printed *London* 1696, pp. 742, 743.

Here then we have *meat*, *water*, *oil*, *clothes*, *sword*, *ring*, and *crown blessed*, *hallowed*, *sanctified*, and *consecrated* according to the practice of the *Church of England*. And what a number of ridiculous questions might here be asked, if a man were but *atheistically* enough disposed to do it! But jesting with *religious* matters is the very worst sort of *buffoonery;* and all I have to say to the *blessings* used in your *church*, is, that you ought not to ridicule in us, what you practise yourselves. The true ground both of your practice and ours is this; that whatever is *good in itself*, may be lawfully *prayed for* in due circumstances: and as God's *creatures* may be *abused*, so they may be *blessed* to the end, that men may use them as they ought. Thus, *images*, *meats*, *swords*, *banners*, *vestments*, and many other things are *blessed:* and none ought to find fault with this, but they, who either think that God cannot *bless* the most *indifferent* things, or that *prayer* is not a proper means to obtain his *blessing*.

However, you are under a mistake, if you imagine that we place any *inherent sanctity* in *inanimate* things by their being *blessed*. We only trust, that whatever *creatures* are *blessed* by the *church* in the name of *Jesus Christ*, Almighty God will for his sake render them beneficial to those, who use them with devotion in order to the end, for which they are ordained.

SECTION IV.—THE SIGN OF THE CROSS, HOLY WATER AND EXORCISMS.

WHAT you say concerning the *sign* of the *cross* upon our *bells* is no more a matter of jest, than the *sign* of the *cross* in *baptism;* for the one is of mere *human institution* as well as the other. But what an age do we live in, when the *sign* of the *sacred instrument* of *man' redemption* is made a subject of laughter amongst *christians*. This was one of the earliest fruits of the blessed *reformation*. For then it was that a *crucifix* began to be treated in this island with the same marks of *ignominy* and *contempt*, as if it were the *image* of some *infamous traitor*, or enemy of the state. And even now a man becomes as ridiculous in *protestant* company by *blessing* himself with the *sign* of the *cross*, as if he were dressed up in a *fool's coat*.

But was it so in the *primitive ages?* Hear what *Tertullian* writes upon that subject: *At every step and every turn; at every coming in and going out; if we put on our clothes, or change our shoes; if we wash, if we take a repast; if a candle be brought into the room; if we lie, if we sit, whatever we do, we are still making the sign of the cross upon our foreheads.* Lib. de Corona Militis. C. 3. And St *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* writes thus: *To this day it* [the *sign* of the *cross*] *cures diseases, chases away devils, and dissolves charms of witchcraft and art magic.* Cat. 13. p. 138. Here you see the *sign* of the *cross* not only *chased* away *demons*, but was a remedy against *diseases*, and *magical spells*. And why then may it not have some part of this effect by the *benediction* and *prayer* of the *church*, when it is impressed upon *bells*, as well as any other way?

But to omit numberless other testimonies of the ancient fathers relating to this subject, how can you read the two passages, I have quoted, without being convinced that in deriding our present practice you condemn that of the *purest ages* of the *church?* You tell me, *the dissenters can shew no outward action, or thing appointed*

in your church, by the use of which evil spirits may be chased away, women helped in labour, of storms at sea quelled. A most wonderful commendation! and you add immediately, by way of reproach to us, *that all these, and many more virtues are attributed in our church to the use of what we call* holy water, *and many other such like institutions of mechanical means of grace.*

Well, Sir, let us see, whether this *mechanism* was not in *use* amongst the *ancients*, and what *effects* it wrought. It is above eleven hundred years since *holy water* began to be used in *England.* This appears from St *Gregory's* epistle to St *Melitus*, to whom he wrote thus: *Let the idols be destroyed: let* HOLY WATER *be made; let it be sprinkled in the said temples; let altars be made, and relics placed in them*, Lib. ii. Epist. 76. This is an unanswerable proof, that the *English* received the *use* of *holy water*, as likewise of *relics*, together with their *christianity*, from *Rome.* But it is still far more ancient. For in the reign of *Constantine*, the first christian emperor, when the *Jews* by *magical enchantments* hindered the building of a church, we have in St *Epiphanius* this *blessing* of *water* used effectually against them by the holy count *Joseph;* who after he had made the *sign* of the *cross* upon it prayed thus: *In the name of Jesus of Nazareth——may this water have power against the magical charms and enchantments, they* [the Jews] *have used; and may it restore to the fire its natural force, that the house of God may be finished.* Which effect it had accordingly, and forced the *Jews* then present to confess the power of *Christ.* Epiph. Hær. 30. Sect. 12. p. 136, 137.

I omit several other relations of the like miraculous effects wrought by the use of holy water recorded in the writings of the ancient fathers. And I shall only add that the *power* over *devils* did not expire with the *apostles;* nay that it was an *ordinary power* of the *Catholic Church* in the third age (though it never was, nor ever will be in the *reformed churches*) is evident from what St *Cyprian* wrote Epist. 76. *To this very day*, says he, *the devil is*

scourged, and burnt, and tormented by the EXORCISTS *with human voice, and a divine power.* Now, Sir, you may laugh, or proceed to something else if you please.

SECTION V.—INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

" *G.*—My lord, that which makes up the bulk of the " *Romish devotions* is the *worship* and *invocation* of *saints* and " *angels*, the *adoration* of their *images*, and the *relics of* " *saints* departed, pieces of their *bodies*, or of their *vestments*, " *&c.*, to which great *miracles* are attributed: and therefore " they are made *strictly* and *properly means of grace*."—p. 113.

L.—What, Sir, are all things, to which *miracles* are attributed, made *strictly* and *properly means of grace?* Then they are by consequence made *sacraments;* for these alone are *means of grace strictly* and *properly* so called. So then the *handkerchiefs* and *aprons*, which touched St *Paul*, and by which *diseases were cured, and evil spirits chased away*, Acts xix. 12, were (at least whilst he lived) so many more *sacraments*, than ever were instituted by *Christ*. Nay it is writ, Acts v. 15, *that they brought forth the sick, and laid them on beds and couches, that at least the shadow of St* Peter *passing by might overshadow some of them, and they might be delivered from their distempers.* So that St *Peter's shadow*, for ought we know, had as good a title to be of the number of *sacraments*, as any of *Christ's* institution. How dangerous a thing is it to be carried away with a *violent prejudice!* For a man's own *principles* are generally *forgot*, and even common sense is lost in the *hurry*.

You tell me, *that the bulk of the Romish devotions is made up of the worship and invocation of saints, and angels, the adoration of their images, &c.* And I tell you, Sir, that the *bulk* of *protestant objections* is made up of *misrepresentation* and *slander;* for the *bulk* of our devotions, and indeed the only *essential devotion* of every true christian consists in the *worship, invocation,* and *adoration* of *God through Jesus Christ:* and we hold it to be

a damnable impiety to give *God's worship* to any creature whatsoever.

As to our *invocation of saints* (which is the article we have now chiefly before us) I shall set down the doctrine of our *church*, as it stands recorded in the *Council of Trent;* whose definitions in this as well as other *doctrinal* points must surely be allowed to be the true *standard* of our faith. What therefore the *council* teaches is this, viz., *that it is good and profitable for christians humbly to invocate the saints, and to have recourse to their prayers, aid, and assistance, whereby to obtain benefits of God through his Son our Lord* Jesus Christ, *who is our only Redeemer and Saviour.* Sess. 25.

These are the words of the *council*, wherein our doctrine concerning the *invocation* of *saints* is fully and faithfully delivered: and the sum of it is, *that it is good and profitable, and by consequence lawful, to desire the saints in heaven to pray for us.* Whence I infer, that the question between us, if truly stated, is this, viz.: *Whether it be not as lawful for christians to desire the saints in heaven to pray for them, as it was for St* Paul *to desire the christians upon the earth to pray for him.* Rom. xv. 30. I confess I have not penetration enough to see the *lawfulness* of the one, and *unlawfulness* of the other.

"*G.*—My lord, the reason of the *lawfulness* of the one, "and *unlawfulness* of the other is, because the one is *com-* "*manded*, the other *not;* nay *forbidden*, as I will shew you." —*p.* 114.

L.—Sir, I remember a good old woman once made me this answer, and I thought it was well enough for her capacity. But this I can assure you, that if you ever can bring me any tolerable proof that we *obey God* in the *one*, and *disobey* him in the *other*, or that the *lawfulness* of the *one* does not manifestly infer the *lawfulness* of the *other*, I shall freely own there is no such thing as a *contradiction* possible in the world.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*Immediately after the* gentleman's *last words in his* Case Stated *his lordship is made to say*, that it seems to be

giving greater glory to God, and more humility in us not to approach his presence directly, and immediately ourselves. *Which is false doctrine, if he means, that we* ought not *to pray directly and immediately to God through the* mediation *of* Jesus Christ. *Then his lordship draws a comparison from the difficult access to earthly* kings *to illustrate the nonsense he has uttered. The case indeed is often such with* kings upon earth, *who cannot be approached by every body, but never with the* King of heaven, *to whom (through our Lord* Jesus Christ) *we have free access, as often as we please. But why then do we desire the* saints in heaven *to pray for us? I answer for the very same reason, which moved St* Paul *to desire the faithful upon earth to pray for him, viz.:* That God may have the honour, and we the profit of more prayers than our own. *Now let us hear the* gentleman's *answer to his* lordship's *fore-mentioned words, and wise simile.*

"*G.*—Your *simile* will haste on all four. For God is nearer "to us than any *saint* or *angel. In God we live and move,* "*and have our being.* But the *angels and saints departed* are "at a distance from us, and we know not where to find them, "or that they hear our prayers; for they are not every where; "that is an *attribute* of God alone."—*p.* 114.

L.—Sir, God is also *nearer to us*, than we are to one another; yet this hinders us not from desiring one another's prayers: and St *Paul* desired the prayers of those, that were at a great distance from him, though he knew not whether his petition would ever find them or not. However we know for certain that the *saints* departed are in *heaven*, where they see God *face to face*, and it is no idle conjecture to say that by thus *seeing* him they know a great deal more of us, than we know of them.

We likewise know for certain (and it is a truth acknowledged by *your church*, as I shall shew hereafter) that the *saints* and *angels*, who are the *church triumphant*, pray for the *church militant*, which is upon earth. Whence it follows *first*, that our desiring a part in their prayers cannot be unprofitable, as long as we are sure it is known to God, though the *saints* and *angels* should know nothing of it. The reason is, because as it is an article of our belief, that all *blessings* flow originally from *God alone* through *Jesus Christ*, so in the desires and language of the heart it is only to *God* through *Jesus Christ*, that all

our prayers are chiefly directed, without which they would not be *strictly prayers.* Whence it follows, 2*dly*, that it is the same in effect, whether we say *holy Peter, pray for us*, or whether we pray thus, *O God, grant us a share in the prayers of St Peter.* As it was the very same in *David* to say, *praise the Lord all ye nations*, Psalm cxvi. 1, as if he had said, *O Lord, may all nations praise thee.* And by consequence, though it were true, that the *saints* and *angels* know nothing of our *invoking* them, it is enough, that it be known to God, when we desire them to pray for us, that is, to have a part in the fruit of their prayers.

But, Sir, I only say this to let you see the weakness of your argument: for I am of another judgment, and think we have no reason to doubt but the *saints* are acquainted with our prayers.

Origen says expressly, that all the *angels and blessed souls befriend those, that serve God, and that they know who are in his favour.* L. 8. contra Celsum. Edit. Huet. *p.* 949.

This was also St *Gregory's* opinion, who writes thus: *Because all the saints see God, what is it they do not know there, where they know him who knows all things?* L. 4. Dial C. 33.

This was likewise the judgment of St *Paulinus* bishop of *Nola*, when he made his countryman address himself thus to St *Felix* for his lost cattle. *Tu scis ubi sunt, qui lumine Christi cuncta et operta vides, longeque absentia cernis.* That is, *Thou knowest where they are, who by the light of Christ seest all things even that are hidden, and far distant from thee.*

St *Austin* was of the same opinion, when he made this apostrophe to St *Paul: You reign with Christ together with him, whom you stoned* [St *Stephen*] *you both now see us, you both hear this my discourse. I desire you both to pray for us.* Serm. 316, ult. Edit. Sect. 5.

And St *Asterius* bishop of *Amasea* in the fourth age prayed thus to the martyrs: *You yourselves have formerly prayed to the martyrs before you were martyrs. They*

heard you, when you entreated them. Now that you can hear us, grant us our request. Serm. 10.

Lastly, St *Basil* discourses thus upon the forty martyrs: *He who is oppressed with any trouble has recourse to these; so has he, that is in joy: the one for a deliverance, the other for a continuation of his state. Here a mother is heard praying for her children, or the safe return or health of her husband——And there is not one of them, who does not see all things.* Orat. 20. in 40 Martyres. Tom. 1. Edit. Par. ann. 1637, p. 459. D.

What pity is it, that the *Reformation* did not come above a thousand years sooner to *reform* these *popish fathers!* Who made no scruple to *invoke the saints*, and exhort others to do the same: nor had they any difficulty to believe, that as the *prophets* could foresee *future events*, and see things done at a *distance* by the mere *light of grace*, so the *saints* in *heaven* may do the same by the *light of glory*. And it is this the *schoolmen* call the *speculum* or *looking-glass* of the *saints*, wherein they see the prayers and necessities of those, who implore their aid in this world.

" *G.*—Do they see every thing in this *looking-glass?* then " they know as much as *God*. But if not, then how do we " know they see our *prayers* there? And how will this sort " with your *simile* of an *earthly king*, that the courtier must " go to the king to know what I desired the courtier to ask " of him?"—*p.* 114.

L.—Sir, as to your *simile*, I yield up to you the whole *property* of it, and you may do with it what you please. But as to what you say, *that if the saints see every thing, they know as much as God*, your consequence is stark nought. For though they should know all facts *past*, *present*, and *to come* (more than which cannot be meant by the words *every thing*, when we speak of *creatures*) their knowledge would still be *limited* as those things are: and, by consequence come *infinitely short* of the *infinite knowledge* of *God*, who not only knows all things *past*, *present*, and *to come*, but every thing, that is *possible*. But suppose they do not know every thing, then you ask

how we know, that they see our prayers? And I ask you, how you know, that they do not see them? For it is ridiculous, nay *blasphemous* to say, that God cannot communicate to his *saints* the knowledge of our petitions either immediately by himself, or by the ministry of our *angels-guardians*, who certainly know both our necessities and prayers.

" *G.—Abraham is the father of us all.* Rom. iv. 16, and " *he was called the friend of God.* James ii. 23. Therefore " it is likely, that he saw as far into the *looking-glass* as " another. Yet it is said, *Isaiah* lxiii. 16. *That Abraham* ' *is ignorant of us.* And are not we as ignorant of their state, " and what knowledge they have of us below? We are told, " that they have no knowledge of it. *His sons come to honour,* " *and he knoweth it not, and they are brought low, but he per-* " *ceiveth it not of them.* Job xiv. 21."—*p.* 115.

L.—I am sorry, Sir, I must accuse you of a *blunder*. For not only your good friends the *schoolmen*, but your own *Catechism* will tell you, that in the days of *Isaiah* and *Job* there were no *saints* in heaven, because mankind was not then redeemed; and so your jest of *Abraham's seeing as far as another into the looking-glass of the saints* is quite spoiled. However the true meaning of *Isaiah* according to St *Jerome* is this, viz.: *Neither* Abraham *nor* Jacob *will acknowledge those to be his children, whom they know to be wicked.* Hier. in Cap. 63. Isaiah, in which sense our Saviour speaks, Matt. xxv. 12, *Verily, I say unto you, I know you not.*

As to the texts quoted from holy *Job*, St *Gregory* tells us, that he does not speak there of *saints*, but of *sensual* and *carnal* men, that loved this *world*, and especially their *children* more than God. And these (according to St *Gregory*) are said by holy *Job* to be *ignorant* in the other world of what they loved inordinately in this: *Hoc beatus Job nescire eos postmodum asserit quod hic vehementius amaverunt.* But, Sir, why should the *saints* be kept in ignorance of what passes in this world any more than the *angels*, of whom it is said, *that they rejoice over a sinner that repenteth?* For both are upon the same foot, as *protestants* themselves own.

" *G.*—That is, when it pleaseth *God* to let them know it, " or that the *sinner* comes thither. But that they know of " *every penitent* upon earth is no where said, nor do I know " it asserted by any."—*p.* 115.

L.—What wretched shifts are you here put to, to answer this plain text! *First*, the angels know it, *when it pleases God to let them know it.* Very right, Sir; for to be sure, they would not know it, unless it pleased God to let them know it. But being conscious to yourself that this will not do your business, you answer, 2*dly*, that perhaps the *angels* only know it, when the sinner comes to heaven. But here the text is plainly against you, which speaks of their rejoicing over a sinner *repenting*, or *doing penance;* which has a manifest reference to this life. However if this will not do, then you come upon me with your *corps de réserve*, and answer me, 3*dly*, *that it is no where said*, that the *angels* know of *every penitent* upon earth. But does *Christ* make any *exception?* And if he does not, why will you presume to do it for him?

SECTION VI.—ST PAUL TO THE COLOSSIANS ii. 18, 19, GROSSLY MISINTERPRETED BY THE GENTLEMAN.

" *G.*—My lord, instead of the schoolmen's *looking-glass*, and " their vain philosophy, if we would look into the plain di- " rections of *scriptures*, we should settle ourselves upon a much " surer foundation. See then what the *apostle* says upon the " very case in hand. *Let no man beguile you of your reward " in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels, intruding " into those things, which he has not seen, vainly puffed up by " his fleshly mind, and not holding the head, from which all the " body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, in- " creaseth with the increase of God.* Col. ii. 18, 19. And " after says, ii. 23, *which things have indeed a shew of wisdom in " will-worship and humility.*——Here is a full answer to all " your pretensions for this *will-worship* of *saints* and *angels*, " For *both go upon the same foot.* It is called *intruding into " things we have not seen*, of which we are altogether uncertain, " and therefore sinful in the practice by the apostle's rule, " *Rom.* xiv. 23, *that whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* This

" was spoke in respect of *meats*, but is much more so as to
" our *worship*, and solemn *devotions* of *God*.

" Your *comparison* of access to an *earthly king* is here called
" a *fleshly* or *carnal thought*, measuring *God* after the manner
" of *men* ——"

L.—Hold, Sir, I told you just now, that the *comparison* you speak of, is *a pig of your own sow*. So let it be as *fleshly* and *carnal* as you please.

" *G.*—And the result of this is no less than *losing our re-*
" *ward*, that is, *heaven*. For it is *forsaking the head*, which
" is *Christ*, whose *members* we are, and receive *nourishment*
" from him: not so from *saints* and *angels*."—pp. 115, 116.

L.—That is very true, Sir; all our *spiritual nourishment* comes from *Christ* our *head*, and not from *saints* or *angels*. But I never could suspect, that the *prayers* of *saints* and *angels* (for pray remember *they both go upon the same foot*) should hinder *christians* from receiving *nourishment* from *Jesus Christ* their head, any more than the *joint prayers* of their *fellow members* upon earth. Unless either *praying* in *heaven* be a crime, which obstructs the flowings of *God's grace* upon the *members* of his *church militant*, or *desiring* a *share* in those prayers destroys the *fruit* and *efficacy* they would otherwise have.

But, before I give a direct answer to St *Paul's* words, I must do you the justice to own, you are in no danger of wronging your cause for want of a good assurance. For when you talk of *settling ourselves upon a sure foundation*, and conclude the *text* of St *Paul* with these *big* words, *that it is a full answer to all our pretensions for our will-worship* (as you call it) *of saints and angels* who would imagine any thing less, than that the *invocation of saints and angels*, that is, *desiring a part in their prayers*, is so *clearly condemned* by St *Paul*, that his words are utterly incapable of any other meaning, than as you pretend to understand them.

Now, Sir, to let you see, how notoriously you impose upon the credulity of ignorant people, I shall endeavour to prove, that your interpretation of the forementioned words of St *Paul* is both *absurd* and *impious*. I prove it to be *absurd* from a principle, which I think cannot be

contested, viz., *that the saints and angels in heaven pray to God for us.* But since experience has taught me, that you make no scruple to question the very clearest truths, I shall give myself the trouble to prove it.

First, from *Zechariah* i. 12, where an *angel* prays thus for *Jerusalem*, and the cities of *Judah: Then the angel of the Lord answered and said, O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem, and on the cities of Judah against which thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years.*

2*dly*, from this maxim of St *Paul*, viz., *that charity never ceaseth*, 1 Cor. xiii. 8. That is, though *faith*, and many other virtues cease in heaven, as being inconsistent with the state of bliss, yet *charity*, by which we love *God* above all things, and our *neighbour* as ourselves, not only remains, but is undoubtedly increased in heaven. And therefore if *charity* even in this world obliges us to be solicitous, and pray for one another's salvation, surely the *angels* and *saints* in *heaven*, whose *charity* surpasses ours by many degrees, cannot fail of performing their part in sending up their prayers to the *throne of grace* for those, who are yet *combating* in the *warfare* of this mortal life, and uncertain of their future state.

This argument is admirably well handled by Mr *Thorndike*, an eminent *protestant* writer, in his *Just Weights and Measures*, C. 16, p. 107, where he discourses thus: *All members*, says he, *of the church triumphant in heaven, according to their degree of favour with God, abound also with love to his church militant on earth. Therefore it is certain, both that* THEY OFFER CONTINUAL PRAYERS TO GOD *for its necessities, and that their prayers must be of great force and effect with God for the assistance of the church militant in this warfare. Which, if it be true, the communion of saints will necessarily require*, first, *that all, &c.*——2*dly*, THAT THE LIVING BEG OF GOD A PAR AND INTEREST IN THOSE PRAYERS, WHICH THEY, WHO ARE SO NEAR TO GOD IN HIS KINGDOM TENDER TO HIM WITHOUT CEASING, FOR THE CHURCH UPON EARTH.

3*dly*, from Psalm xci. 11, 12. *He shall give his angels*

charge over thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone. Now surely those *divine spirits*, whom God has appointed to take care of us, and *who always see the face of the Father, which is in heaven* (Matt. xviii. 10) cannot be so unconcerned for the persons under their charge, as not to offer up their prayers for them. Nay it is expressly writ, *that the smoke of the incense of the prayers of the saints ascended up before God out of the angel's hands.* Rev. viii. 4.

4*thly*. It is beyond dispute, that this was the belief of the *ancient church* in her purest times. *Who doubts*, says *Origen, that all the saints both help us by their prayers, and encourage us by their example?* And again. *We all dare confidently say, that millions of holy angels join themselves with men of good will when they pray and intercede for us, and are* (*as it were*) *fellow-labourers with us in our spiritual warfare.* L. 8. contra Celsum. Edit. Huet. *p.* 949.

The *centurists* acknowledge this to be the doctrine of St *Cyprian*, of whom they write thus: *Verily*, Cyprian *does not obscurely think, that martyrs and saints departed do pray for the living.* Cent. 3. Coll. 84.

St *Hilary* writes thus: *There are, according to St* John, *angels deputed for the churches of Asia*——*And in the doctrine of our Saviour, the angels of little ones do always see the face of God. There are* (*according to* Raphael *speaking to* Tobias) *angels attending before the divine majesty, and offering up to God the prayers of such as call upon them.* Comment. in Psalm 129.

Tell me then (*says* St *Chrysostom*) *dare you say the Lord is dead, whose servants though deceased are patrons and defenders of those, who command the whole earth?* Hom. 26. in Epist. 2. ad Cor.

When *Vigilantius*, An. 404, denied the *intercession* of *saints*, St *Jerome* replied; *if the apostles and martyrs prayed for others in this world* (*when they were in concern for themselves*) *how much more after their crowns, victories, and triumphs?* Moses *obtained pardon for* 600,000 *men;*

Stephen *begged pardon for his persecutors; and since they are with Christ, will they have less power?* Libro contra *Vigilantium.*

To omit many more for brevity's sake, St *Leo's* words are very remarkable: *We are bound* (says he) *to thank our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, who gave such great power to him, whom he constituted Head of the whole church, that if any thing be well done even by us, it must be imputed to him to whom he said,* And when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren, *and to whom our Lord after his resurrection said thrice,* Feed my sheep. *Which now also without doubt this godly pastor performs, confirming us with his exhortations, and* NOT CEASING TO PRAY FOR US, *that we be not overcome by any temptation.* Leo Serm. 3 in Anniver. Assumpt. ad Pontificatum.

In a word, Sir, I fairly defy you to produce the authority of one single *orthodox father* denying that the *saints* and *angels* pray for us. I will therefore proceed to my ———

5th and last proof of it from the testimony of *protestant* writers. I have already quoted Mr *Thorndike;* and the *bishop* of *Oxford,* in his edition of St *Cyprian,* p. 271, agrees exactly with him, and delivers it as the general doctrine of his *church. We do not doubt* (says he) *but the souls in heaven pray earnestly to God, that he may shew his mercy to those, that live here.*

Bishop *Montague* comes a step nearer to us, and writes thus: *I see no absurdity in nature, nor incongruity unto the analogy of faith; no repugnance at all to sacred scripture, much less impiety for any man to say,* HOLY ANGEL GUARDIAN PRAY FOR US. Treatise of Invocation of Saints, *p.* 97.

The *Lutherans,* in their defence of the *Confession* of *Augsburg,* infer from the forementioned *text* of *Zechariah* that *angels pray for us.* Apol. Confess. August. de Invoc. Sanct. Fol. 179.

Œcolampadius (ad Orat. *Chrysost.* de *Juventio et Maximo* Martyribus) writes thus: *Neither will I affirm it to be idolatry to desire the patronage of saints. For*

the saints in heaven being inflamed with charity do not cease to pray for us.

Faber (de Statu Defunctorum, C. 7.) writes plainly thus: *I do not doubt but the souls of the dead remember their parents, brothers, sisters, and kindred, whom they left behind; and pray to God that he will also deliver them out of this vale of tears.*

Brentius ad Cap. 16. Lucæ, proposes this question, *Do the dead then pray for the living?* Which he answers thus: *Surely it cannot be denied, that they, who live with Christ, wish well to the church and her members. For, if the angels pray for us, as* Zacharias *witnesseth, and if Christ himself prays for us to his Father, how should the saints not be affected with charity towards us in Christ, and through Christ?*

Lastly, the *Church of England* has this *collect* upon the day of St *Michael* and *all angels* in the *common prayer* book: *O everlasting God, who hast ordained and constituted the services of angels and men in a wonderful order, mercifully grant, that as thy holy angels always do thee service in heaven, so by thy appointment they may succour and defend us on earth, through Jesus Christ our Lord.* Amen. Here, Sir, *your church* hopes for *succour* and *defence* from the *angels;* and I desire you to remember your own maxim, *that saints and angels are upon the same foot.*

G.—But pray, my lord, what do you infer from this great heap of authorities? For here seems to be *much cry, but no wool.*

L.—Sir, I infer *first* from this unanimous agreement of *scriptures, fathers,* and *protestant writers,* that it is an undoubted truth, *that the saints and angels in heaven pray for us.* And from this *principle* (which alone decides the whole question concerning the *invocation* of *saints*) I infer, 2*dly*, that your interpretation of St *Paul* to the *Colossians* is *absurd:* because it is inconsistent with common sense to maintain, that *we lose our reward,* and *forsake the head,* which is *Christ,* by desiring a part and interest in those prayers, which by God's own *appoint-*

ment the *saints* and *angels* offer to him without ceasing for the *church* upon earth. What, Sir! can you believe that your *angel guardian* prays for you, and yet think it *unlawful* to desire it of him? Can you *hope* for *succour* and *defence* from *angels*, and at the same time believe you *forsake Jesus Christ*, and *lose your reward*, if you *beg* of them that *succour* and *defence* for which Almighty God has appointed them to be our *guardians!* If this be not shocking common sense, I confess I know not what is.

I shall now proceed to prove likewise the second part of my charge, viz., *that your interpretation of St Paul to the Colossians is impious.* I have already produced the testimony of several holy *fathers* both of the fourth and fifth age, teaching and practising the *invocation* of *saints* and *angels.* Nay, that it was the public practice of those two ages is a thing so notorious, that a man must outface evidence to deny it. However, to leave no room to doubt of the matter, let *protestants* themselves be witnesses of it.

Bishop Forbes speaks in general terms thus: *It has been a practice*, says he, *for many ages in the whole church, in the east as much as in the west, and even in the north by the Moscovites* [your great church of *Russia*] *to sing this litany for example*: ST PETER, PRAY FOR US. P. 311.

Dr *Fulk* (in his rejoinder to Bristow, *p.* 5) says, *I confess that* Ambrose, Austin, *and* Jerome *held invocation of saints to be lawful.* And again (against Rhem. Test. *p.* 443) *that many of the ancient fathers held this opinion, that saints departed pray for us, we do not deny.*

Chemnitius, a learned and zealous *Lutheran*, maintains that the *invocation* of *saints* was begun in *public assemblies* about the year 370, by St *Basil*, St *Gregory Nyssen*, and St *Gregory Nazianzen.* In Exam. Conc. Trid. part. 3, p. 200.

Beza (Præf. Novi Test.) speaking of the times of *Cyprian*, *Austin*, and *Chrysostom*, acknowledges that then prevailed the *invocation* of the *dead.*

The *Centurists* (Cent. 5. C. 6. Col. 675) charge St

Chrysostom's liturgy with *invocation* of our *blessed lady* by name. And again (Cent. 4. Col. 295) they allege several examples of *prayers* to *saints* in *Athanasius, Basil, Nazianzen, Ambrose, Prudentius, Epiphanius,* and *Ephrem.*

Lastly, Mr *Thorndike* writes thus: *It is confessed,* says he, *that the lights both of the Greek and Latin church, St Basil, St Gregory Nazianzen, St Gregory Nyssen, St Ambrose, St Jerom, St Austin, St Chrysostom, St Cyril of Jerusalem, St Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, St Fulgentius, St Gregory the Great, St Leo, more or rather all after that time have spoken to the saints, and desired their assistance.* In Epil. par. 3. p. 358.

This, I think, is abundantly sufficient to prove that the *invocation* of *saints* was both taught and practised by the *greatest lights* of the *church* in those very ages, when she was most eminent both for *holiness* and *learning;* since the fact is so clear, that her very *enemies* are forced to acknowledge it.

Now, Sir, this shews the *impiety* of your *interpretation* of St *Paul* to the *Colossians.* For it follows from it by a manifest, and undeniable consequence, that all those *great lights* and *pillars* of the *church;* those *eminent saints,* whom the whole *christian* world has ever held in veneration both for their *holiness* and *learning,* it follows, I say, that they all *forsook Christ,* and *lost their reward:* that is to say in plain *English,* that they are *all damned.* I really have the charity to think you never reflected upon this consequence. But I am very confident, that whoever reflects upon it, unless he be a *professed atheist,* will detest your saying, that the *invocation* of *saints* (which, *even our enemies being judges,* was taught and practised by those great men) is *forsaking Christ,* and *losing our reward.*

Your interpretation therefore of St *Paul* being inconsistent both with *piety* and *common sense,* I hope you will allow me to give one, that agrees with both. Now it is manifest, that the principal subject of the chapter you have quoted from St *Paul* to the *Colossians* is to

establish the *divinity* of *Christ*, his superiority over the *angels*, and *mediatorship* between God and man. *In him* (says he) *are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge*, Col. ii. 3. *For in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally; and ye are complete in him, who is the head of all principality and power, &c.* ii. 9, 10. Whence in the words you have objected, the apostle takes occasion to warn the *Colossians* against the pernicious doctrine of those, who taught, that it was not *Christ* but *angels*, who were our mediators, and reconcilers with God; whom therefore he justly accuses of *not holding the head*, which is *Christ*.

This, Sir, is St *Chrysostom's* comment upon the very words, you have strained into an objection against us. *They* (says he, speaking of those, against whose seduction St *Paul* precautions the *Colossians*) *affirm, that we ought to be reconciled to God not by Christ but angels* (in Epist. ad Col. 2. 68.) *Dicunt non oportere per Christum adduci nos ad Deum, sed per angelos.* Which blasphemous doctrine the apostle calls *a fleshly and carnal thought*, and *an intruding into things we have not seen.* He likewise calls it a *will-worship*, and *a false or affected humility* in submitting themselves to those as their *mediators*, and *reconcilers to God*, who are utterly incapable of that high office, which certainly belongs to *Christ* alone. When therefore you can prove, that our desiring the prayers of *saints* and *angels* is the *sacrilegious worship* here described: that is, when you can prove us guilty of taking away the *mediatorship* from *Christ*, and attributing it to *angels*, it will then be time enough to swagger, and tell me, *that St* Paul's *words are a full answer to all our pretensions for our invocation of saints and angels.*

G.—My lord, *whatever is not of faith is sin* according to the *apostle's* rule, *Rom.* xiv. 23. But it is not of *faith* that the *saints* hear us, therefore it is sinful in practice to invoke them.

L.—A notable argument indeed! And to shew you the full strength of it, I retort it thus: *Whatever is not of faith is sin.* But it is not of *faith*, that an absent

friend will receive my letter, whereby I desire his *prayers*, therefore it is sinful to desire by letter the prayers of an absent friend. I think a man needs not be a conjurer to answer either. But, to leave off trifling, St *Paul's* true meaning is, that whatever is done *mala fide*, that is, *against conscience*, is *sinful* in practice. And if you can prove, that we act *against conscience* in desiring the prayers of *saints*, then St *Paul's* rule will be against us.

SECTION VII.—THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A MEDIATOR OF REDEMPTION, AND A MEDIATOR OF INTERCESSION.

"*G.*—My lord, God has given *Christ* to us as the *one* "*mediator between God and man*, 1 Tim. ii. 5. But you have "made to yourselves *many mediators* to assist and help him, "as if his *mediation*, and *intercession* were not sufficient." —*p.* 116.

L.—Sir, if St *Paul* thought the *mediation* and *intercession* of *Christ insufficient*, and made *many mediators* to himself when he desired the *prayers* of the *Romans*, Rom. xv. 30; then we are guilty of the same crime in desiring a part in the *prayers* of the *saints*. But every one, that is but well instructed in his Catechism will tell you, that, though there be but *one mediator* of *redemption* (of which St *Paul* speaks) yet all, that pray for us, may *improperly* be called *mediators* of *prayer* or *intercession*. I say *improperly*, because there is only *one* (to wit, *Jesus Christ*) who can have *immediate access* to God for us: and all others, that pray for us, must use his *mediation* as well as we ourselves, when we direct our prayers to God.

In this sense therefore there are *many mediators*, and whoever prays for another, *mediates* (as it were) between *him* and *Almighty God*. In this sense St *Paul* teaches us, *Gal.* iii. 19, *that the law was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator*, which *Theodoret* says was *Moses*. Tom. 3. p. 276. And *Moses* said thus of himself, *I stood between the Lord and you at that time*, Deut. v. 5. In this sense the *Lutheran profession* of *Wittemberg* says, Tit. de Ordine: *If we mean a mediator of prayer, every good man*

is another's mediator through Jesus Christ: *because it is every man's duty to recommend the salvation of others by prayers to God.* This is our doctrine clearly and fully explained.

Bishop *Montague* speaks the same language in antidote, *p.* 10. *I do not deny* (says he) *but the saints are mediators* (as they are called) *of prayer and intercession ——They interpose with God by their supplications, and mediate by their prayers.* And again in his treatise of *Invoc.* p. 118, he says of us: *I grant Christ is not wronged in his mediation. It is no impiety to say as they do,* holy Mary pray for us, holy Peter pray for me. This worthy *protestant* will, I hope, teach you some *moderation,* and make you blush at what you just now told me, viz., *that we make to ourselves many mediators* TO ASSIST AND HELP CHRIST, *as if his mediation and intercession were* NOT SUFFICIENT; which is *wronging* Christ in the highest degree.

" *G.*—My lord, you make more applications to *saints,* than " to *Christ,* or to God himself. You have ten *ave Marias* " for one *pater noster.*"—p. 116.

L.—Sir, every prayer, by which I invoke the saints has its principal tendency to God, since I only desire them to pray *to him* for me: and it is from him alone I expect the blessings, for which I desire the assistance of their prayers. So that ten *ave Mary's* are in effect ten petitions to God for such or such a favour through the intercession of his blessed mother. And is not this a most grievous scandal!

" *G.*—My lord, you have multiplied your *saints* without " number like *heathen deities,* and new *canonizations* are going " on every day."—*p.* 116.

L.—But, Sir, are *saints* the worse for being many in number? Or are you afraid the *old ones* will be forced to quit their place in heaven to make room for *new comers?* I assure you, Sir, no *protestant saint* will be a sufferer by it. Your pretty comparison shall be considered immediately.

" *G.*—Every *country, city, parish,* and almost person have " a particular *saint* for their *patron.*"—pp. 116, 117.

L.—So much the better, Sir, I am glad to hear it. Every man has his *angel-guardian* to *succour* and *defend* him: and if he has besides a *saint* to *pray* for him, is there any harm in it?

" *G.*—You have *saints*, as the *heathens* had *gods* for the " *sea*, for the *air*, *fire*, &c., for *peace*, for *war*, for *learning*, " for all sorts of *trades* and *occupations*."—p. 117.

L.—But with this difference at least, that the *heathens* not only made *gods* of most wicked and flagitious men, as *drunkards*, *robbers*, *whore-mongers*, &c., but *offered sacrifice* to them, which is due to God alone: and we only implore the *prayers* of persons, whose *holiness*, and *happy state* nothing but the blackest malice can question.

" *G.*—St *Christopher*, and St *Clement* are for the sea, es- " pecially the *virgin Mary*, to whom the *seamen* sing *ave* " *maris stella*."—p. 117.

L.—Well, Sir! and is not that much better than *cursing* and *swearing* in the midst of a storm?

" *G.*—St *Agatha* is for the *fire*, and they make *letters* on " her day to quench *fire* with!"—*p.* 117.

L.—Sir, I suspect this story comes out of some *protestant mint;* and I should be glad to know the *country* or *town* where this is practised, and allowed of.

" *G.*—St *Nicholas* and St *Gregory* are for *scholars*, St *Luke* " for *painters*, &c. And you have *saints* for all *diseases*. St " *Cornelius* cures the *falling sickness*, St *Apollonia* the *tooth-* " *ach*, St *Roche* the *pox*, &c."—*p.* 117.

L.—The *pox* do you say? For shame, Sir! The *plague* you should have said. But it is no sin to belie the *Church of Rome*. Go on.

" *G.*—Your people have particular *saints* for all *beasts* " and *cattle*. St *Eloy* presides over the *horses*, and St *Antony* " over the *swine*, &c., and they bring their cattle to be *blessed* " by these *saints* on their particular days. And they pray " to these *saints* jointly with *God*. A scholar says, *God and* " *St Nicholas be my speed*. And when one sneezes, *God help* " you *and St John*. And to a horse if he stumbles, *God and* " *St* Eloy *save thee*. And upon every surprise they cry, *Jesus* " *Maria*."—p. 117.

L.—Surely, Sir, it shews a much more pious disposition to cry *Jesus Maria*, than *God damn me* upon every

surprise. But as to the other fine sayings mentioned by you, I cannot imagine where you have picked them up. For I have conversed with many *scholars* in my life time: I have also heard many a man *sneeze*, and seen many horses *stumble;* yet I cannot remember I ever heard any of the prayers you mention. But let it be so; where is the harm in calling upon *God*, and St *Nicholas* or any other *saint* at the same time? The *saints* are united to *God* in *eternal bliss;* and if I join them together in my *thoughts*, or name them together in my *prayer;* that is, if I *pray God*, and invoke his *saints* at the same time, I hope it is better at least than *lampooning* God in his saints.

G.—My lord, to pray to the *saints* jointly with *God* is somewhat too familiar, and looks like putting them upon the *level.*

L.—Ay, Sir, it would do so, if we prayed to the *saints* as we do to *God.* But if we only invoke the *saints* as *intercessors* at the same time that we call upon *God* as *the giver of all good gifts*, there is no danger of putting them upon the *level. Prayer* is the *desire* or *affection* of the *heart*, and if the heart moves at the same time towards *God* and his *saints*, or towards *Christ* and his *blessed mother*, as when I say, *Jesus Maria*, does it make no difference between the *Creator* and the *creature?* If so, then it will be *blasphemy* to *praise God in his saints:* because in that act I must of necessity *join God* and his *saints* together. Nay I cannot *praise God in his saints*, but in the same act whether I will or not, *I praise* and *honour* the *saints* with an *inferior* or *relative honour.*

What you tell me concerning St *Eloy's* PRESIDING (as you term it) over *horses*, and St *Antony* over the *swine*, is a very curious piece of *erudition*, to which I was an utter stranger till now.

But, to give a short answer to this whole piece of *buffoonery*, we honour all *God's saints*, because they were his faithful *servants* on earth, and are honoured by him as his *friends* in heaven. And if the people address themselves to this or that particular *saint* rather than others, it is not because there is a *division of offices*

among the *saints*, or that they may not all equally intercede for any favour without entrenching upon each other's *prerogative*, but because (according to St *Austin's* remark, Epist. 78. olim 137. Sect. 3.) as the *saints* have their *several gifts* bestowed upon them in *this life*, so Almighty God thinks fit to honour them *differently* in *heaven*. And the people that invoke them, have found by experience, that God is pleased to grant such or such particular favours through their *intercession*. But your comparing on this score God's *saints* with the *heathen deities* is a most unchristian reflection, because we do not honour them as *gods* but as the *friends*, and *servants* of God, of whom alone we hope to obtain the blessings, for which we desire their prayers.

SECTION VIII.—ST AUSTIN FALSIFIED.

" *G.*—The word *gods* is frequently given in *scripture* to " *angels*, and to *men* as *ministers* of *God*.——

L.—It is so sometimes. What then?

" *G.*—Thus the *heathens* understood it, and supposed their " *gods* to be such *ministers*, as *Æolus* to govern the *winds*, " *Neptune* the *sea*, &c. Therefore they called them *Dii* " *Medioxumi*, inferior gods, as standing in the middle betwixt " the *supreme God* and us, to succour and punish us according " to his orders."—*pp.* 117, 118.

L.—It seems then according to you, that the *heathens* in calling those *gods* whom they had deified, understood that word in a very innocent sense, and as it is sometimes taken in scriptures for the ministers of the *true supreme God*. Really, Sir, with a few touches more of your exquisite skill it is to be hoped the *heathens* will shortly be transformed into *true worshippers*. But they have unluckily spoiled all, and explained their own meaning in *fact* by offering *sacrifices* to their *inferior gods* no less than to their *supreme god* Jupiter, which is a convincing proof, that they regarded them all as *truly gods*, and were blind enough to believe, that there were *higher* and *lower degrees* amongst the *gods* as well as amongst *creatures*:

though in reality both their *higher* and *lower gods* were but *devils*, or *evil spirits*.

" *G.*—St *Austin*, who knew them well, tells us what they " argued for themselves. They said, *we do not worship evil* " *demons or spirits, but we worship those, whom you* [christians] " *call angels, the powers of the great, the ministers of the great* " *God.* August. in Ps. 96. But St *Austin* answered them, " *that they must be evil spirits, whom they worshipped, because* " *they required worship from men as the devil did from our* " *Saviour ;* which the *good angels* always refused. And he " quotes *Rev.* xix. 10, and xxii. 9, where the *angel* forbade *John* " to worship him. And the same did the *saints* upon earth ; " as *Peter* refused it from *Cornelius*, Acts x. 26. And *Paul* " and *Barnabas* from the men of *Lystra*, Acts xiv. 14, 15." —*p.* 118.

L.—Sir, it is no wonder the *heathens* would not own their gods to be *evil spirits*. But St *Austin* upon the 96 *Psalm* quoted by you confutes them very solidly, and I am sorry I must here accuse you of a notorious *falsification* of that *father's* answer to the *heathens*. You say his answer is thus, viz.: *that they must be evil spirits whom they worshipped; because they required* WORSHIP *from men*.

Now the word WORSHIP is *equivocal*, and may either signify *divine worship*, or that *inferior* or *relative* honour, which we pay to *saints* and *angels*. Therefore to render it at least *doubtful*, which of the *two worships* St *Austin* condemned in his answer to the *heathens*, you have very dexterously altered his words; which, if truly quoted, are *clear*, and incapable of a *double meaning*. His true words are these: *Dic mihi, dæmonia colis, an spiritus bonos, quales sunt angeli? Sunt enim angeli sancti, et sunt spiritus maligni. Ego dico in templis tuis non coluntur nisi spiritus maligni. Qui sibi exigunt superbe* SACRIFICIUM, *et volunt se coli* TANQUAM DEOS, *maligni sunt, superbi sunt.* That is to say, *Tell me do you worship devils or holy spirits, such as angels are? For there are holy angels, and there are evil spirits: I say that in your temples only evil spirits are worshipped. For they, who proudly require* SACRIFICE *to be offered to them, and will be worshipped* AS GODS *are evil and proud spirits.*

These, Sir, are St *Austin's* words upon the 96 *Psalm*, and your translating them as you have done, is such a piece of disingenuity, as all men of honour and conscience will detest. For it is manifest, and you cannot but be conscious of it to yourself, that his words *express* and *specify* that *worship*, which is OFFERING SACRIFICE, and can therefore render you no manner of service against our *invocation* of *saints* and *angels*, unless you can prove, that we *offer sacrifice* to them, and *worship* them AS GODS, which the blackest malice cannot accuse us of.

You say St *Austin* quotes Rev. xix. 10, and xxii. 9, *where the angel forbade St John to worship him.* To which St *Austin* himself answers for me: *that the angel appeared in such a manner, that he might have been adored as God, and therefore St* John's *mistake was to be corrected.* Aug. Quæst. 61, in Gen.

After which you quote St *Peter* refusing *worship* from *Cornelius.* To which I answer, that though the *worship* intended by *Cornelius* was no more than a *respect* due to St *Peter's character* he refused it out of *humility.* For if what *Cornelius* did, was in itself unlawful, then kneeling to a parent, or the king is likewise unlawful.

Lastly, you produce the example of *Paul* and *Barnabas* refusing *worship* from the *men of Lystra.* Acts xiv. 11, *&c.* But do not the *Acts* themselves tell us *what sort of worship* these men intended? *The gods*, said they, *are come down to us in the likeness of men. And they called Barnabas* Jupiter, *and Paul* Mercury, *because he was the chief speaker. Then the priest of* Jupiter *brought oxen and garlands, and would have done sacrifice to Barnabas and Paul, &c.* And had they not then reason to refuse *this worship* from them? But if the *men of Lystra* had only desired their *prayers*, as we do those of the *saints* and *angels*, would *Paul* and *Barnabas* have scrupled to grant their request.

SECTION IX.—THE SCANDALOUS PARALLEL BETWEEN THE HEATHEN WORSHIP, AND THAT OF ROMAN CATHOLICS CONFUTED.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*After the* gentleman's *last words in his* Case Stated, *p.* 118, *his* lordship *is so very ignorant as to answer*, that the heathens worshipped every one of their gods as supreme. *Which blunder was necessary to introduce the* scandalous parallel *between the* heathens *and* Roman Catholics.

I call it scandalous, 1. *because* idolatry *is a crime of the blackest nature; and nothing can be a more* scandalous *calumny, than to fix it upon so considerable a body of* christians, *as* Roman Catholics *are, unless the charge be made out with such* strong *and* undeniable evidence, *that no man of sense can oppose or deny it.*

I call it scandalous, 2. *because it* unchurches *the* whole church of Christ *for many ages before the* pretended Reformation: *in which ages the* invocation of saints *was taught and practised by the* whole christian church *upon earth, as I have already proved even from the testimony of* protestant *writers.*

Lastly, I call it a scandalous parallel, *because it not only* damns *the* whole church *(that was) of* Great Britain *for* 900 *years before the* Reformation, *but turns all the most eminent* saints *and* doctors *of the* primitive ages *(who all taught and practised the* invocation of saints, *as I have proved) into as rank* monsters, *or* ministers of Satan, *as* idolatry *can make them.*

Now let us have this noble parallel. *But the reader, to understand the connexion, must remember his* lordship's *wise saying in the former* conversation, *that* the heathens worshipped every one of their gods as supreme, and independent; *to which the* gentleman *answers thus:—*

"*G.*—Some men make *monsters* of others to hide their "own *deformity.*"—p. 118.

L.—Sir, your observation is very just, if it be but duly applied. For *protestants* make *monsters* of *papists* to hide the *deformity* of their own *reformed churches.*

"*G.*—Your guides have set up this notion [viz., *that the* "*heathens worshipped every one of their gods as supreme*] to "hinder the *parallel* betwixt the *heathen worship* of their *in-*"*ferior gods*, and yours of *saints* and *angels.*"—p. 118.

L.—Sir, I know nothing of the *notion* you speak of; nor shall I stand in any need of it to confute your *scandalous parallel;* which you can never make out, unless you either prove that our *saints* and *angels* are *evil spirits*, as the *inferior gods* of the *heathens* were; or

that we *offer sacrifice* to them, as the *heathens* did to their *inferior deities;* or that we do not worship the *true God.*

" *G.*—My lord, there is nothing more evident, than that " the *heathens* did acknowledge *one supreme and true God,* " though in much ignorance and superstition."—*p.* 119.

L.—Sir, if you mean, that the *heathens* worshipped the *true God*, there is nothing more evident, than that the *word of God* is flatly against you in innumerable places. I shall only quote two or three to satisfy you: *Because* ALL THE GODS OF THE NATIONS *are devils, but the Lord has made the heavens*, Psalm xcv. 5. *They sacrificed their sons and daughters unto devils*, Psalm cv. 37. *I say, that the things, which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils,* AND NOT TO GOD. 1 Cor. x. 20. And have you after this the confidence to say, that *nothing is more evident than that the heathens acknowledged*, that is, worshipped *the true supreme God?*

" *G.*—My Lord, St *Paul* says, Rom. i. 19, 20. &c., *That* " *they knew God, that he was manifest unto them, even his* " *eternal power and Godhead. So that they were without* " *excuse in their foolish imagination to change the glory of the* " *uncorruptible God into an image made like to the corruptible* " *man, &c.* And he told——"

L.—Hold, Sir, you shall have full liberty to proceed as soon as I have answered this text. St *Paul* speaks here not of *heathens in general*, but of some of the *wisest* amongst them, who knew *God* by the light of nature, but yet their *worship* did not answer their *knowledge;* on the contrary, in compliance with the people, they practised the rankest idolatry. And therefore I do not like your *&c.*, because it *stifles* that part of the *text*, which utterly spoils your *parallel.* The text unmangled is thus: *Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God has shewed it unto them.* Rom. i. 19. *For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse*, 20. *Because that when they*

knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were they thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened, 21. *Professing themselves wise, they became fools,* 22. *And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things,* 23. And again, 25 he tells us, *that they changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever.*

This is the text; and we have here an exact description of a set of men, who, though they *knew God* by the light of nature from the *wonderful creation of the world*, yet contrary to that light they fell into all the foulest practices of *idolatry*, as *offering sacrifice* to the *statues* of *Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, &c.* (which the apostle calls, *changing the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man*), nay even to the *statues* of *birds*, and *four-footed beasts*, and *creeping things:* whence the *apostle* concludes, that *they changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator.* Both which parts of the *text* you have very prudently clapped under an *et cætera*, because they lay open the shame of your *parallel*, and make it look as *nonsensical* as it is *scandalous;* unless you either prove, that we *worship* the *images* of *false gods;* or that the *images* of *birds*, and *four-footed beasts*, and *creeping things* are *worshipped* by us; or finally, that we pay *divine honours* to the *images* of *Christ* or his *saints.* Now, Sir, you may go on, where you left off.

" *G.*—St *Paul* spoke thus to the Athenians: *Whom there-*
" *fore you ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.* Acts
" xvii. 23. Now he did not preach a *false god* unto them:
" but they had blended the *worship of God* with these *inferior*
" *gods or demons*, which was their *superstition.* For so the
" word signifies δεισιδαιμονία, the fear of these *demons.* And
" it is thus rendered every where in the *New Testament*, which
" we translate *superstition.* And so the *vulgar Latin.* Acts
" xvii. 22, xxv. 19. And the *Latin* word *superstition* means
" the same thing, and is derived, as *Servius* has it, from
" *superstare*, as being a fear of those heavenly powers, who

" *superstant*, stand over us: and so *superstition* is *superstan-*
" *tium rerum timor.* Others derive it from *superstites*, that
" these *divi ex hominibus facti*, men *deified* after their death
" are still *superstites*, and the fear of them as such is *superstí-*
" *tion*, or, *qui superstitem memoriam defunctorum colunt*, who
" *worship* the *memory* of *these dead men.*"—p. 119.

L.—What a deal of learned pedantry have we here about the derivation of a word! But to come directly to the point, the main drift of what you have now said is to shew *first*, that the *heathens* worshipped the *true God*. For unless you can prove this, your parallel betwixt *heathens* and *papists*, is most eminently ridiculous, and 2*dly*, that their blending or mixing the worship of their *inferior gods* or *demons* with that of the *true God* is just what *papists* do in honouring God's *saints* and *angels*, and joining it with their worship of the *true God*. And so you compare our honouring the saints in heaven with the *heathen* worship of their men *deified* by them after their death.

But, Sir, you forget yourself to be a member of the *Church of England*, which keeps particular holy days for the *apostles*, St *John Baptist*, St *Stephen*, &c., and has one holy day for all the *saints* in general, and another for St *Michael*, and all the *angels*. [*Case Stated*, p. 135.] Now I call this paying a *religious honour* or *worship* (give it what name you please) as we do to God's *saints* and *angels*. And if this be *heathenish superstition* in us, I should be glad to know what name it is to be called by, when it is practised by *protestants*. But I believe you will be forced to come to this answer, that in the religious honour you pay to *saints* and *angels* by keeping their holy days, you do not regard them as *gods*, but as the faithful servants and ministers of God: nor do you offer sacrifice to them, as the heathens did to their inferior gods, and that therefore you cannot be accused of *heathenish superstition* in keeping holy days in honour of them. But if this answer will leave no room for a parallel between the heathens and you, I hope it will convince you of the scandalous nonsense of the parallel

you make between the *heathen* worship, and ours: and it follows hence, that though it were true, as it is most false, that the *heathens* worshipped the *true God*, your parallel would be defective in an essential point.

G.—Ay, but, my lord, you do not reflect that we do not pray to the *saints* and *angels*, as you do: and this is a material difference.

L.—Sir, it serves only to convince the world how incoherent you are with yourselves. It shews your religion is not built upon steady principles, but put together by humour and caprice. For is it not a contradiction in practice to scruple at desiring the prayers of *saints* and *angels*, when at the same time you make no scruple to keep *holy days* in honour of them? Neither you nor we make any difficulty to desire the prayers of our *fellow mortals* upon earth, who are yet subject to many failings: yet no church in the world was ever so extravagant as to institute holy days in honour of *mortal men*. Which is a convincing proof, that instituting holy days in honour of creatures is a *religious honour* or *worship* of a far higher degree than desiring their prayers; which is all that is meant by *praying to saints*. And therefore if there be no superstition, or breach of a commandment in the one, there can be none in the other.

G.—But, my lord, what do you say to the text, I have quoted from the *Acts* to prove that *the heathens worshipped the true God?*

L.—I answer it will clear itself, if it be but set in its own true light, it is thus: *As I passed* (says St *Paul*) *and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription*, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. *Whom therefore you ignorantly worship* (that is, *without knowing him*) *him I declare unto you.* Then he proceeds to explain to them the nature and attributes of God, and tells them amongst other things, *that he dwells not in temples made with hands, nor is like unto gold, or silver, or stone graven by art, or man's device.* Whence I infer that the *Athenians* were wholly ignorant of the spiritual and infinitely perfect nature of God; since St *Paul* was forced to instruct them

in the very first rudiments we usually teach children. I infer again that they worshipped merely at random something they knew not what: and therefore dedicated their altar to the *unknown God.* In all probability they had heard the God of the *Jews* or *christians* spoken of; and as they were fond of any new *deity* (provided their old ones were not prejudiced by it) they immediately erected an altar to him. And is not this an admirable text to support your parallel! Now let us hear what you have farther to say.

"*G.*—My lord, the heathen worship of their lesser gods is "what is forbidden in the first commandment, which respects "the object of worship, that no *religious worship* is to be "given to any but to the supreme God alone. The second "commandment relates to the manner of worship, that is, by "images. But this your church has hidden from the people, "and divided the tenth into two to keep up the number, "that the people might think they still have the ten com-"mandments. And it is thus in your very Catechism *ad* "*Parochos.* But of this hereafter."—*p.* 120.

SECTION X.—OF DIVIDING THE COMMANDMENTS.

L.—Sir, I must take your words in pieces to separate truth from falsehood. It is true that the first commandment *respects the object of worship*, and forbids the *heathen worship of their lesser gods*, nay of their great god *Jupiter* also. It is likewise true, that it forbids *religious worship to be given to any but the supreme God alone;* if by *religious worship*, you mean *supreme divine adoration*, or *offering sacrifice.* But if you mean, an *inferior relative honour*, it is false what you say; and you must grant it to be so, unless you will own the *Church of England* guilty of a breach of the first commandment, whenever she keeps holy days for *saints* and *angels*, which I am sure is a *religious honour*, or *worship;* call it by what name you please.

But when you tell me, that the first commandment forbids religious worship to be given to any but the *supreme God* alone, I should be glad to know, whom you

mean by the *supreme God.* Do you mean the *supreme god* of the *heathens*, or the *God* of *christians?* For it is certain the *heathens* had a *god*, whom they regarded as *supreme.*

G.—My lord, I have already told you, that *heathens* worshipped *one supreme and true God*, and brought good proofs for it, and I will prove it more fully hereafter. What need then of your question, since there can be but *one supreme true God.*

L.—Well then, Sir, I infer that *Jupiter*, who certainly was the *supreme god* both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was according to you the very same *true God*, whom *christians* now adore; and since you now tell me, that the worship of the *lesser heathen gods* is the thing precisely forbid in the *first commandment*, I conclude that according to your doctrine it is no breach of that commandment to worship *Jupiter.* What pity is it that you have not printed a true *protestant* explanation of the ten commandments!

But you tell me our church has *hid the second commandment from the people, and divided the tenth into two to keep up the number*, and that it is thus divided in our *Catechism ad Parochos.* Sir, it is thus divided not only in that Catechism, but in St *Austin* himself, *Quæst.* 71. *in Exod.*, who maintains expressly, that what you call the *second commandment* is but a part, or fuller explanation of the *first:* and he divides the commandments as we do. Yet I never heard St *Austin* taxed with *hiding* the commandments from the people, or designing to *put a trick* upon them by *making them think they had the ten commandments*, when they had but *nine.* I must therefore suppose the *learned fathers*, who were *contemporary* with St *Austin*, or lived in the following ages, either wanted *your wit* to *detect*, or *your zeal* to *reprove* so notorious a *cheat.* But since you intend to speak *of this hereafter*, I shall wait for your leisure to give a full answer to it. In the mean time I desire you to remember, that the *deadly sin* of *calumny* is forbid by one of the *ten commandments*, and you may take my word for it, that I will prove you guilty of this *deadly sin*, whenever you attempt to make

good this charge, viz., *that we hide any of the commandments from the people.* However all endeavours are used by the *ministers* of your *church* to possess the people with this notion of us: and it were happy for you and many more that this commandment, *thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour*, had never appeared in the *tables* of the *decalogue.*

I shall here only ask one question, viz., Why *your dividing* the *first commandment* into *two*, may not with equal justice be said to have been done *to keep up the number, that the people might think they still have the ten commandments*, as *our dividing* the *tenth?* For the *scripture* has not determined the matter. It only tells us, that there are *ten commandments;* but how many belong to the *first table*, and how many to the *second*, or whether the *first* or the *tenth* is to be divided into *two*, is nowhere specified.

What you say, viz., *that the second commandment* (as you call it) *relates only to the manner of worship by images*, is false. On the contrary, it forbids the *worship of God* to be given to *images.* And this is the natural import of these words, *thou shalt not adore nor worship them.* Exod. xx. 5, which regards the *object of worship* as well as these words, *thou shalt not have strange gods before me;* and surely differs very much from the false interpretation you put upon them, viz., *that they forbid the worship of God by images.* For how can that be true, since God himself commanded the *ark*, and the *cherubims* to be made *with respect to his worship?* Or did God *command* and *forbid* the selfsame thing? But it is somewhat remarkable, that you should content yourself with *barely asserting* a thing of that moment, and without so much as offering, at the least, proof of it. The only reason I can give for it is, that *saying* is much easier than *proving.*

ADVERTISEMENT.—*The* gentleman's *following words appear to have no manner of connexion with what he said last. But since they immediately follow one another in his* Case Stated, *the reader must take them as they are.*

SECTION XI.—THE PARALLEL CONTINUED.

"*G.*—The *heathens* had their good and evil *demons*, as "their good and evil *genii*. But according to St *Austin's* "rule, they must be *evil demons*, who accepted the *worship* "*of men*, which were all the *heathen demons*——"

L.—Sir, I must make bold to refresh your memory; for you have already forgot your *falsification* of those words of St *Austin*, to which you refer me. So go on.

"*G.*—Therefore the word *demon* is taken in the worst "sense, and translated *devil* throughout the *New Testament:* "and what we translate the doctrine of *devils*, 1 Tim iv. 1, "is the doctrine of the *dæmones*, or, the *worship* of *demons;* "and a various lection has, *who worship the dead.* The *dæ-* "*mones* of the *heathens* were their *dead heroes* whom they "made *divi* by their *apotheosis*, as the *Pope* does *saints* by a "*canonization*."—p. 120.

L.—Now, Sir, I must own, your parallel is most admirable. For, as the *heathens* made *gods* of their *dead heroes*, who were most *wicked wretches*, and *offered sacrifice* to them; just so the *Pope* or *Church of Rome* declares men eminent for the *holiness* of their lives to be *saints*, and desires a *part* in their *prayers;* which is just as good a *parallel*, as is contained in the two following verses:—

Even as in a banquet there be many dishes,
Even so your doublet be too short for your breeches.

Pray, Sir, leave off this profane trifling, and begin to speak sense.

"*G.*—But it is too gross to put it upon the *heathens* that "they thought every one of those *gods*, whom they made, "was the *supreme God*, who made themselves."—*p.* 120.

L.—Well, Sir! And who ever told you they did? However, though they did not think them all to be *supreme gods*, yet they offered *sacrifice* to them as much as to their *supreme Jupiter*.

"*G.*—They owned these to be *lesser gods*, and only the "*virtues* and *powers* of the *great God:* and they thought, "that they honoured the *supreme God* the more by doing "honour to his *substitutes*, and all their *worship* was ulti- "mately referred to him, *so that he only was worshipped in all their gods and godesses. For they made him king of all*

" *their gods and godesses.* Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 9. c. 11.
" And the common appellation given to *Jupiter* in *Homer* is
" *the father and king of gods as well as men.* And he re-
" presents him as commanding all the other *gods*, sending
" them on his errands, calling them to an account, and some-
" times chastising them. He was called *Magnus Deus*,
" the *great god.* And *Lucian* in his dialogues brings in
" *Neptune* making suit to *Mercury*, that he might speak with
" *Jupiter.*"—pp. 120, 121.

L.—Sir, not only *Homer*, but all the *heathen* poets call *Jupiter* the *father and king of gods as well as men*, and the *Romans* styled him *Optimus Maximus*, the best and greatest god. Which makes it plain, that *Jupiter* was the *supreme god* both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And since, according to what you now labour to prove, the *heathens* worshipped the *one supreme and true God* (because this is necessary to make good your parallel) the consequence is manifest, that the *Jupiter* of the *heathens* is according to your doctrine the same as the *true God* of the *christians*. This bishop *Stillingfleet* (of whom you have borrowed your noble parallel) taught first to the shame and scandal of christianity. But after Dr *Goodwin's* solid confutation of that scandalous piece, I never thought he would have had a follower. Is it then possible that persons, who pretend to be ministers of the gospel, should maintain that the infamous *Jupiter* adored by the *pagans* was the *true God!* For if he was the *true God* then, he is so still; and by consequence it is no *blasphemy* to say, *I believe in* Jupiter *the Almighty Creator of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only son.* And if any one asks me *what Jupiter* I mean? I may safely answer, *Homer's* Jupiter: *that very* Jupiter, *whom the pagans adored.* This shows how shocking and offensive to *christian ears* the consequences are, which follow from your maintaining that the *Jupiter* of the *heathens* was the *true supreme God.*

I am sure at least the *primitive christians* were not of your mind. For thousands of them lost their lives, because they refused to *worship* the *Jupiter* of the *heathens*, and they never refused to *worship* the *true God.*

Nay *Origen* tells us in plain terms, that he was not the *true God*, but a *devil*. *We are ready*, says he, *to undergo any torments rather than confess* Jupiter *to be God. For we do not believe* Jupiter *and* Sabaoth *to be the same, neither indeed to be any god at all, but a* devil, *who is delighted with the name of* Jupiter; *an enemy to men and God.* L. 5. contra Celsum. p. 487. This, Sir, breaks the very neck of your fine *parallel*, and so you may go on, if you please.

" *G.*—We have sufficient testimony in *scripture* of the " *heathens* acknowledging *the one supreme and true God,* " *Nebuchadnezzar calls him God of gods* and *Lord of kings.* " Dan. ii. 47."—*p.* 121.

L.—But in the very same verse he calls him *Daniel's God*, which is a sufficient *innuendo*, that even then he neither *acknowledged* nor *worshipped* him as his own God. I add, that this profession of the true God was only the effect of a sudden transport of admiration in regard of *Daniel's* wonderful discovery and interpretation of *Nebuchadnezzar's* dream: but it made no real change either in his belief or practice. For the very next chapter contains a relation of the famous *golden statue* or *idol* set up by him with a positive command, that all should adore it. Nay, to shew plainly that he did not believe the *true God*, when *Daniel's* three companions were brought before him, and accused of refusing to adore his statue, he spoke thus insultingly to them, *and who is that God, that shall deliver you out of my hands?* Dan. iii. 15.

" *G.*—But he calls him afterwards *the most high God*, 26."

L.—He does so. But it was like his former profession, that is, a sudden transport, when he saw Daniel's three companions delivered by him in a most wonderful manner out of the fiery furnace.

G.—He says, *I blessed the most high, and I praised and* " *honoured him, that liveth for ever and ever, whose dominion* " *is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom from generation* " *to generation. And all the inhabitants of the earth are re-* " *puted as nothing: and he does according to his will in the* " *army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and*

" *no man can stay his hand, or say unto him, what doest thou?* Dan. iv. 34, 35."—*pp.* 121, 122.

L.—This indeed looks like a sincere profession of *the true God.* But when was it, that *Nebuchadnezzar* made this profession? It was after *God* had humbled him in a strange manner, and then restored him to his kingdom, according to *Daniel's* prediction. However it is still a question disputed, whether this made such a lasting impression upon him as to reclaim him entirely from *idolatry.* The scripture no where assures us of it. Nor do we find in him the necessary marks of a sincere conversion: since he neither released the people of God from their unjust captivity, nor restored the sacred vessels, he had carried away in the pillage of the temple of *Jerusalem:* as he must have done, if he had been truly converted to God.

" *G.*—*Cyrus* also calls him *the Lord God of heaven.* Ezra " i 2. And *Darius* the same in as high expressions, as any " christian could use, *the living God, and steadfast for ever:* " *and his kingdom that, which shall not be destroyed, and his do-* " *minion shall be even unto the end, &c.* Dan. vi. 26."—*p.* 122.

L.—Sir, the *heathens,* who held the plurality of Gods, could by fits and starts give those titles to the *true one,* without forsaking their *false gods,* or changing their worship. Therefore as to *Cyrus,* though he calls him the *Lord God of heaven* in the *second verse,* he plainly distinguishes him in the *third* from the *god* he worshipped himself. *Who is there,* says he, *among you of all his people?* His GOD *be with him and let him go up to* Jerusalem, *which is in* Judah, *and build the house of the* LORD GOD OF ISRAEL. *He is the God* WHICH IS IN JERUSALEM. *Cyrus* therefore did not regard him as the *God* of *Babylon.*

But as to your quotation from the 6th chapter of *Daniel,* it is the very chapter I should choose in the whole *Bible* to prove that the *heathens* did not *acknowledge* or *worship* the *true God. Daniel's* miraculous preservation from the *lions* is the principal subject of it; and Almighty God, who delivered his servant in so wonderful

a manner, is called throughout the whole chapter *the God of Daniel*, to distinguish him from the *god* of the *Babylonians*. *First*, 5, *Then said these men, we shall not find any occasion against this* Daniel, *except we find it against him concerning the law of* HIS GOD.

2*dly*, 11, *Then these men assembled, and found* Daniel *praying, and making supplications before* HIS GOD.

3*dly*, It tells us, that when *Daniel* was cast into the den of lions, *the king spake and said unto* Daniel, THY GOD, *whom thou servest continually, will deliver thee*, 16, *and*

4*thly*, That the king coming early next morning to the den *cried with a lamentable voice, O* Daniel, *servant of the living God, is* THY GOD, *whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?* 20, *Then said* Daniel *unto the king, O king, live for ever,* MY GOD *has sent his angel, &c.*, 21, 22.

Who sees not here, that *Daniel's God* is designedly marked out as *distinguished* from the *god* of *Darius* and the *Babylonians?* Nay in the very *edict*, wherein the *high expressions* you speak of are found, *Darius* calls him the God of *Daniel*. So that those *high expressions* were indeed the fruits of a sudden transport of joy for *Daniel's* deliverance, but had no effect as to any *change of worship*. And it is very remarkable, that by that edict *Darius* does not command his subjects to *worship*, but only *to tremble and fear before the God of Daniel*, 26. So that whilst that prince honoured the *true God* in his *edict*, both he and the people continued their *worship of idols* in their *temples*.

" *G.*—My lord, they did not think it inconsistent to ac-
" knowledge *one God* above all, and yet to suppose that every
" nation had its own *god* or *gods* in subordination to the
" *supreme God*, and as *deputies* under him. This was their
" notion. And they supposed that *Judea* had its own *tutelar*
" *God*, as well as other countries. Therefore the king of
" *Assyria* having conquered it, sent to teach his people, who
" went thither, the *manner of the God of the land*, to appease
" his *wrath*, who had plagued them with *lions*. 2 Kings xvii.
" 26, 27, 33. But yet they forsook not their own gods, for
" it is said, *they feared the Lord, and served their own gods.*

" And they allowed the same liberty to the *Jews*, who were " not required in any of their captivities to renounce their " own *God;* but only to worship the *gods* of the *nations* " where they lived. And of these *tutelar gods*, they supposed " one might be stronger or more powerful than another, and " therefore they would boast of their *gods* one country against " another. Thus said *Sennacherib, who are they among all* " *the gods of the countries, that has delivered their country out* " *of my hand, that the Lord* (the tutelar *God* of *Judea*) *should* " *deliver Jerusalem out of my hand? Where are the gods of* " *Hamath, and of Arpad, &c.* 2 Kings xviii. 34, 35. " When *Moses* and *Aaron* told *Pharaoh* that the *God* of the " *Hebrews* had met with them, he was not offended that they " had another *God* besides those which were worshipped in " *Egypt;* he took it as a thing granted, that every *people* had " their own tutelar *god.*

" This then was the difference between the *Jews* and *Gen-* " *tiles;* the *Gentiles* thought it lawful to worship the *tutelar* " *god* of any *country*, but still in subordination to the *most* " *high God*, as has been shewed: on the other hand the *Jews* " were obliged to worship the *Lord God*, the *supreme God*, " and *him only*, and they were forbid to worship any of the " *gods* of the *nations.*

" But this sin they often fell into, and worshipped these *gods*, " but still in conjunction with the *Lord* their *God;* and it is " said, *they did worship, and swear by the Lord and swear by* " *Malcham.* Zeph. i. 5. But *Samuel* told them, *if ye return* " *unto the Lord, with all your hearts, then put away the strange* " *gods and Ashtaroth from amongst you——and serve him only* " *——then they did put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and served* " *the Lord only.* 1 Sam. vii. 3, 4."—*pp.* 122, 123.

L.—Sir, What you said first concerning the king of *Assyria* sending to teach his people in *Samaria* the *manner of the God of the land*, is a good proof that the *Assyrians*, before they had taken *Samaria*, were utter strangers to the worship of the *true God*, and in all probability would have continued so, had it not been for fear of the lions. But, to be delivered from that plague, they sent for a Jewish priest *to teach them the manner of the God of the land:* and if *Beelzebub* had been the *god of the land*, they would have done the same. It is true,

after that they modelled their religion into a mixture of *Judaism* and *idolatry*, and worshipped *God* jointly with their *idols*, as the *Israelites* following the wicked example of *Jeroboam* had done before them. But what is all this to the purpose? Does it not follow hence, that the *heathens* worshipped their *false gods* with subordination to the *supreme true God*, as you have most falsely asserted? Or does it follow, that *Jupiter*, the supreme god of the *Greeks* and *Romans;* or *Baal*, the supreme god of the *Persians*, or *Osiris*, the supreme god of the *Egyptians*, was the same *true God* whom *christians* adore, which is the scandalous point you chiefly drive at? Sir, the *heathen* idolatry consisted precisely, not in their *joining* the *worship* of *false gods* with that of the *true one*, but in their worshipping *many false gods*, one of which they called *supreme:* yet though the others were called *inferior* or *lesser gods*, they regarded them absolutely as *gods*, and in many things wholly *independent;* because they thought they could do either *good* or *mischief* by their *own power;* and therefore they endeavoured to render them favourable by *sacrifices;* for they *sacrificed* as absolutely to their *lesser gods*, as to their *mighty Jove.* The *idolatry* of the *Jews* indeed, when they fell into it, was their *joining* the *worship* of *false gods* with that of the *true one*, and therefore they are truly said *to have forsaken the Lord;* because there is but *one true God;* and he who serves not *him alone*, does not serve him *at all.*

"*G.*—It is called *forsaking* the *Lord*, when we will not "obey his commandments, but worship him otherwise than "he has required, and *join* others with him, which he has "forbidden."—*p.* 124.

L.—Yes, Sir, when we join other *gods* or *idols* with him. But I hope he has not forbid us to *praise him in his saints*, or to honour those upon earth, whom he himself honours in heaven.

"*G.*—He said, *the house of Israel is estranged from me,* "*separated from me by their idols: yet come and inquire of a* "*prophet concerning me.* Ezek. xiv. 5, 7. And again, *when* "*they had slain their children to their idols, then they came*

" *the same day into my sanctuary*, xxiii. 39. And he " says to them, *will you burn incense unto Baal, and walk* " *after other gods, and come and stand before me in this house,* " *which is called by my name?* Jer. vii. 4. It is said, *they* " *feared the Lord, and served their own gods after the manner* " *of the nations.* But it immediately follows, *they fear not* " *the Lord, because they do not after his statutes,* wherein he " commanded them *not to fear other gods.* And again, *they* " *feared the Lord, and served their graven images.* 2 Kings " xvii. 33, 34, 41. Yet this was departing from the " fear of the *Lord,* but not a downright denial of the *supreme* " *God,* or throwing him off from being any more their *God,* " and taking any *other god* in his room as the *supreme God.* " No, but it was taking *other gods* with him, of which he " says, *O do not this abominable thing, which I hate.* Jer. " xliv. 4."—*p.* 124.

L.—Sir, I observe you are always very prodigal of your *scripture texts*, when you have a thing to prove, which is plain and undeniable. For who was ever so ignorant as to deny that the *Jews* joined the *worship* of *idols* with that of the *true God?* But what do you infer from it?

" *G.*—This was the first sin, against which *God* took care " to guard in the *first commandment, thou shalt have none* " *other gods before me, or with me.* Exod. xx. 3, 23. And for " the distinction that the worship of *inferior gods,* or *ministers* " *of God* is not here forbidden, we say, *where the law does* " *not distinguish, we must not.* For there is no *law,* but may " be *distinguished away.* And this is exactly the same notion " the *heathens* had of their *dæmones.* And the worshipping " of these or fearing them, is literally what we call *superstition.* " It is a *means of grace,* which *God* has not appointed."—*p.* 125.

L.—What, Sir! is the *worship* of *demons* or *evil spirits* barely *superstition*, and not *idolatry!* Or do we make the *worship* of *demons* a *means of grace!* This is bidding defiance to all shame. But it is not the only impudent calumny insinuated in this piece. You tell me first, *that joining the worship of other gods* (meaning the *lesser gods* of the *heathens*) *with that of the true God is the sin, against which God took care to guard us in the first commandment.* And do we deny it? On the contrary I assure you,

Sir, (though I know you will be sorry to hear it) our *divines* teach, that it forbids the *worship* of *all false gods* whatsoever, that is, not only of those, whom the *heathens* called *inferior gods*, but also of your *darling great god Jupiter*, for whom you are so *religiously* concerned, as not to suffer him to come within the prohibition of the *first commandment.* This indeed is a *scandalous distinction*, which was wholly unknown to the *primitive christians*, who rather chose to lose their lives than worship *Jupiter*, as I have already shewed.

But as to the *distinction* you tacitly father upon us, viz., *that the worship of inferior gods is not forbidden in the first commandment*, pray, Sir, in what *catholic* author do you find this *distinction?* Our *divines* teach indeed with all the *ancient fathers* that a *relative honour* is due to *God's saints* and *angels;* and that this is no more forbid by the *first commandment*, than honouring *God's servants* upon earth. But is this the same as teaching *that the worship of demons*, or *inferior gods is not forbid by that commandment?* The commandment says, *thou shalt have none other gods before me, or with me.* But it does not say, *thou shalt not honour the friends and servants of God.*

You have indeed been very craftily cautious, *first*, to use the word *worship;* because it is an *ambiguous* word, and is promiscuously used to signify either *divine*, or only an *inferior* or *relative honour.* And 2*dly*, by another cunning sleight you make *inferior gods*, and *ministers of God* to be *synonimous terms.* Now I think the *saints* and *angels* are truly *ministers of God*, but not in the number of the *lesser gods* of the *heathens*, that are *forbid* in the *first commandment.* For if they be, your *own church*, which keeps *one day* for all the *saints in general*, and *another* for St *Michael* and all *angels*, is regularly twice a-year guilty of a *breach* of *that commandment:* unless you have the confidence to say, that *keeping solemn days* in *memory* of the *saints* and *angels* is not *honouring* them in any manner.

But I presume, Sir, you have now done with your *noble parallel*, which I think is one of the most notorious

pieces of *wilful* and *premeditated slander*, that ever was maintained seriously. I shall add a few remarks to what I have already said, to justify this censure. It has been your business to make us appear as *rank idolaters* as the *heathens* ever were. And who would have expected any thing less for proof of this *enormous accusation*, than a full and convincing evidence at least of one of these three points? viz., either that *papists* do not *acknowledge* and *worship* the *true God*, or that they *join* with it the *worship* of *false gods*, as the *Jews* did; or that they *offer sacrifice*, and pay *divine honours* to the *saints* and *angels*. For, whoever is justly accused of *idolatry*, must be proved guilty of one of these three things.

Now, if you had but attempted to prove any one of these three articles in *plain* and *express* terms, all the world would have cried out shame upon you, because the *calumny* would have been too gross and barefaced. And this you were sensible of. Therefore, to give some plausible colour to your *parallel*, you have made use of all the little sinister tricks, that a good stock of *wit*, but a much greater of *malice* and *insincerity* could suggest to you.

First, It being notoriously known, that *papists* worship the *true God*, you could not possibly attack them on that side. Therefore, to lay the foundation of your *parallel*, and make them appear *no better* than *heathens* even in that *essential point*, you have laboured with all your strength to prove, that the *heathens* themselves worshipped the *same true God*, as *christians* now do. Though it be a flat contradiction not only to the general notion of mankind, but to innumerable *texts* of holy *scripture*.

2dly, Because it is an undeniable truth, that *papists* do not regard the *saints* as *gods*, but only as the *servants* of the *true God*, you had no other way to bring them upon the *level* with *heathens*, than by maintaining that all their *lesser gods*, were no more in their opinion than the *powers* or *ministers* of the *true supreme God;* though it be certain, they regarded them all as *independent* in many things as to their *power* of doing either *good* or *mischief;* and it is notoriously known, that they *sacrificed* to their *lesser gods*

as well as to *Jupiter;* and *sacrifice* is only offered to such as are properly called and esteemed *gods.*

But least our not sacrificing to *saints* and *angels* should spoil the beauty of your *parallel,* you took timely care to call St *Austin* to your assistance by a very dexterous and seasonable *falsification* of his words. For instead of his saying, *that they, who proudly require* SACRIFICE *to be offered to them, and will be* WORSHIPPED AS GODS *are evil and proud spirits,* you only make him say, *that they must be evil spirits, because they required* WORSHIP *from men:* and the reason, which induced you to this trick of *leger-demain* is very plain; because the word *sacrifice* spoils all, in determining the *manner of worship,* which St *Austin* says is a sure mark of their being *evil spirits,* who require it; whereas the word *worship* being *equivocal,* St *Austin's* meaning is left *doubtful;* and the advantage you make of it is to insinuate, that even the *inferior honour* we pay to *saints* and *angels,* which may be called *worship,* was condemned by that *father.*

This, Sir, plainly shews, how dear it sometimes costs men to carry on an unjust cause. *Truth, honour, conscience, reason, common sense,* all must be sacrificed to support it. And truly, Sir, I wish you may not have been at the expense of all these to prove *papists idolaters.* This I am sure of, that unless you can either prove, that *saints* and *angels* are *evil spirits,* or that *desiring their prayers* is giving them *divine worship,* you may as easily prove *white* to be *black,* as discover the least shadow of *idolatry* in our doctrine of the *invocation of saints.*

SECTION XII.—OF SUPPOSITITIOUS SAINTS.

"*G.*—My lord, in your *catalogue* of *saints* there are many "*suppositititious* ones to be found. What think you of the "seven *sleepers* who slept 362 years, and thought it but one "night?"—*p.* 125.

L.—Sir, the seven *sleepers* are the seven martyrs of *Ephesus,* who when they were put to death *slept in the*

Lord like St *Stephen*, Acts vii. 60. That is, died happily; and this is all I believe of their *sleeping*. The rest has been added by the fabulous *Greeks*, whose relations we give as little credit to as you yourselves.

" *G.*—What think you of the eleven thousand *English* " *virgins*, all martyred together at *Cologne*, and the fine le- " gend told of them?"—*p.* 125.

L.—Sir, I find nothing of eleven thousand virgins in our *missals;* but that St *Ursula* with her *companions* suffered martyrdom is no fable. This I believe, and no more.

" *G.*—What do you think of St *George's* killing the *dra-* " *gon*, and rescuing the *king's daughter?* As true as our " ballad of the *dragon* of *Wantley?*"—p. 125.

L.—Sir, I join issue with you, and the *two dragons* may go together, if you please. But is this a good argument, *St George neither killed the dragon, nor rescued the king's daughter, therefore there is no such saint?* Nay if *fabulous legends* must deprive *saints* of their *real being*, we shall be in danger of losing the *apostles* as well as some other saints, who cannot be responsible for *fables* told of them any more than the *apostles*, of whom many *fabulous stories* were handed about even in the first age. One of the authors of those stories, *a priest*, was degraded by St *John* the *evangelist*.

" *G.*—My lord, as ridiculous as these stories are, yet there " are *days* kept for all these, and *offices* made for them with " prayers to *them*, and to *God*, that we may be saved by *these* " their *merits*."—p. 125.

L.—What, Sir! By St *George's merits* for *killing the dragon!* There is indeed an *office* of him; but I do not remember there is any *commemoration* in it either of the *dragon*, or of the *king's daughter* being rescued by him.

" *G.*—There are multitudes of the like, which you will " find even to a surfeit in the *devotions of the Roman church* " with their *breviaries, missals, legends*, and *authors* quoted " at large."—*pp.* 125, 126.

L.—To a surfeit indeed in that *shameful libel;* but the author's quotations are many times full as *honest* and *fair*, as yours from St *Austin* upon the 96th Psalm.

" *G.*—And can these prayers be in *faith* to persons that " never were in being? And for the *merit* of actions that " never were done? This is a *means of grace* of your own " invention indeed!"—*p.* 126.

L.—Sir, a man must be very incredulous to pretend there never were such persons in *being* as the *seven martyrs* of *Ephesus*, St *Ursula* with her companions, and St *George* the ancient *patron* of *England*, who are the *saints* you have particularly culled out to pass your jests upon: but since they were once *in being*, I hope they are so still, and we may beg *in faith*, that is, *with a safe conscience*, the blessings of God through their *intercession*, to which the *merits* and *holiness* of their past lives give doubtless a value. But as to the *merit of actions, that never were done*, I have not yet seen a prayer, for example, to beg any favour of God in consideration of St *George's killing the dragon*, or *rescuing the fair lady out of its jaws*. And therefore your saying, *this is a means of grace of our own invention*, is such a piece of insipid nonsense, that I blush to repeat it.

" *G.*—Besides what I have already said, many have been " *canonized* for *notorious crimes*, as your St *Thomas Becket* " of *Canterbury*, whose merit was, that he would exempt " all *ecclesiastics* from the *secular* power, though even in *civil* " or *criminal* causes, which was called asserting the *liberties* " *of the holy church*, and it is fully asserted in the *bulla cœnæ*. " But notwithstanding all these authorities it is a wicked " principle, and dissolves all *civil* government: it exempts " from the *king's* obedience the *first* of the *three estates* of the " realm, which has or ought to have the greatest influence " upon the people, and transfers their *allegiance* to another " *sovereign*, which is the highest *treason* by the laws of all " well governed nations as well as by the *laws* of *God*. Yet " for asserting this *Becket* was *canonized*; and for not giving " way to it, the *king* was *whipped* by the *Monks* of *Canterbury*, " to which he was forced to submit in those times of *papal* " supremacy.

" Such another was the last year's *saint* Pope *Pius V.*, " the great assertor, and last practiser of the *power* of the " *Pope* to *depose princes*, and who broke the communion of " the *church of England*."—p. 126.

L.—Sir, I have already answered your objection concerning Pope *Pius V.* (Part I. Sect. 53.) against whom I perceive you have a particular spleen, because he *excommunicated* your *virgin Queen*, the *foundress* and first *she-Pope* of your *church*. But your saying, *that many have been canonized for notorious crimes* is a most *notorious calumny*, and more becoming the *devil*, who is the professed enemy of *God's saints*, than a *christian divine*.

You instance in St *Thomas of Canterbury*, of whom I have already spoken (Part I. Sect. 43.) and justified his standing up for the *ancient liberties* of the *church*, ibid. You say *his merit* was, *that he would exempt all ecclesiastics from the secular power*. Sir, *his merit* was his *constant holiness of life*, his *pastoral zeal*, and *invincible patience* in suffering the persecutions of his enemies. *His merit* was, that he would not *betray his conscience*, to comply with his *prince;* that he would not leave the *church*, wherewith God had entrusted him, in a *worse condition* than he had found it; nor yield up its *liberties* to the *secular power*, as an unworthy *successor* of his, your first *protestant archbishop Cranmer*, did afterwards. This I say, was his merit, which you call a *notorious crime;* and being assassinated (though without the king's orders) he had both *God*, and the *king* witnesses of his *innocence*.

What you add, viz., *that the king was whipped by the monks of Canterbury, to which he was forced to submit in those times of papal supremacy*, is false as to his *being forced* to it. He submitted indeed like another *Theodosius* to the penance enjoined him by the *Pope's legate;* but his *whipping* was no part of it. This he underwent voluntarily three years after, when he made a *pilgrimage* to St *Thomas's* tomb to beg his *prayers* against the *French*, the *Scots*, and his own *rebellious son*. And God was pleased to manifest in a singular manner how acceptable this *humiliation* was to him. For upon the very day that he lay prostrate at St *Thomas's* tomb, the *king* of *Scots* was taken prisoner. Soon after he raised the siege of *Roüen*, which his *son* and the *French king* attacked, and in a short time found himself quiet possessor

of his kingdom. All these particulars you will find in the learned *Du Pin.* Cent. 12. p. 132, of whose veracity I know you have a great opinion.

SECTION XIII.—OF DEVOTION TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

" *G.*—There is one saint truly so, of whom I have reserved " to speak in this place, because of the excesses in your church " in their devotions to her bordering even upon *blasphemy* " to any common ear."—*p.* 127.

L.—Now indeed you startle me. I hope however we do not make a *goddess* of her, nor offer *sacrifice* to her: though we endeavour to pay her all the honour due to her as *mother of God.*

" *G.*—No less than a canonized person, St *Bonaventure* has " published what he calls the *Psalter* of the *Blessed Virgin* " *Mary*, wherein every one of the 150 Psalms, as likewise " the *Te Deum*, and other most solemn adorations of God are " all turned to the *Virgin Mary.*"—p. 127.

L.—Sir, I answer *first*, that the *Psalter* attributed to St *Bonaventure* is not his. For neither *Trithemius* nor *Gesnerus* place it amongst his works. Nor is it probable a man of St *Bonaventure's* judgment and learning should be the author of such an indiscreet piece. I answer 2*dly*, that it is in the catalogue of forbidden books, and is therefore far from being a part of the devotions of the *Church of Rome.* So pray go on.

" *G.*—*Rosaries*, and books of devotions to her are many——

L.—That is very true, Sir.

" *G.*—Here is one translated into *English* for the use of " the *Roman catholics* here, entitled, *The Devotion of Bondage*, " *or the Practice of perfectly consecrating ourselves to the service* " *of the Blessed Virgin, permissu superiorum* 1632. It is licensed " and highly recommended both to clergy and people by the " *Bishop of St Omers*, with several indulgences granted to " those who shall devoutly make use of it. Wherein we " offer up ourselves both souls and bodies as *bondslaves* to " the *Blessed Virgin.* Among the high prerogatives of the " *Blessed Virgin* you will find this the sixth, p. 32, *the sovereign* " *dominion that was given her not only over the world, but over*

" *the Creator of the world.* This indeed might well ground " this petition made to her, *jure matris impera filio,* that is, " *by the right of a mother command your son.* And her being " called the *mother of the whole Trinity* in the *missal. Polon.* " fol. 237."—*p.* 127.

L.—Sir, it is the first time I ever heard of *missal. Polon.* But this I am sure of, that whoever styles the *Virgin Mary* the *mother of the whole Trinity*, and means what he says, is a rank *heretic;* and if he should teach this doctrine at *Rome*, he would either have a mad-house, or the prison of the inquisition assigned him for his lodging.

As to the book entitled *the Devotion of Bondage, &c.* Whatever approbation it had at its first coming forth, it has been condemned many years ago. And so it is impertinent to reproach us with it. I heartily wish your church took the same care to condemn and suppress all the *scandalous, profane*, and *atheistical* books that are publicly printed in *London*, and suffered to be in the hands of every body.

But as to those words, *by the right of a mother command your son*, though I allow the expression to be too hyperbolical, they are capable of a fair and orthodox construction, if they meet with an unprejudiced reader. For there are even in scripture some expressions, which carry with them the same vehemence, and in appearance the same hyperbolical excess. As, when it is said, that *Joshua spoke to our Lord and the sun stood still, God* OBEYING *the voice of a man.* Joshua x. 12, 14, and when our Saviour says of himself, that *in heaven he will make his servants sit down at meat and will* SERVE *them.* Luke xii. 37. For, as the former of these expressions does not signify a real *obedience* in God to the voice of a man, but his readiness to hear the prayers of those that fear him, nor the latter that Christ will really *serve* the elect at table, but only expresses his tenderness for them, and the care he will take to complete their joy and happiness; so these words, *by the right of a mother command your son*, do not signify that she should really *command* him,

as she did when he was subject to her upon earth, but that she will use that interest with him in our behalf, which as a mother she has with him above all other saints.

" *G.*—My lord, in the *Primer*, or office of the *Blessed Virgin* " printed in *English* 1699, (and in the exposition before it " is said to be of great antiquity, and composed by the church " directed by the holy Ghost) you will find many prayers to " her not only of *intercession* or *praying for us*, but to grant " *grace, pardon of sins*, and *eternal life* in as full and positive " terms, as could be asked of God himself. See the hymn, " *Memento rerum conditor*, p. 34, and *Ave maris stella*, p. 53. " And the prayer to her, p. 59, *under thy aid*——*Sub tuum* " *præsidium*, which is taken out of the *Roman pontifical* in " the office for the consecrating an image of the *B. Virgin*, " where you pray for aid directly without mentioning any " *Intercession.*"—pp. 127, 128.

L.—Sir, the *Primer* is certainly a prayer book of great authority amongst us, and I stand to every thing you can find in it. *First*, you dislike the hymn, *Memento rerum conditor.* I presume chiefly because it styles the *B. Virgin* the *mother of grace.* And is not she the *mother of grace*, who brought forth Christ the fountain of all grace; 2*dly*, you carp at the *Ave maris stella*, and the anthem, *Sub tuum præsidium.* But Sir, one verse of the *Ave maris stella* is this: *bona cuncta posce, ask all good things for us*, which fully explains the meaning of all the rest. And the anthem, *Sub tuum præsidium* is generally concluded with this versicle, *Ora pro nobis, Pray for us.* But suppose the word *pray* or *intercede* be not always expressed, may not the church be allowed to use her own way of speaking as well as other societies of men, especially when her meaning is as well known as the alphabet?

G.—Pray, my lord, whence must the people take the sense of their prayers, but from the signification of the words?

L.—But must the signification of those words be always interpreted by the rules of *grammar?* I think our *councils* and *Catechisms* are better interpreters of the sense of our public prayers, than *William Lilly*, or

Littleton's Dictionary. When the scripture speaks thus: *I say ye are gods*, Psalm lxxxi., or tells us, *that God obeyed the voice of a man*, a grammarian will perhaps cry out *blasphemy!* But a *divine* will give him a civil reprimand, and tell him he must consult *divines* and not *pedants* for the true meaning of *scriptural phrases.* And so it is with the language of the church in her *prayers.* She is the sole interpreter of their true sense, and she has sufficiently declared, that in what form soever her prayers to saints are expressed, she means no more than to implore their *intercession* to the *Giver of all good gifts.* So that when we desire the *blessed Virgin* to *help, comfort*, or *deliver us* from *sin*, or bring us to *eternal life*, the true meaning is (and she knows it to be so) that we only desire her to obtain for us those blessings of God through the *mediation of Jesus Christ.*

SECTION XIV.—THE BLESSED VIRGIN NOT PUT UPON THE LEVEL WITH CHRIST.

"*G.*—My lord, your *church blesses* in the *name* of the *Virgin* "*Mary*, which was never done to any creature. The *priest-* "*hood* was ordained by *God* to *bless in his name.* No *apostle* "or *angel* ever *blessed* the *people* in *his own name.* Deut. x. "8. But in this *Primer*, p. 16, you will see the *priest* give "the *blessing* in these words: *The Virgin Mary with her* "*pious son bless us;* to which the *people* answer, *Amen.* Here "the principal part is given to the *Virgin.* Her *son* only "blesses *with* her, and she is first named. But if she be not "preferred, yet she is here put upon the level at least with "her son, and *blesses* the *people* jointly with him."—*p.* 128.

L.—Sir, I should not be surprised to hear a *grammarian* argue as you do. But I take it to be beneath a *divine* to lay a stress upon a mere *grammatical* construction in a *theological* dispute. When a child, for example, says, *bless me Father;* here not only the *principal part* of *blessing* is *literally* and *grammatically* given to the *Father*, but *God* is not so much as mentioned, and the *Father* alone is named. And will you be so weak, as to conclude from thence, that the child's father is *preferred*

to, or put upon the *level* with *God?* If you be, children themselves will tell you, that when they say, *Father bless me*, they mean no more than to desire their father to *pray* to *God* to *bless* them; and so when we desire the *Virgin Mary* to *bless us with her son*, we only beg of her to obtain for us a *blessing* of *God* through the *mediation of Jesus Christ.*

ADVERTISEMENT.—*The* gentleman, *after his last words, labours hard to prove, that the* angel *whom* Jacob *prayed to* bless *his* sons, *was not an* angel, *but* Christ: *who (as he tells us) often appeared before he* took flesh. *I fancy indeed he will find but few of his opinion. But it being a point of no consequence is omitted, and the* gentleman *goes on thus:—*

" *G.—Epiphanius*, Hær. 78, 79, reckons the *worship* of the " *Virgin Mary* (not then *so rank*) among the *Heresies* under " the name of the *Collyridians*, who offered *cakes* to the *moon* " as the *queen of heaven*, which is the same name you now give " to the *Virgin*, and she is painted standing upon the *moon*, " her *representative.*"—p. 129.

L.—What will not prejudice prompt a man to say! The *Collyridians* offered *cakes* and *flour* in *sacrifice* to the *queen of heaven*, that is, *worshipped* her as a *goddess;* and yet their worship *was not so rank* as ours. And why so? Because we style the *Virgin Mary queen of heaven*, and she is painted *standing* upon the *moon*. Who will not be convinced by such strong reasons?

" *G.—Epiphanius* observes, that our blessed *Lord*, foresee- " ing the *superstition* that would come into the world on " account of his *mother*, treated her always at a distance, " never once called her *mother*, no not upon the *cross*, or by " any other appellation, than that of *woman*, and checking her " *forwardness*, said unto her, *Woman what have I to do with* " *thee?* John ii. 4. She is as little named as possible in the " *gospels*, where *Christ* pronounces a greater blessing to those " that hear his word, than to the *womb* that bare him, *Luke* " xi. 28. And she is not reckoned among those, who saw " him after his *resurrection*. She is but once named in the " *Acts of the Apostles*, and that upon no other account, than " that she with other women continued in the communion of " the *Apostles* after the *ascension* of our *Lord*, Acts i. 14. " But none of her *acts* or *miracles* are recorded, though

" abundance in the *legends*. And she is not once named upon " any account whatsoever in any of the *Epistles*. Strange! " that this should be so forgot, which makes now so great a " part in the *devotions* of the *Church of Rome*."—pp. 129, 130.

L.—*Strange!* do you say, Sir? And is it not much more *strange*, that a *christian divine* should employ the very best of his rhetoric to lessen, and depreciate the *blessed mother of Christ!* For were I an utter stranger to the *principles* of *christian religion*, and should hear a *christian* set forth the *blessed Virgin* as you have done, I should form no other idea of her, than that she was some *despicable creature*, whom *Christ* was ashamed to own for his *mother;* whose *forwardness*, as you call it, he was forced to *check:* whom he utterly neglected at his *death*, and for whom neither the *apostles* nor *evangelists* had the least *regard*. This, Sir, is the idea, which your discourse would form in any man not guarded beforehand by the principles of *christian religion*.

It is true, the *evangelists* mention no *tender expressions* of our *Saviour* to his *blessed mother:* neither do they mention any *tender expressions* of *hers* to her *son*, nor even that she felt any *grief* at his *death*. But I hope we must not conclude from thence, either that she had a *heart* of *stone*, or that these *omissions* were intended by the *Holy Ghost* to prevent our being too tenderly affected towards our *Saviour's passion:* which suffices to shew the weakness of your chief remark.

However, Sir, the *scripture* is not so very *silent* concerning the *blessed Virgin*, as you represent it; unless the very first chapter of St *Luke* be no part of *scripture*. For in that chapter you will find the *whole foundation*, on which our *devotion* to the *blessed Virgin* is built. What do you think of the *angel's* salutation, *Hail, full of grace, our Lord is with thee?* Luke i. 28, which contains the sublimest panygeric, that ever was made of a *pure creature*. What do you think of the words of *Elizabeth?* who *was filled with the Holy Ghost, and she spoke with a loud voice, and said, Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb*, Luke i. 41, 42: she spoke *with*

a loud voice, and was not afraid to be censured for naming the *mother* before the *son*, which is one of your weighty objections against the *Church of Rome*. Lastly, what do you think of the *blessed Virgin's* own *prophetic* words? *For behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed*, Luke i. 48; which may be called a plain *prediction* of the *honour* and *respect*, which the *church* has paid her throughout all ages. *Strange!* That our blessed Lord *should forsee the superstition* (as you call it) *which would come into the world on account of his mother*, and yet inspire his *evangelists* to write things of her, which give us the *highest idea* of her *dignity* and *merits*, and are the whole ground of that *devotion*, which you pretend *Christ* intended to prevent.

G.—But, my lord, you take no notice, that the observations I have made relating to the *Virgin Mary*, and which you have reflected upon with so much tartness, are not my own, but taken from Saint *Epiphanius*. Hær. 79.

L.—Sir, you wrong St *Epiphanius*, not only in misrepresenting the drift of his discourse, but also by adding to his words, and mixing your own *undecent reflections* with his in such a manner, as to make them appear to be his. For pray, Sir, tell me where will you find any of these reflections relating to the *blessed Virgin* in Saint *Epiphanius?* viz., that *Christ called her woman* TO CHECK HER FORWARDNESS? *That she is as little named as is possible in the gospels?* That our Saviour always treated her *at a distance*. That *they, who hear the word of God have greater blessings pronounced to them than the mother of Christ?* That *she is not reckoned amongst those, who saw him after his resurrection*, and that *she is but once named in the Acts of the Apostles, and not once in the Epistles?*

These, Sir, are all your own observations, and they shew the profound respect you have for the *mother* of *Christ;* but not one of them is to be found in St *Epiphanius*, whose words faithfully rendered are these: *Wherefore we are also precautioned by the holy gospel, wherein Christ speaks thus*: Woman, what is it to me and to thee? My hour is not yet come, *John* ii. 4: *where, for*

this reason, he called her woman, *least any one should believe the blessed Virgin to be of some more* excellent nature [viz. than the rest of womankind]. *Giving her, as it were, prophetically that name to refute the heresies, and schisms, which he knew would in aftertimes happen in the world: and least any one through an excessive opinion of the most holy Virgin should be addicted to the dotage and fooleries of that heresy.* L. 3. T. 4. Hær. 79.

Now, Sir, the *heresy* St *Epiphanius* treats of in the place quoted, is that of certain *bigoted women* of *Thrace* called *Collyridians*, who not only assumed to themselves the *priestly office*, but made a *goddess* of the *blessed Virgin*, and *worshipped* her with *sacrifice:* which *madness* or *dotage* he refutes at large, and then observes, that to prevent our falling into this *dotage*, viz., *of believing the blessed Virgin to be more than a* WOMAN, *and worshipping her as a* GODDESS Christ took care to call her *woman*, saying at the *wedding* in *Cana* of *Galilee*, *Quid mihi et tibi mulier? nondum venit hora mea;* Woman, *what is it to me and to thee? My hour is not yet come.* And is this the same as your unhandsome reflection, viz., *that Christ foreseeing the superstition, which would come into the world* [by which you mean what St *Epiphanius* never thought of] *always treated her* AT A DISTANCE, *and,* CHECKING HER FORWARDNESS, *said unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee?*

But, Sir, our *blessed Saviour* did not always *treat his mother at a distance*, as you pretend. For St *Luke* tells us expressly, that *he went down with his father and mother to Nazareth, and was subject unto them*, Luke ii. 51. That is to say, obeyed them, as dutiful children do their parents; which with your leave, Sir, is not treating them *at a distance.* Nay, at that very time, when instead of giving to the *blessed Virgin* the tender name of *mother* he called her *woman*, he had a regard to her *request*, and upon her *intercession* manifested himself by the *first miracle*, he ever wrought. Which I think was encouraging his *future church* to have a *confidence* in her *prayers.*

" *G.*—But there is an honour of an extraordinary nature " paid to her at the head of all the *saints* in the office of the

" *mass;* where, before the consecration, the elements are " offered up to God in memory of the *passion, resurrection,* " and *ascension* of *Jesus Christ,* and for the *honour* of the " blessed *Virgin Mary,* &c., *in honorem beatæ Mariæ semper* " *Virginis.* Did Christ then *suffer, rise,* and *ascend* for her " *honour?* It was for the honour and glory of *God* indeed, " but to thrust her in, or any of the *saints* to share in this, " looks a little too familiar, and putting them, at least *her,* " near upon the level with the *Almighty,* since more could " not be said to him."—*pp.* 130, 131.

L.—No, Sir! That is very strange. For I can say to *God,* thou art my *Creator,* my *Redeemer,* my *Sanctifier,* my *sovereign Good* and *last End.* I can say to *God,* Thou art *infinitely powerful, infinitely good,* and *infinitely wise,* &c.; finally, I can say *to God, I offer to thee this holy sacrifice,* and I cannot say any one of these things to the *blessed Virgin* without *blasphemy.* I therefore hope she is not put *so near,* as you will needs have it, *upon the level* with the *Almighty.*

Now, as to your argument, which is contained in this smart question, *did Christ then suffer, rise, and ascend for her honour?* You will as easily make a rope of sand, as shew any connexion between the consequence implied in your question, and the premises. What admirable *logic* is this! *The elements are offered in memory of the passion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, and in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary: therefore Christ suffered, and ascended for her honour.*

G.—But what do you then mean by your *in honorem beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis,* &c., *in honour of the Virgin Mary?*

L.—That, Sir, is a fair question. For as we best know, so it is but just we should be allowed to explain our own meaning, which is precisely this: we offer up the *sacrifice* to *God* in *remembrance of the death, resurrection* and *ascension* of *Christ,* and in *thanksgiving* for the *great gifts* and *graces* he has bestowed upon his *blessed mother,* and other *saints.*

G.—But how can this be called *offering* the *sacrifice in honour* of the *blessed Virgin?* &c.

L.—Very properly, Sir; because the *saints* are *honoured* by our celebrating their *memories* in the solemn *sacrifice* of the *mass* and offering up our *public thanksgiving* to God for the *victories* they have obtained *through his grace*. And this is just what St *Austin* teaches (Ench. C. 110.): *When the sacrifice* (says he) *is offered in the church for the faithful departed, it is to such as were good, but not perfectly good, a sacrifice of propitiation. But to the perfectly good, of thanksgiving.* Now, Sir, you may proceed, if you please.

G.—My lord, you interrupted me. I told you just now, that *offering the sacrifice in honour of the Virgin Mary and other saints, was putting them near upon the level with the Almighty.*

L.—You did so.

"*G.*—And here we may see a good reason, why *God* "would not have any *religious worship* paid to these, or any "*ministers* of his kingdom, nor would be worshipped with "them. For he saw there would be *encroaching*, and *coming* "*nearer* to him, than was fit for the condition of *creatures*. "They would have a share with him. Nay, that they might "come at last to advance these above *God* himself, and "prefer the *saints* even to *Christ*."—p. 131.

L.—Sir, this whole piece comes a *begging;* for it confidently supposes the two very points, you ought to prove. *First*, That *God has forbid all religious worship*, that is, *all honour* to be paid to his *ministers;* nay it is a contradiction to your own practice in keeping one *holy day* for *all saints*, and another for St *Michael* and all the *angels*. 2*dly*, It supposes that we put *creatures* near *upon the level* with the *Almighty*, which I have disproved at large: but you are not disposed to take notice of any thing I say to you.

G.—My lord you are too quick for me. But I shall now prove, that you advance the *saints* above *God* himself, and prefer them even to *Christ*. "As it has been said, *that* "*Christ did nothing which St* Francis *did not do: yea, that he* "*did more than Christ himself*. Lib. Conform. fol. 1149."

L.—Sir, I must own you have a peculiar talent at *raking kennels* for *dirt* and *filth* to throw at us. It is a

providence however, that the words, you have picked up, are not to be found either in any *Council*, or *Catechism*, or *papal constitution*, or *Pope Pius's Profession of Faith*, where you ought to seek for our doctrine; but only in *Lib. Conform.* a book I never heard of before. But whoever is the author of it, I presume he does not mean that St *Francis* (though a most *holy* and *eminent saint*) either *created the world*, or *redeemed mankind*, or ever wrought any *miracle* by his *own power*. So that we may (I hope) acquit him of *blasphemy*, though not of *indiscretion*. And all you can conclude from it is, that there are some *indiscreet* writers in all churches whatsoever. But is a church accountable for all the indiscreet expressions of particular writers? I think not.

SECTION XV.—THE INDEX EXPURGATORIUS EXAMINED.

" *G.*—Now, my lord, we see the reason, why your *Index* " *Expurgatorius* would not have it seen in the *fathers* that " *God alone is to be worshipped.* For they have expunged " this out of the *indices* of their works, that it might not be " found by the people, who might take offence to see their " *worship* divided betwixt *God* and *creatures.* [*adorari solius* " *Dei est:* deleatur *ex Ind. Operum Athanasii.* Indice Lib. " prohib. et Expurg. p. 52. *Madrit.* Ann. 1627. item ex " Ind. Op. S. Aug. ibid. p. 56.]

" Was there ever so shameless a thing done by any *church* " as to take upon them to *correct* and *alter* the *fathers?* It " is plainly to stifle the evidence against themselves, and " render every thing at least *suspected*, that they quote out " of them. And the *scriptures* had been *purged* too, but " that they are so common in the hands of *protestants*, that " it could not be done without manifest *detection*, but how " far they have gone towards it by *mistranslations, adding* " or *leaving out* some *words*, I have shewed already. But to " pursue the subject we are now upon——"—*pp.* 131, 132.

L.—Hold, Sir, let me answer this piece first; and I will do it with all the temper and moderation possible; though the *foulness* of the *misrepresentation*, it contains

might justify the warmest language. You flatly charge us with *correcting* and *altering* the *fathers in order to stifle*, as you say, *their evidence against us;* yet in the same breath you contradict yourself by confessing, that the *alteration* you speak of, was made only in the *indices* of their works. For can any man be so stupid as to make no difference between the *works themselves* of the *fathers*, and the *indices*, that have been since made to them by other hands?

You add, *that the scriptures had been purged too, but that they are so common in the hands of protestants, that it could not be done without manifest detection.* Which reflection is as void of *common sense* as *justice.* For are not the *fathers* as *common* in the hands of all *learned protestants* as *scriptures?* And how then could we *corrupt* the *fathers* with *greater security* than the *scriptures?*

But, Sir, you forget the *many hundred years* before the *Reformation*, wherein *popery* was in possession of *whole Christendom*, as your *book of Homilies* testifies, and all *protestants* are forced to own. And had we not then all the opportunity imaginable to *alter* both *scriptures* and *fathers*, if we had been wicked enough to do it? For where were then the *protestants* to control us, or convict us of *forgery?* Pray, Sir, let me advise you to think of some better reason, than *our fear of being detected by protestants*, that hindered us from *altering* the *scriptures?* For though this may pass current with *idiots*, yet men of understanding will not be imposed upon in so gross a manner.

You say *our correcting and altering the fathers renders every thing we quote out of them, suspected.* But, good Sir, are our quotations from the *fathers* taken out of their *indices?* Are they not transcribed from their own writings? How is it possible a man of sense should commit such a blunder! Truly nothing but an over-eager desire of aspersing us could render you capable of it.

Now let us examine the *bloody fact*, which you set off with this pathetic exclamation: *Was there ever so shameless a thing done by any church as to take upon them to correct*

and alter the fathers! Without dispute, Sir, *falsifying* the *fathers* is a most shameful thing: for otherwise I have been too hard upon you in censuring you so sharply for it. But I do not think it at all shameful to *correct* an *index*, which misrepresents the *true sense* of the *father's* words, it refers to: and this is truly the *fact* you inveigh so bitterly against.

One *Wolfangus Musculus*, a *German protestant*, puts forth an edition of some works of the fathers, and makes an *index* to them: and to insinuate to the reader that it is their doctrine, that no *honour* is to be paid to *saints*, he puts down in the *index* this equivocal expression, *adorari solius Dei est; God alone is to be adored*, or *worshipped*. Which in the *sense* of the *fathers*, it refers to, is certainly *true;* but *false* in the intended meaning of the *publisher*. This therefore the *Index Expurgatorius* orders to be blotted out; because it insinuates a sense, which never was taught by any of the *fathers;* who certainly mean nothing else, than that *God alone* is to be *worshipped* with *divine honour*.

I shall instance in a *parallel* case to set the matter in a clear light. Suppose a *Socinian* should put forth an edition of the *New Testament*, and in his *index* to it should put these words, *the son is not equal to the father*, referring the reader to these words of Christ, *my Father is greater than I*, John xiv. 28; I ask, whether *your church* would not think it very just to *correct* and *alter* that *index?* Though the *Socinians* should clamour against it, and cry out, *was there ever so shameless a thing done by any church, as to take upon them to correct, and alter the scriptures!* But I really believe you would in that case be clear sighted enough to discern a difference between *altering* the *scripture itself*, and *correcting* a *scandalous index* made to it. And if you are not blinded with passion, you will also be clear sighted enough to see, that this is a full answer to your *unjust clamours* against the *Index Expurgatorius*, and the *calumny* your conscience is charged with in representing us as *falsifiers* of the *fathers*. But you were going to say something else, which you may now do, if you please.

SECTION XVI.—OF RELICS.

" *G.*—My lord, not only the *souls* of the *saints* in heaven, " but their *dead bodies*, or *bits* of them; a *finger*, a *toe*, or a " *tooth*, or a *scrap* of their *clothes*, a *girdle*, or a *book*, or any " thing else, that they used, are *worshipped*, and made *means* " *of grace*, and great *miracles* are said to be done by them." —*p.* 132.

L.—*Are said*, Sir, do you say? And dare you deny it? If you do, the *devils* themselves, who have confessed it, will blush for you. *Vigilantius*, condemned by all antiquity for an *heresiarch*, was the *devil's* great *champion* against the *veneration* of *relics*, which was the *church's* universal practice even in her *purest times*. But let us hear how St *Jerome* complimented him upon it. *Vigilantius*, says he, *fights with an unclean spirit against the spirit of Christ, by asserting that the tombs of martyrs are not to be reverenced.* Lib. contra Vigil. And again, ibid. *The devils, with which* Vigilantius *is possessed, roar at the relics, and confess they cannot bear the presence of the martyrs.* Nay in the same book he tells him, that *all the bishops in the world* are against him. *Ergo totius orbis errant episcopi? &c.* And in his fifty-third epistle he writes thus: *You tell me, that* Vigilantius *vomits once more his poison against the relics of martyrs, calling us* DUST-WORSHIPPERS, AND IDOLATERS FOR REVERENCING DEAD MEN'S BONES. *Oh, unhappy man, who can never be sufficiently lamented!*

Here, Sir, you see yourself described in the *person* of *Vigilantius* by an *eminent saint* and *doctor* of God's *church:* which should, methinks, suffice to open your eyes, and make you see the badness of the cause in which you are engaged. If you had lived in the fourth century, and professed yourself a *disciple* of *Vigilantius*, as you now do, St *Jerome* would have treated you, as he did that infamous *heretic*. He would have told you, that *you fought with an unclean spirit against the spirit of Christ.* That, *you were possessed by that evil spirit.*

That *all the bishops in the world were against you.* That finally *you were in a most unhappy and lamentable state.*

But you think it a mighty jest, that we *reverence* (or, as you call it, *worship*) not only the *bodies* of *saints*, but a *finger*, a *toe*, or a *tooth*, or a *scrap* of their *clothes*. But pray, Sir, where lies the jest? May not the *finger*, the *toe*, or *tooth* of a saint, or a *scrap* of his *clothes* work *miracles* as well as the *shadow* of St *Peter?* Acts v. 15. Or the *aprons* and *handkerchiefs* that but touched St *Paul's* body, yet *cured diseases, and chased away evil spirits?* Acts xix. 12. Or must it needs be an *entire body* to make it a *proper instrument* for *God* to work *miracles* with? If this be the ground of your jest, *Theodoret*, who wrote in the fourth age, will disabuse you. *Cities, and villages*, says he, *dividing among themselves the bodies of the martyrs esteem them their guardians, and the protectors and physicians both of their souls and bodies ——For though the body be divided, the blessing is not: but is bountifully distributed according to the faith, with which it is approached.* L. 8. cont. Græcos. T. 4. pp. 593, 594.

Nay the very *ashes* of the *martyrs* were held in the same *veneration* as their *bodies;* as appears from *Vigilantius* calling the *Catholics* DUST WORSHIPPERS, and is witnessed by St *Isidore* of *Pelusium* writing thus to Pagan: *If this offend you, that we honour the ashes of martyrs, because they loved God, and served him constantly, ask them, who have been healed by them, and inquire into the number of distempers, from which they have been freed? If you do this, you will be so far from laughing at what we do, that you will be willing to join with us in so good a practice.* L. 1. Ep. 55. Pray, Sir, follow the advice of this good *saint*, and leave off joining with *heretics* and *pagans* in *ridiculing* practices, which *venerable antiquity* has so solemnly recommended to us.

I shall only add St *Ambrose's* words after his discovery of the *relics* of St *Gervasius* and *Protasius*, which alone suffice to confute any thing you can say upon this subject. *You have known* (says he), *nay you have seen many*

dispossessed, many cured, as soon as they touched the shroud of the holy bodies, from their infirmities. The ancient miracles of Christ are renewed. You see many cured by the shadow, as it were, of their bodies. How many handkerchiefs are they touched with ? How many veils by touching the sacred relics, become instruments of the greatest cures ? Every one is glad to touch the most distant hem, and if he does it, he will be healed. Ep. 22. Now, Sir, you may laugh on if you please. But even your *protestant* translators of Mr *Du Pin*, Cent. 8, p. 120, confess, *that it pleased God for the testimony of his doctrine and truth to work great miracles by the dead bodies of his saints, in witness that they had been his messengers, and instruments of his will.*

" G.—My lord, *God* may work *miracles* by what *means* he " pleases."—*p.* 132.

L.—Now, Sir, you are very good indeed. For you grant me all I desire.

" *G.*—But does this consecrate the *dead body* of every " *saint* to be a *means of grace*, and a worker of *miracles ?*"—p. 132.

L.—Sir, that is your ridiculous consequence, and not mine. All I say is, that when *God* works *miracles* by the *body* of any *saint*, he certainly does work *miracles* by it.

" *G.*—Many *miracles* were wrought by the *rod* of *Moses*, " is *every rod* therefore a *means of grace* either *ghostly* or " *bodily ?* Or may we consecrate *any rod* to be such a *means ?*" —p. 132.

L.—No, Sir. But if God pleases, he may work *miracles* by *any rod.* And so he may work *miracles* by the *body* of *any saint ;* and if he does work *miracles* by it, we may surely believe, that he does work *miracles* by it.

" *G.*—Nothing is such a *means* to us, but what God has " *commanded* and *appointed* to be done, as *baptism*, and the " *Lord's supper.*"—p. 132.

L.—What, Sir ! Did God *command* and *appoint aprons* and *handkerchiefs*, which wrought *miracles*, Acts xix. 12, to be such *means of grace* as *baptism*, and the *Lord's supper ?*

" *G.*—It is the *institution* and not the *example*, that makes

" any thing a *means of grace* to us. Else we might go and " imitate all the *miraculous* actions of *Moses*, or of *Christ*, " and call them *means of grace* to us, because so used by " them."—*pp.* 132, 133.

L.—Sir, it is the *institution*, and nothing but the *institution of Christ* that makes *such means of grace* as *baptism*, and the *Lord's supper*. If therefore you speak of *means* of *grace strictly* taken, the *sacraments* alone are *such means*, as I have already frequently inculcated. But you are either very thick of hearing, or have a short memory. For you take no notice of any thing I say, but go on repeating the same gross mistakes twenty times over as confidently, as if they were *first principles*, or *truths* allowed of by me.

I tell you therefore once for all that the *sacraments* alone are *means of grace strictly* taken; which never fail of producing their effect, but when some wilful obstacle is put to it. But in a *large sense* any thing may be called a *means of grace*, which *God* is pleased to make use of at any time as an *instrument* to convey his *blessings* to us, though it be not ordained by any *express institution* in order to that end.

Now if you speak of *means of grace strictly taken*, what you say, viz., *that nothing is such a means to us, but what God has commanded and appointed to be done*, is true indeed, but nothing to the purpose. But if you speak of *means of grace* in the *largest sense*, it is absolutely false, nay incoherent with what you said just now, viz., *that God may work miracles by what means he pleases.* For, if he can work *miracles*, as most certainly he can, *by what means he pleases*, he can work them by *instruments*, which are not *strictly means of grace*, as the *sacraments* are: unless you will maintain, that whatever *instrument* God makes use of to work *miracles* by, becomes immediately a *sacrament*, that is, a *means of grace strictly taken;* and then Saint *Peter's shadow*, and all the *aprons* and *handkerchiefs*, which touched St *Paul's* body, and wrought great *miracles*, were *sacraments*, or *means of grace strictly taken.*

Either therefore every thing, by which God works

miracles, is *strictly a means of grace*, or not: if it be, then the *aprons* and *handkerchiefs*, that touched St *Paul's* body, were *strictly means of grace;* which is absurd. If not, then the *relics* of *saints* may also work *miracles* without being *strictly means of grace.* Whence it plainly appears, that whatever you have said, or can say concerning our multiplying *means of grace* is wholly built upon the *equivocal meaning* of those words; which you take a pleasure to repeat even to a surfeit for no other reason, but because they are *equivocal;* and therefore proper to cast a mist before ignorant people's eyes.

" *G.*—My lord, as to the *relics* in your *church*, many of " them have been notoriously detected; and it has been found " out, that the *dead bodies of malefactors* have been taken for " the *relics* of *saints*, and great *miracles* said to be done by " them."—*p.* 133.

L.—I hope, Sir, you do not mean, that great *miracles* have been said to be done by *bodies*, after they have been found out to be the *bodies of malefactors.* Nor do I believe upon your bare word that *miracles* have been attributed to the *bodies* of *real malefactors*, even before your pretended *notorious detection* of them. Perhaps you only mean such a *notorious malefactor* as St *Thomas* of *Canterbury:* who was found guilty of *high treason*, and had all his *goods confiscated* above three hundred years after his death, I may safely say by one of the most *ridiculous farces*, that ever was acted upon the theatre of this world.

" *G.*—The same *relic* as the *head* or *finger* of such or " such a *saint* is shewn in several places, and each contend " that *theirs* is the *right*, and each have *miracles* avouched for " them."—*p.* 133.

L.—Sir, this was fully answered at our last meeting upon the subject of *miracles*, [Part I. Sect. 25.] to which I refer you.

" *G.*—Many instances of this with vouchers undeniable " you will find in the *devotions of the Roman church.* How " then can you worship such *relics* in *faith*, without which it " is a *sin?*"—p. 133.

L.—Sir, I have already told you the true meaning of St *Paul's* saying, *whatever is not of faith is sin*, viz., that

whatever is done *against conscience*, or with a *bad intention*, is *sin:* which may as well be applied to a man mistaking *stockfish* for *ling*, as to the subject under debate. For, suppose we should mistake *false relics* for *true ones*, the *saint*, whose *relics* we suppose them to be, is still honoured by us; and the mistake is as innocent, as when we give an *alms* for *God's* sake to a *cheat;* which is no uncommon case.

But I observe once more, that whenever you speak of the *respect* we pay to *relics*, you take care to call it *worship;* because the word is *ambiguous* and may signify *divine worship*, as well as an *inferior* or *relative honour*, and you piously hope that it will be taken in the *wrong sense*. I therefore desire you to take notice, that we *worship relics*, or the *images of Christ* and his *saints* no otherwise than you worship the *altar*, or the *Bible*, when you *bow* to it. If you deny that you *worship* them in paying that *respect* to them, we do the same. If you grant you *worship* them, then *creatures* may be *worshipped* with a *relative honour*, and you cannot blame us for it.

In effect no one word is more *equivocal* than the word *worship*, and it is manifest, that all reasoning from such *ambiguous* words is nothing at the bottom but *fallacy* and *amusement*, and a mere design to confound and perplex people in order to hide from them the *true state* of the *question*. Pray, Sir, remember this, when you speak of *images*, which I presume will come next upon the board.

SECTION XVII.—OF IMAGES.

" *G.*—Yes, my lord. For not only the *saints*, and their " *relics*, but their *images* are with you made a distinct *means* " *of grace;* for in the *consecration* of the *image* of a *saint* it is " said, that whoever shall worship such a saint, *coram hac* " *imagine, before this image*, may obtain so and so, for which " end the *image* is *blessed* and *sanctified*. So that it is not enough to worship the *saint;* but if I do it *before such a* " *consecrated image*, I shall obtain more *grace* than otherwise. " This makes the *image* itself a *means of grace*, for there is

" virtue *there.* Why else would it not do as well to pray, " and not before such an image? Why else indeed are such " *images* so formally *consecrated,* if there be no *virtue* in the " *consecration?* And why do men go pilgrimages, or send " vows to *Loretto,* or any other distant place, if they think " there is no *virtue* in the *image* there more than in forty of " the same sort, which they may have at home? And the " *saint* represented by the *image* is as near them in the one " place as in the other. There must then be some *virtue* " communicated to one *image* more than to another."—*pp.* 133, 134.

L.—Sir, there were many *pools* in *Judea* besides the *pool* called *Bethesda.* John v. 2. Yet God would only cure the sick in this. There were also many *rods* besides the *rod* of *Moses,* and many *aprons* besides those, that touched the *body* of Saint *Paul;* yet God wrought *miracles* only by those. And why then may he not bestow a *blessing* on one *place* or *image* more than another? And if he can do it, why should we not ask it of him? This, Sir, answers all your fine *queries.*

But I shall instance in a *scriptural fact* resembling very much the *blessing* or *consecration,* with which you are pleased to make so much mirth. It is written, 1 *Kings* viii. that *Solomon dedicated* or *consecrated* the *temple,* he had built in *Jerusalem:* and the whole *subject* of the *prayer,* or *form* of *consecration,* is to beg of God, that whoever shall pray *in* or *towards that house,* may obtain so and so, as is specified in the *form* of *consecration.*

Now, Sir, let us suppose some *atheistical Jew* should have reasoned thus in your language. *The temple is here made a distinct* MEANS OF GRACE; *for in the consecration of the temple it is said, that whoever shall worship God* IN OR TOWARDS THAT HOUSE, MAY OBTAIN SO AND SO; *for which end the temple is blessed and sanctified. So that it is not enough to worship God, but if I do it* IN OR TOWARDS SUCH A HOUSE, *I shall obtain more grace than otherwise. This makes the house itself a* MEANS OF GRACE; FOR THERE IS VIRTUE THERE. *Why else should it not do as well to pray, and not* IN OR TOWARDS THAT HOUSE? *Why else indeed is that house so formally consecrated, if there be*

no virtue in the consecration? And why do men GO PILGRIMAGES, *and* SEND THEIR VOWS *to the* temple *in Jerusalem, if they think there is no virtue in that house more than in any other place? And God, who is worshipped in that house,* IS AS NEAR US IN ONE PLACE AS ANOTHER. *There must be then some virtue communicated to one house more than to another.*

Sir, whenever you answer this *profane* discourse of the supposed *Jew*, you will not be at a loss for an answer to your own.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*The* good-natured lord *in the* former conversation *acquiesces to every thing his adversary has said, and only tells him calmly*, then you are against any pictures or images, or paying any honour to the holy men departed: *which gives occasion to the* gentleman *to answer thus:*

" *G.*—No, my lord, we are not so stingy: we scruple not " *pictures* for *ornament*, but for *worship* or for worshipping " *before them*, as you call it."—*p.* 134.

L.—That is very strange indeed. Suppose you had a *picture* or *image* of *Christ crucified* before you, would you scruple to say your *prayers*, or adore God with your face turned *towards it?* But why do you not likewise scruple to pray with your face turned *towards* the *altar*, or *communion table?* for then you *worship before it*, as we do before *pictures:* and we worship *pictures* no otherwise than you worship the *altar* or *communion table* by *bowing* to it, or *kneeling* before it.

SECTION XVIII.—THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND GUILTY OF INCOHERENCY.

" *G.*—We also *honour* the *saints departed* as far as we " think it *lawful*, and as we are verily persuaded, as far as " they *desire*."—p. 134.

L.—That is very well done, Sir, and we are *verily persuaded*, we do no more.

" *G.*—But according to St *Austin's rule before mentioned*, " if they accepted our *adoration*, it would prove them to be " *evil spirits:* and then you are to consider, that instead of

" *intercessors*, as you hope for by your *worship* of them they " will vindicate themselves and become your *accusers*."—p. 134.

L.—Sir, you should have said, *according to St Austin's rule before* FALSIFIED. Pray learn to speak properly. For St *Austin* neither calls it *adoration*, as you render it *now*, nor *worship*, as you rendered it *before*, but SACRIFICE; and in plain terms, *to be worshipped* AS GODS. So that there is no danger of their becoming our *accusers*, as long as we only desire a *part* in those *prayers*, which they continually offer to God for the *church militant*. And this is all we desire of them.

" *G.*—But in the *honour* we pay them, we first take care " not to *specify* any particular person as a *saint*, but who is " so recorded in *holy scripture*. For we understand not " *canonizations* by men, who know not the *heart*."—p. 134.

L.—But when *Almighty God*, who knows the *hearts* of men, has manifested their *holiness* by *evident miracles*, are we allowed to doubt of it? the *ancient fathers* were not so *scrupulous;* for they invoked not only *scriptural saints*, but likewise those, whom the *living voice* of the *church* had *canonized*. Saint *Austin* prayed to St *Cyprian*, L. 7. de Bapt. C. 1.; St *Jerome* to St *Paula*, Epist. 27.; St *Gregory Nyssen* to St *Theodore*, Tom. 3. p. 585. C.; and St *Gregory Nazianzen* to St *Basil*, Orat. 20. T. 1. p. 373, B. And they invoked them *by name*, and called them *saints*, though not recorded in *holy scripture*, which it seems your *tender conscience* will not allow of.

However, good Sir, *your church* is not so *scrupulous* as you would make her. Pray read the *calendar* of your *common prayer-book*. For there you will find several *saints* specified by name, and not recorded in *holy scriptures;* which I hope will help to cure you of the squeamish fit, you are fallen into.

" *G.*—In the next place, my lord, we limit the *honour* we " pay to *saints* by the *rule* of *God's commandments*, which we " suppose most pleasing to them."—*p.* 134.

L.—Do you only suppose it, Sir? Nay we are sure of it. For how should any thing, that is *displeasing* to *God*, be *pleasing* to the *saints?*

" *G.*—We keep particular *holy days* for the *apostles*, St " *John Baptist*, St *Stephen*, &c., we bless God for them, " commemorate their *virtues*, and pray that we may follow " their *example*."—p. 135.

L.—So far then we agree. And, if keeping *holy days* be any part of *christian devotion*, as I presume it is, this is just what we mean by what we call *religious honour*.

" *G.*—We have one day for all the *saints in general*, and " another for St *Michael*, and all the *angels*. Thus we *honour* " them."—*p.* 135.

L.—Sir, I am glad to hear it: for all this is very good *popery*.

" *G.*—For this, my lord, we bear the *reproach* of our " *four dissenters*, as if we were too much inclining to *popery*. " You think we give *too little honour* to the *saints*, and they " think we give *too much*, but I hope we keep the *mean*." —p. 135.

L.—Sir, notwithstanding your *pretended mean*, your *church* cannot avoid splitting upon one of these *rocks*. For, if it be forbid to pay any sort of *religious worship* or *honour* to the *saints*, your keeping *holy days* in *honour* of them is unjustifiable. But if there be an *honour* due to them, and if it be lawful to pay them that *honour* by keeping *solemn days* in memory of them; to refuse after that to pay a *relative honour* to the *pictures* that represent them, or the *relics* that were a part of them, is perfectly inconsistent with common sense; and the *mean* you boast of, is no better than a practical contradiction to the principle you allow of. Because reason itself, and the practice of all mankind tell us, that when a person has a just title to be *honoured* by us, we may lawfully pay a *respect* to things, that have a near *relation* to him; and when this title is wholly grounded upon a *motive* of *religion*; as when we *honour* a person whether *dead* or *alive* merely for *supernatural gifts* bestowed upon him by *God*, then the *honour* we pay him is not *civil*, but *religious*. And such is, by consequence, the *honour* you pay to *saints* and *angels*, when you keep *holy days* in memory of them.

For this reason the *four dissenters* (as you call them) laugh at you as mere *botchers* in the *reforming trade*. For whoever will set up for a *reformer* of the public *faith* or *discipline* of his *mother church*, must go thorough-stitch with the work. Otherwise he does *enough* to be condemned by the *church*, from which he *separates* himself, and *too little* to avoid the reproach of falling into *incoherencies*. Because what he leaves *unreformed* rises for the most part in judgment against him, and kicks down some article of his *pretended reformation*.

SECTION XIX.—THE SUBJECT OF IMAGES RESUMED.

"*G.*—We abstain from the *pictures* or *images* of the *saints* "in our *churches*, because they have been abused to *superstition*, and to avoid offence. But in places not dedicated to "worship, as in our private houses, we think them not "unlawful more than the *picture* of any good man."—*p.* 135.

L.—Truly, Sir, the *saints* are very much obliged to you for allowing them a place in your *private houses* amongst those of *good men*. However I think the *apostles* at least have some reason to take it ill, that *Moses* and *Aaron*, whose *pictures* are admitted into many of *your churches*, should be preferred before them.

"*G.*—*Epiphanius* was very zealous against having them "brought into *churches:* and tells *John* bishop of *Jerusalem* "in a letter translated by St *Jerome*, that finding a linen cloth "hang up in a church-door (it is likely to keep out the wind) "whereon was a *picture* of *Christ*, or of some *saint*, he tore "it, and ordered a dead corpse to be buried in it. And he "lamented the *superstition* he saw coming by these *pictures* "and *images* then beginning to creep into the church."—*p.* 135.

L.—Sir, all we can gather from this story of St *Epiphanius* is, that he judged, that the ancient *pagan idolatry* was not yet then so utterly abolished (as it certainly was not at that time in many places) but that the use of *images* or *pictures* in *churches* might be an occasion to revive it. He therefore did his duty in opposing the use of them: and it is what any bishop or

pastor would do at present, if he had the same rational motive to induce him to it. For it is certain the *church* never obliged the faithful to the *actual* use or veneration of *images* or *pictures* as a thing *essential to christianity.* On the contrary it is a point of *discipline* only, which was not *universally* practised till *idolatry* was utterly extinguished in *Christendom.* But since that time the church had reason to declare, *that the images of Christ and his saints are to be retained, and that a due honour and veneration is to be given them.* Conc. Trid. Ses. 25.

" *G.*—My lord, the *abuse* of things though otherwise " lawful, which are not *instituted* by *God* for standing *means* " *of grace*, as *baptism* and the *Lord's supper* may justly take " away the use of them."—*p.* 136.

L.—That is very true, Sir; but it is not fit for a private man to make himself *judge* to determine whether they are abused or not.

" *G.*—The *brazen serpent* was appointed by God as a " *means of grace* for miraculous *cures* in the wilderness, and " was preserved until the days of *Hezekiah*, 2 Kings xviii. 4. " But when they burned *incense* to it, it became an *idol*, was " broke to pieces, and called by a contemptible name " *Nebushtan:* that is, a bit of brass. How much more reason " is there to remove the *pictures* and *images* of *saints* (which " God never appointed) out of our *churches*, when we see " *incense* burnt to them, and they *worshipped* in your churches " as *means of grace?* And yet there is no evil in the *pictures* " themselves."—*p.* 136.

L.—Sir, the *pictures* and *images* of *saints*, are neither *worshipped in*, nor *out* of our *churches* as *means of grace;* nor do we believe any intrinsic virtue in them. But this pretty conceit of our pretended *means of grace* tickles your fancy so powerfully, that you cannot hold thrusting it in every where by head and shoulders, whether there be occasion for it or not.

As to what you say, that we burn *incense* to them, Sir, we burn *incense* to *one another* in the same manner as we do to *pictures:* and yet I hope we are not so mad as to make *idols* of, or pay *divine honour* to one another. There are several ways of shewing *respect* both to *God*

and *man.* We *bow* to *God*, and we *bow* to *men.* We also *kneel* to *God*, and so we do to *men.* But, though the *outward action* be the same, I presume the *respect* we shew by it is not so. For it is strictly *adoration*, or *divine worship* when we *kneel* to *God*, and only an *inferior respect*, when we *kneel* to *men.*

Now, Sir, one way of shewing our *respect* is that of *burning incense*, which is an action as *indifferent* in itself, as that of *bowing* or *kneeling.* So that as *bowing* or *kneeling* are not appropriated to *God alone*, nor always used as an indication of *divine excellency* in the thing, or person we honour by those actions, so neither is the use of *incense* amongst *christians.* When we offer it to God, we signify by it the *sovereign honour*, we owe him: but when to *creatures*, it is no more than a ceremony to express the *respect* we have for them on account of the *relation* they have to *God.*

Bellarmin, L. 2. de Missa, C. 15, shews the *antiquity* of this ceremony; and the significations of it are many, and all tending to excite piety and devotion in the faithful: as, to put us in mind of the *inaccessible glory* of *God*, who appeared in a *cloud*, and the *sweet odour* of our *prayers*, if sent up from a heart inflamed with *divine love.*

G.—But my lord, the *scripture* tells us, that *Hezekiah* broke the *brazen serpent*, because the *children* of *Israel* burnt *incense* to it: which shews that their *burning incense* to it made it become an *idol.*

L.—Sir, it is very certain, that the *Israelites* in process of time made an *idol* of the *brazen serpent:* and therefore *Hezekiah* made no difference between it, and the *statues* set up in the *high places*, which were certainly *idols*, and worshipped as such by the *Jews.* So that although they had but *bowed* or *kneeled* to them, it would have been an *act* of *idolatry:* because any *respect* whatsoever shewn to an *idol* is an *idolatrous worship.* But their *burning incense* to the *brazen serpent* was a *special act* of *idolatry* in a *Jew*, because the *burning* of *incense* by way of a *religious respect* was appropriated to *God* by a *ceremonial* part of the *Mosiac law*, Exod. xxix.

13; Lev. vii. 5, &c., and there was an *altar* deputed particularly for it, *Luke* i. 11. But there is not any precept in the *gospel* either *commanding*, or *forbidding* the use of *incense* to *christians*, or appropriating it to *God:* and *where no law is, there is no transgression.* Rom. iv. 15. And by consequence the use of *incense* amongst *christians* even by way of a *religious honour* is a thing as *indifferent* as the actions of *bowing* or *kneeling*, which I presume do not make *idols* of the *persons* or *things*, towards which they are used.

SECTION XX.—CONCERNING IMAGES OF GOD.

" *G.*—But, my lord, I think there is one *picture* has evil " in it, and is unlawful any where: And yet it is seen in " your *churches*, and commonly over the *altar*. That is, the " *picture* or *image* of *God* the *Father*, like an *old man*, &c. " We are forbid to *make* it, and then we cannot *worship* it. " See how positively God forbids it, *Deut.* iv. 15, &c., *take* " *good heed unto yourselves (for you saw no manner of simili-* " *tude*, that is, of *God, in the day that the Lord spake unto* " *you*)——*least you corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven* " *image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or* " *female*, &c. And again, *They changed the glory of the* " *incorruptible God into an image like to corruptible man*, &c. " Rom. i. 23."—p. 136.

L.—Sir, this latter *text* of St *Paul* condemns the *pagan worship* of *idols*, as I have shewed before: and the consequence you draw from it is, that *therefore it is unlawful to make any picture or image of God.* And is not this arguing with most exquisite skill!

But I presume the text of *Deuteronomy* is to supply all defects: for it is introduced with sound of trumpet, and I am summoned by you *to see how positively it forbids the making any picture, or image of God.* Truly, Sir, when I first heard myself thus solemnly called upon, *see how positively God forbids it*, I apprehended nothing less, than to find in some of the four *evangelists* this commandment in express terms, *Thou shalt not make a picture or image of God the Father like an old man.* But the *text*, you have

quoted, has very much relieved me; finding especially, that it is not in any of the *gospels*, but only in *Deuteronomy*, which contains indeed the *Jewish ceremonial law*, but meddles not with the discipline of the *christian church*. However since you desire it so earnestly of me, I will do what I can to *see* the *positive prohibition* you speak of. But as yet I can only see two things, and those I see very plainly. *First*, that there is no such *positive prohibition* in the *text* you have quoted: and 2*dly*, that were there such a prohibition in that *text*, it would make nothing against us.

As to the *first*, to convince you that I am not mistaken, let us have the *text* entire which is thus: *Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves (for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire)* 15. *Least ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image; the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female,* 16. *The likeness of any beast, that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl, that flieth in the air,* 17. *The likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish, that is in the waters beneath the earth,* 18. *And least thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou shouldst be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy God has divided unto all nations under the heaven,* 19.

This, Sir, is the whole *text;* and I observe *first*, that these words *(for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day, that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb)* are no part of the *law*, or *commandment* here delivered by *Moses*. For they are placed within a *parenthesis*, which separates and distinguishes them from the *words* of the *law*. Neither do they *command* or *forbid* any thing, but nakedly relate a *matter* of *fact*. Nay they are thus placed within a *parenthesis* in your own Bible.

Whence I observe 2*dly*, that the *law* itself is entirely contained in these words: *Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves least you corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of*

male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the earth, the likeness of any fish, that is in the waters beneath the earth, &c.

Now, Sir, though I have at present both my eyes open, I want your spectacles to *see* in what words God here *positively forbids* any *image*, *likeness*, or *similitude* to be made of *himself.* It is true, I plainly see these three words, *image*, *likeness*, and *similitude:* but I likewise see the things, they are referred to, expressly specified, viz., the *likeness* of a *male* or *female*, of *beasts*, of *fish*, of *fowl*, and *creeping things:* and these the *Jews* were *positively forbid* to make by the *text* you have quoted: but I am yet too blind to see the force of this consequence, ergo, *that text positively forbids any image to be made of God.*

G.—But, my lord, though these words, *for you saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spoke unto you in Horeb*, be no *part* of the *law*, yet they are at least the *reason* of the *law*, and that suffices to make good the consequence I draw from them.

L.—No, Sir, they are not even the *reason* of the *law.* For though *God* should have appeared to the people in some *visible likeness*, as he did afterwards to *Daniel*, yet the reason of the law would have been the same; viz., to keep the people out of the occasion of *idolatry*, to which they were excessively inclined.

G.—But was it then lawful for the *Jews* to make *images* of *God?*

L.—I do not say it was; nor is it any thing to the purpose, whether it was or not. All I pretend to maintain is, that it was not forbid by the *text* you have quoted; on which nevertheless you lay as much stress, as if it were nothing inferior to a demonstration.

G.—But, my lord, to what end was it then, that *Moses* put the people in mind, *that they saw no similitude of God in Horeb*, if it was not to insinuate, that God forbade them to make any *image* of himself?

L.—Sir, this is only a *guess* or *inference* of your own, but no part of the *law itself*, as I have clearly shewed:

and therefore comes very short of your former triumphant expression, SEE HOW POSITIVELY GOD FORBIDS IT! However, since you will needs oblige me to give a reason, why *Moses* put the people in mind, *that they saw no similitude of God in Horeb*, I conceive that *Moses* put them in mind of it for the very same reason for which Almighty God did not shew himself to the people in any *visible likeness*. And if I may be allowed to guess why he did not then shew himself in such a manner, it appears to me most probable, that it was to prevent their entertaining an *erroneous idea* of *God*, and imagining him to be a corporeal being; as that gross and carnal people would have been apt enough to do. But to pretend that barely mentioning a *fact* implies a *positive prohibition* any more than the *fact itself* is not I think agreeable to common sense. And I never heard any man say, that God's not appearing to the *people* in a *visible likeness* was any more a *positive prohibition* to make an *image* of him, than his appearing in a *visible likeness* to *Daniel* was a *positive command* to make one.

But let us now suppose the *Jews* were *positively forbid* by this *law* of *Deuteronomy* to make any *image* of *God*, did not the same law as positively forbid them to make *images* of *men* or *women*; of *fish*, or *fowl*, or *beasts*, or *creeping things?* And are *christians* concerned in that *law?* If so, then all the *statues* in the *Royal Exchange*, and thousands more must be pulled down; the *lion* and *unicorn* must be removed out of your *churches*, and all *statuaries* banished out of *Christendom*. It is therefore manifest, that the whole *text*, you have quoted, contains only a *ceremonial law*, and is by consequence as little to the purpose (allowing even that it *positively forbids* the making any *image* of *God*) as if you had quoted the *law* of *circumcision* to prove the point in question.

It is indeed a thing unlawful in *christians* as well as *Jews* to have *pictures* or *images* of *God* so as to think them to be representations of the *divine nature;* and there needs no more to forbid this than the very first principles of *revealed religion*.

" *G.*—Pray, my lord, did you ever know a *painter* or " *statuary*, who attempted to draw a *picture*, or make an " *image* of a *thought*, or of a *soul?* And is not the great " God more *invisible*, and the *divine nature* much more " *incomprehensible* even to our *thoughts* or *imaginations?* " How then can it be represented to our *eyes?* I dare say " there never was a man since *Adam*, who would own any " such thing, or ever had so foolish a thought. No, but " when they drew any *picture* or *similitude* of *God*, it was " only meant to express some of his *attributes* or *perfections*. " As by *fire* his *purity:* by a *giant* with many *hands* his " *power*, with many *eyes* his *providence*, &c. And so you own, " that by an *old man* you only mean to express his *antiquity*. " And will not this excuse the *heathen* as well as you? See " the same excuse made by *Maximus Tyrius*. Diss. 38. " *Whether statues were to be made for the gods?* But here " you would put an *impossible meaning* upon the *prohibition* " of *God* to make it of no effect; and which will excuse the " *heathens* as well as yourselves."—*pp.* 137, 138.

L.—Sir, if making *images* or *pictures* of the *true God*, that is, representing him in that *visible likeness*, in which he has really shewed himself to men; if this I say be the same as making *images* of *false gods*, then I will allow that the *heathens* may in this respect be excused as well as we. But I forget, alas, that the *heathen Jupiter* was the *true God*, as you have laboured hard to prove him. Though *Origen*, and the primitive christians believed him to be a *devil:* and as I am altogether of their mind, I think that drawing pictures and similitudes to honour the *devil* is not quite so excusable as doing it to honour *God*.

Now let us see what may be said to your first ingenious question, viz., *whether I ever knew a painter or statuary, who attempted to draw a picture or make an image of a thought?* To which I answer directly, that at what time soever a thought shall appear in a *visible shape* or likeness, I will then bring you acquainted with a *painter* or *statuary*, who shall attempt to draw a *picture* or make an *image* of it. I answer 2*dly*, that no picture can be made of a *thought*, or any spiritual thing so as to be a true representation of its proper nature.

But here you make a second assault upon me, and ask again, *and is not the great God more invisible, and the divine nature more incomprehensible even to our thoughts and imaginations? How then can it be represented to our eyes?* Sir, the *divine nature* is *infinite, invisible,* and *incomprehensible,* and therefore can no more be represented as it is *in itself* than a *thought.* But the *likeness,* in which God has appeared, may be represented: for I presume there are *painters,* that can draw the *pictures,* and *statuaries* that can make the *images* of an *old man,* and a *dove:* and you cannot be so ignorant of scripture history, as not to know, that *God* the *Father* appeared to *Daniel* in the *likeness* of an *old man,* and *God* the *Holy Ghost* appeared at our Saviour's baptism in the *likeness* of a *dove.* These *corporeal figures* therefore may lawfully be *painted;* nay that of the *Holy Ghost* in the *likeness* of a *dove* is to be seen in all your *common prayer books,* that are printed with *cuts:* which by the by is a full confutation of the paradox you maintain, viz., *that it is unlawful to make the picture of God the Father like an old man.* For the *Holy Ghost* is as *truly God* as the *Father;* and it be lawful to paint the *Holy Ghost* like a *dove,* as your *church* makes no scruple to do, how it should be unlawful to paint the *Father* like an *old man* is a mystery wholly incomprehensible to my weak understanding.

All then that is unlawful or forbid in these and other such like pictures is to imagine, that any corporeal figure can be a *true representation* of the *divinity* itself. But this you say *is putting an impossible meaning upon the prohibition of God: and you dare aver there never was a man since* Adam, *who would own any such thing, or ever had so foolish a thought.* What, Sir! has there never been a man since *Adam* capable of such a foolish thought! If I mistake not, I can name you a great many. For surely the *heretics* called *Audiani* lived since the time of *Adam;* and they held that *God* the *Father* had a *human* shape with *arms, hands, legs,* &c., that *Adam's* likeness to *God* was in his *body;* and that *Christ* sits literally at the *right hand* of *God* the *Father.*

2*dly*, *Tertullian* a wit of the first rank thought the soul a *corporeal* substance. *Nothing* (says he) *is incorporeal, but that which is nothing.* L. de carne Christi. C. 11. And again. *God is a spirit. But who will deny that he is a body? A spirit is one sort of body, and has its own shape.* L. contra Prax. C. 7.

Lastly, St *Paul* thought it proper to admonish even the *wise Athenians*, that there can be no true *likeness* made of God. *We ought not to think* (says he) *that the* GODHEAD IS LIKE UNTO GOLD OR SILVER, OR STONE GRAVEN BY ART, AND MAN'S DEVICE. *And the time of* THIS IGNORANCE *God winked at, but now commands all men every where to repent*, Acts xvii. 29, 30. It is therefore evident that some men since *Adam* were so *ignorant* as to think the *Godhead like to the statues of gold or silver graven by art and man's device.* And I hope you will not take it ill, if I rather think you grossly out in maintaining the contrary, than that St *Paul* was mistaken, or spoke impertinently to the *Athenians.*

It is certain the *heathens* worshipped their *idols* as *gods. Turn ye not unto idols, nor make to yourselves molten gods*, Lev. xix. 4. And the *Israelites* said of the *golden calf, these are the gods, that brought thee out of Egypt.* And again. *They changed their glory into the similitude of a calf that eateth grass.* Psalm cvi. 20.

SECTION XXI.—OF HEATHEN IDOLS, AND THE GOLDEN CALF.

" *G.*—My lord, it is absurd to say, that the *heathens* thought " their *images* to be the things, of which they were the *images.* " That was impossible; for then they would not be the " *images*, but the *things* themselves. Who ever said, that a " man's *picture* was himself? Though they are called the " *persons;* as when we look upon *pictures* we say, *this is such* " or *such a man.* But if any should put it upon us, that we " mean the *persons* themselves, we must think them *idiots* or " *school-men*, that love distinctions and wrangling. *Maximus* " *Tyrius* in the *dissertation* before quoted tells us, that they " had many *images* of the same god, as of *Venus, Diana,*

" &c., and yet they did not think there was more than one " *Venus*, or one *Diana*. Have you not multitudes of the " *pictures* and *images* of the *Virgin Mary?* And yet you " say not that there is more than one such *Virgin*. Now the " *heathens* worshipped their *images;* and if you believe your " own *Catechism*, you must think, that they took every one " for *God*. For, *hac omnia*, they worshipped all these as " *God*.

" And it is as absurd to think, that they took that *serpent* " or *beast*, whose *image* they made, to be *God*. Or if they " meant not any particular *serpent* or *ox* (for example) by " the *image*, they must think every *ox* or *serpent* to be *God!* " But they were not so ridiculous; as *Maximus Tyrius*, and " all as many of them as have wrote will satisfy you. But " they made use of their *images* only as *symbols*, which being " *dedicated* to such a god. They thought that this *god* would " afford his presence with his *symbol*, and by it secure to " them his favour, and protection. How near your *consecra-* " *tion* comes to their *dedication* of *images*, I leave you to " judge. But you put such monstrous things upon the " *heathens*, as they disown, detest, and abhor. And yet you " must do it, that your case and theirs may not appear so " very like."—*pp.* 138, 139.

L.—Sir, this reflection, together with your comparing our *blessing* of *images* with the *heathen consecration* of *idols*, is equally scurrilous and unjust.

You say, we charge the *heathens* with *absurdities* only to *acquit* ourselves; but it is very apparent, you *acquit* the *heathens* only to load us with *infamy*. And indeed the *tender concern* you shew upon all occasions for the *reputation* of the *heathens* would make one think you have adopted them into the number of your *protestant brethren*. But why should this surprise me? Since you own that you and they are united in the *worship* of *one* and the *same God*. Their *Jupiter*, (as you have endeavoured to prove) was the *true God*, and by consequence is so still. Their *inferior gods* were but *symbols* of his *divine perfections:* their *statues* were not worshipped as *God*, and the *sacrifices* they offered to them, were but a *relative honour*, which wholly *terminated* in the *true God*. And who would not now be ambitious to

communicate with such *true worshippers of God!* Really Sir, I am almost grown fond of their company, and begin to think you have done the *papists* a great deal of honour in putting them upon the same foot with the *heathens*.

G.—*Bantering*, my lord, is easier than *answering*. But I should be glad to hear you say something to the reasons I have given to prove that the *heathens* could not be guilty of the *absurdities*, you lay to their charge.

L.—Sir, you have effectually proved them to be gross *absurdities*, and I readily grant them to be so. But is that a good proof, that the *heathens* were not guilty of them? Or was their *religion* so very *rational*, that no *absurdity* could be a part of it? How happy would mankind be, if proving a thing to be *absurd* were a demonstration, that no man ever was, or could be guilty of it! I assure you, Sir, this argument would relieve you in many occasions, and be of good service to many more besides yourself. One very important consequence at least would follow from it, *viz.*, that there is no such thing as *Mahometanism* in the world: for it is a *religion* filled with the grossest *absurdities* according to the notion all christians have of it. We must therefore conclude it is impossible that such wise men, as many of the *Turks* are, should be serious professors of it. And it will follow from your way of arguing, that we make *monsters* of them only to hide our own *deformity*.

I have heard of a book lately printed, which pretends to prove, that if men had *faith*, they would be *immortal*; and that it is a man's own fault if he dies; which is so *excessively absurd*, that, according to your ingenious way of arguing, I must say the book was never writ. And yet it is *plain fact*, that it was writ and printed, and is to be sold by the booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*. And so it is *plain fact*, that the *heathens* worshipped their *idols* as *gods* in spite of all your arguments to prove the *absurdity* of it. For the question between you and me is not, whether their so doing was *absurd*, but whether it be true in *fact* that they did so.

G.—But, my lord, *Maximus Tyrius* a *heathen* writer, who surely knew his own religion denies positively, that they believed their *images* to be *gods.*

L.—Sir, *Maximus Tyrius* is not the only writer, who, overcome by the strength and multitude of reasons against him, has been compelled to recede from his own principles. But be that as it will, I ask whether *Maximus Tyrius* or the *word of God* is to be believed by *christians?* Supposing then that *Maximus Tyrius* is for you, I am sure the *word of God* is flatly against you. For besides the plain words I have already quoted from *Leviticus*, and numberless places of scripture, which I omit for brevity's sake, the following text of *Isaiah* is decisive: *The residue thereof he maketh a* GOD, *even his graven image. He falleth down unto it, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, deliver me,* FOR THOU ART MY GOD. *Isaiah* xliv. 17.

Nay, *Jeremias* charges the *house of Israel* with the same extravagance: *As the thief is ashamed, when he is found, so is the house of Israel ashamed, they, their kings, their princes, and their priests, and their prophets, saying* TO A STOCK, *thou art my father, and* TO A STONE, *thou hast brought me forth.* Jer. ii. 26, 27. And are we after this to consult *Maximus Tyrius* to know, whether the *heathens* believed their *idols* to be *gods?* I have hitherto thought the *word of God* to be *infallible;* but it seems *Maximus Tyrius* is to be believed before it.

However I think you cannot deny, but that *Minusius Felix*, and *Arnobius* the *philosopher* are two as creditable witnesses as *Maximus Tyrius.* Now the former of these (in *Octavio*) speaks thus to the *heathens: Behold an idol is cast, it is worked, it is hewed, it is not yet a god; it is leaded, it is fixed, it is set up, it is not yet a god; it is adorned, it is consecrated, it is prayed to, then it is a god.* And the philosopher *Arnobius*, after his conversion to *christianity*, laments his past folly in these pathetic words: *I lately reverenced, O blindness! statues taken from the furnace,* GODS HAMMERED UPON THE ANVIL——*as if it had a secret virtue I flattered it, I spoke to it, I made requests*

to an INSENSIBLE STOCK. L. 1. contra Gentes. This, Sir, I think is answer enough to your *Maximus Tyrius.*

But what do you think of the *golden calf?* For either *Moses* relates a *falsehood*, or the *Israelites* worshipped it as a *god.*

" *G.*—I perceive, my lord, you must draw in the *Jews* " too, else all will stand you in no stead. And you have " no mercy upon them. You suppose them full as ignorant " as you have made the *heathen.* They must believe that " the *golden calf* on the same day they made it, to be the " *great God*, who made themselves and all the world, and " to have brought them out of *Egypt* long before itself was " made. But the *Jews* will not let this go with you more " than the *heathen:* they were not quite so foolish."—*pp.* 139, 140.

L.—What, Sir! have you got another *Maximus Tyrius* to baffle the word of God once more?

" *G.*—My lord, the *Jews* had seen *Osiris* worshipped in " *Egypt* under the figure of an *ox*, from which they took " their figure of the *calf.* And it was *to secure God's presence* " *amongst them* upon the supposed loss of *Moses*, by whom " they had received their law from God, and directions from " him upon all occasion. But *Moses* had been absent from " them forty days, and took neither meat nor drink with " him; so that they thought he had been quite gone or dead, " and that they should see him no more. And then how " should they do to secure the presence of God amongst " them?"—*p.* 140.

L.—To be sure, the making a *golden calf* was a most infallible expedient.

" *G.*—They took to this way of an *image* or *symbol* of " *God*, not that they *forsook God*, but to take *care* that he " might not forsake them. And they meant his worship in " that of the *golden calf.* Therefore they proclaimed the " *dedication* of it a *feast unto the Lord*, Exod. xxxii. 5. And " that it was wholly for want of *Moses* they did it (by whom " they had found by long experience the presence of God " secured among them) they themselves gave the reason. " *Up*, said they, *make us gods, which shall go before us. For* " *as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land* " *of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.*"—pp. 140, 141.

L.—Well, Sir, you almost make me admire both the *religious zeal* and *ingenious fancy* of the *Jews*. Their *religious zeal* in taking such effectual care *to secure to themselves the presence of God*, and their *ingenious fancy* in doing it by the *image* of a *calf*. For I own a *calf* is something like an *ox;* and I find I must not question, but the *Egyptian ox* called *Osiris* was but a *symbol* of the *true God*. And so, allowing only for the difference in *age* between the *Jewish calf*, and the *Egyptian ox*, you have proved to a demonstration, that the *true God* was worshipped by the *Jews* under the *symbol* of the *golden calf*. Thus with the force of your eloquence you have cleared the world both of *heathen* and *Jewish idolatry* to make room for *popish idolatry* alone.

But, Sir, give me leave to ask you one question. Do you believe the *scriptures?*

G.—My lord, I think I do.

L.—Well then, Sir, you must drop all your fine reasons, and believe *Moses'* saying: *He* (i. e. *Israel*) FORSOOK *God which made him, and went back from the God of his salvation.*——*Thou hast* FORSAKEN *the God which made thee, and hast* FORGOTTEN *the God thy Creator.* Deut. xxxii. 15, 18. You must likewise believe the *Psalmist* saying: *They made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped the molten image. Thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox, that eateth grass. They* FORGOT *God, who had saved them, who had done so great things in Egypt, &c.* Psalm cv. 19. Lastly, you must believe St *Stephen* speaking thus to the *Jews: Our fathers would not obey, but* THURST *him* (i. e. the *true God*) *from them, and in their hearts turned back into Egypt, Saying unto Aaron, Make us* GODS *to go before us. And they made a calf in those days, and offered sacrifice to their idol, and rejoiced in the work of their own hands.* Acts vii. 39, 40.

Now, Sir, if you believe these sacred *texts*, as you profess to do, you are bound to retract what you said just now, viz., *that the Israelites did not* FORSAKE *God, but only took care that he should not forsake them.* For it is

a flat contradiction to all the three texts. *Moses* says, and repeats it twice, that they FORSOOK God: you say expressly, *they did* NOT FORSAKE *him.* Either therefore *Moses* or you are in the wrong. Again the *psalmist* says, *that they* FORGOT *God who had saved them;* and St *Stephen* tells them, *that they* THRUST GOD *from them, and in their hearts turned back into Egypt.* You on the contrary aver *that they only took care, that God should not forsake them:* which you express in stronger terms thus, *that it was to secure God's presence among them.* Here then again either you, or both *David* and St *Stephen* are mistaken. For if it be true, that *the Israelites only took care to secure God's presence to them,* it must be false that they FORGOT HIM, and THRUST HIM AWAY *from them.* But if it be true, that they FORGOT him, and THRUST HIM AWAY from them (as I hope it is) then it must be false, *that they only took care to secure his presence among them.* Because a man, who is only solicitous to *secure God's presence* to him, cannot be said either to *forget* him, or *thrust him away* from him.

I must therefore advise you as a friend to be hereafter more wary what you say. For though by contradicting the general sense of mankind you only render yourself guilty of singularity or nonsense (which your *zeal* against *popery* will atone for amongst your *protestant* brethren) yet contradicting the plain *word of God* is barefaced *impiety,* which the very warmest zeal against *popery* will not excuse.

But suppose there were no *texts* directly against you, the very circumstances of the fact, as related by *Moses,* demonstrate the falsehood of your assertion. For, if the *Israelites* did not *forsake God,* but only *took care to secure God's presence among them,* how could their crime be of so heinous a nature, as *Almighty God* himself represents it to *Moses,* Exod. xxxii. 7—9, &c. Or why should *Moses* express his extreme abhorrence of it by such an extraordinary transport of zeal, as was that of his *breaking in pieces the tables* written with God's own hands? 19. Why did he reproach *Aaron* so bitterly for his compliance

with the people's request, and call it *peccatum maximum*, a most grievous sin? 21. Finally, why did he command the *Levites* to destroy to the number of 23,000 of those, who in all likelihood had been the most forward in the matter? 27, 28. Pray, Sir, answer me these questions; and show how these facts can be reconciled with your saying, that *the Jews did not forsake God, but only took care, that he might not forsake them.*

"*G.*—My lord (to conclude this subject of *images*) let me "ask you, suppose it were made *treason* to draw the *picture* "of the *king*, or to *bow* to it; would you venture your *life* "upon all the *distinctions* and *excuses*, which are made for "the *pictures* of *God?* Yet you venture your *souls* upon it, "if it be a *sin:* though you think it may be beneficial to "you, as putting you in mind of him, or paying respect "unto him.

"Now learn by this how dangerous a thing it is to make "*means of grace* of your own *invention*, and to think that by "your *consecrations* and *dedications* without warrant of *God's* "*word* you can secure his presence with you, and procure "the *grace* of health, or any benefit either to body or soul. "This is turning *religion* into *superstition.*"—*p.* 141.

L.—Sir, I have already answered your *lampoon* upon *consecrations* and *dedications* (Part II. Sect. 3. and Sect. 17.) and you have so surfeited me with your nauseous repetitions about our making *means of grace*, that I am perfectly sick of it.

As to your noble question, viz., *whether supposing it were made treason to draw the picture of the king, or to bow to it, I would venture my life upon all the distinctions and excuses, which are made for the pictures of God?* I answer *first*, that your question runs upon the supposition, that *christians* are *forbid* to make *pictures* of *God;* which I have already proved to be false: nay I have proved it from the *practice* of your own church, which makes *pictures* of *God* the *Holy Ghost* in the *likeness* of a *dove*, as we of *God* the *Father* in the *likeness* of an *old man.* And let me tell you, Sir, you will stand in need of all our *popish distinctions*, and one more into the bargain to bring yourself off, viz., that *protestants* may lawfully do it, but not *papists.*

I answer 2*dly*, that if any *king* should make it to draw a *picture* of him, or *bow* to it, I should conclude him to be *distracted:* and in that case I should be as *mad* as himself, if I ventured my *life* in his hands by doing any thing, that should put me under the necessity of a *distinction* to save it.

But you say, *we venture our souls upon a distinction when we make pictures of God, if it be a sin.* And do not you venture your *souls* upon the *same distinction,* when you make *pictures* of the *Holy Ghost,* or even of *Christ, if it be a sin?*

But pray, Sir, give me leave to ask you whether you ever eat *blood-puddings?*

G.—Surely, my lord, you are disposed to be merry.

L.—No really, Sir, I am very serious. For whenever you eat *blood-puddings,* you venture your *soul* upon two *distinctions, if it be a sin?* Because *eating blood* is positively forbid by the *law of God.* Here then you must *distinguish,* that it was forbid to the *Jews,* but not to *christians.* But, Sir, it is likewise positively forbid to *christians.* Acts xv. 29. And this *prohibition* was never repealed by any *contrary decree.* Here then you must venture your soul upon a *second distinction:* viz., that *eating blood* was forbid *only for a time* whilst it was an occasion of *scandal* to the *converted Jews.* Thus, Sir, some men have their *consciences* like *purses,* that may be either *shut* or *opened* as occasion serves. When *popery* is not the question you can venture your *soul* upon a *distinction* as boldly as any man living; but when *papists* are to be *traduced,* your *protestant conscience* becomes so very *nice* and *squeamish,* that a *distinction* will not go down with you.

But I think we have now had enough of *images.* So let us proceed to something else. It shall be *transubstantiation,* if you please.

SECTION XXII.—OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

"*G.*—My lord, *transubstantiation* is a mere *school nicety,*

" which no man alive understands; and yet it is transformed " into an article of *faith* by the *Council* of *Trent*."—p. 141.

L.—Sir, *transubstantiation* is a *school nicety* like *consubstantiality:* yet this (according to your way of speaking) was transformed into an article of *faith* by the first *Council of Nice.* And I believe *transubstantiation* is full as intelligible as *consubstantiality.* But if the *incomprehensibleness* of a *mystery* be an objection against it, I know not what will become of the *three creeds.*

" *G.*—*Christ* said, *this is my body;* but as to the *manner* " or *means* how it was so, he said not a word. Whether only " *sacramentally*, *figuratively*, or *symbolically;* or on the other " hand, *substantially*, *consubstantially*, or *transubstantially:* " these are inventions of our own, from our poor *philosophy.* " And yet about these is our whole dispute, which has " tormented the *christian church* in our latter age more than " all the other mysteries of *religion.* Had we kept to the " words of the *institution*, as *Christ* left them, and gone " no further, there might have been various *opinions* in the " *schools* concerning the manner of the *presence* of Christ in " the *sacrament;* and they, who had nothing else to do, " might have spent their idle hours, and vain distinctions " about it. But it had never broke the *communion* of the " *church*, if it had not been adopted into an article of *faith*, " and made a condition of *communion.* And now we must " dispute about it."—*pp.* 141, 142.

L.—What pity is it, that the *church* has made it her constant practice to define *articles* of *faith*, as often as *new heresies* were broached! For, if she had but let every one follow his own fancy peaceably and quietly; if *truths* opposite to new coined *heresies* had never been *adopted* into *articles* of *faith*, the *communion* of the *church* had never been broke; but now they are made *conditions* of *communion*, we must dispute about them. This, Sir, has been the language of *heretics* in all ages, and the *Arians* declaimed as bitterly against the great *Council of Nice* for adopting *consubstantiality* into an *article* of *faith*, and making it a *condition* of *communion*, as *protestants* declaim against the *Councils* of *Lateran* and *Trent* for adopting *transubstantiation* into an *article* of *faith.*

But is it not very pleasant in you to complain how much the *christian church* has been *tormented* in this latter age with *disputes* about this matter? For pray, Sir, who were the first *broachers* of these *disputes?* Who were the *aggressors?* Was not the *Catholic Church*, when you separated yourselves from her, in as quiet and indisputable a possession of the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation*, as of any other *article* of *religion?* Was there in the beginning of the 16th century a *town* or *village* in the whole *christian world*, where it was not publicly taught and professed? Was it not defined against *Berengarius* (who likewise subscribed to it before his death) in eleven *national* or *provincial* councils near upon 500 years before the *Reformation?* Nay was not the very word adopted by the *Lateran Council* above three hundred years before *Luther* and *Calvin* set up for *reformers?* If then the *church* has been *tormented* with *disputes* about it in this latter age, the blame lies at their doors, who *began* these disputes. They were the *Botefeus*, that broke the peace, and not the *papists*, who only adhered to the *ancient doctrine*, they were in possession of.

However since I perceive you lay your greatest stress upon the words of *Christ's* institution. *This is my body;* and pretend that they do not determine, whether his *body* be in the sacrament *substantially* and *transubstantially*, or only *figuratively*, or *symbolically:* before I say any thing concerning the perpetual tradition of the church relating to the point in question I shall first prove it from the very words of the *institution*, provided you will but allow, that *Christ* spoke *truth*, and did not express himself *absurdly*. Which I think are two modest requests.

SECTION XXIII.—TRANSUBSTANTIATION PROVED FROM THE WORDS OF CHRIST'S INSTITUTION, THIS IS MY BODY, &c.

L.—To proceed gradually, I shall first prove, that they import a *substantial presence* of *Christ's body;* and after that there will be no great need of *philosophy*, but

only of good *common sense* to infer the doctrine of *transubstantiation.*

That they import a *substantial presence* of *Christ's body* I prove *first.* Because all propositions like these, *this is bread, this is a man, this is the tower,* &c. (unless you point to their pictures) are in all common discourse as currently understood for the *reality* and *substance* of the things specified, as if the words *really* and *substantially* were added. Nay a man would be laughed at for a formal cautious coxcomb, if pointing to a *loaf* of *bread* he should say, *this is bread really* and *substantially:* or coming from *court* for example, he should tell me he had seen the *king* that day *really* and *substantially.* Because there is no difference between a *thing,* and its *reality* and *substance.* In like manner therefore when our Saviour said, *this is my body,* he declared as effectually, that it was his *body substantially,* or in *substance,* as if he had expressed it in the most formal terms. This is the common language of mankind. All wise men speak so, and all wise men understand it so; and if any man should pretend to mean otherwise, he would deservedly pass for a notorious *equivocator,* that says one thing, and means another.

I prove it 2*dly,* if Christ gave not his *real body,* but a *morsel of bread* to his apostles, when he said, *take and eat, this is my body,* then it follows, that he called a *morsel of bread* his *body;* which cannot be maintained without making Christ guilty of a downright *absurdity.* For nothing can be more absurd, than to hold a *morsel of bread* in a man's hands, and point to it and say, *this is the living body of a man:* it being contrary to the common practice of mankind, and the common laws of speech to call one thing by the name of another, with which it has no manner of *resemblance* or *connexion:* and that too without giving the persons, to whom it is spoken, the least intimation to serve as a key to let them into the true meaning of such an extraordinary and unheard of manner of speech. In effect, it is much the same, as if I should write to you in cyphers without ever giving you a key to understand me by.

I prove it 3*dly*, a sober man would be ashamed in any serious occasion to use a *deceitful* way of speaking, so as to call a thing by a name it was never known by before. As for example, to take up a piece of brick, and say *this is a diamond.* It is therefore incredible that *Christ*, who could say nothing unbecoming himself, should use this *deceitful* way of speaking in the most solemn *circumstance*, and *action* of his life: that is, when he was fulfilling the *types* and *figures* of the ancient law, declaring his last *will* and *testament*, and instituting the most *venerable sacrament* of the new law.

I prove it 4*thly* from the doctrine of *your own church:* I mean not the writings of some particular *English protestants*, who teach the *real* and *substantial* presence of *Christ* in the *sacrament* as we do, but your own *church Catechism*, which is printed in all your books of *common prayer*, has the authority of your whole church to recommend it, and delivers the *summary* of her doctrine *dogmatically.* Now in this Catechism to the question, *What is the inward part or thing signified?* it is answered: *The body and blood of Christ, which are* VERILY *and* INDEED *taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper.*

This, Sir, is the doctrine of *your own church*, of which I will not bate you a single ace in this dispute: for it expresses the *real* and *substantial presence* of *Christ* in the *eucharist* as fully as any of our Catechisms. Nay if VERILY and INDEED be not the same as *really* and *truly*, and of full force to exclude a *mere figurative sense*, I confess I am yet wholly ignorant of the signification even of the most ordinary words, and it will be impossible to know what men mean, even when they deliver themselves in the plainest terms. So that you must either own, that according to the doctrine of *your church* the words of *Christ's institution* import a *real* and *substantial presence* of his *body* and *blood* in the *sacrament;* or you must suppose her guilty of a most *scandalous equivocation* in so serious a matter, and confess she only makes use of the words VERILY and INDEED to put a cheat upon the

people, and make *plain bread* and *wine* go down the better.

G.—But, my lord, what is all this to *transubstantiation?* For, allowing the words of the *institution* to import a *real* and *substantial presence* of *Christ's body* and *blood* in the *sacrament*, this neither determines them to *transubstantiation* nor *consubstantiation*, which therefore are mere inventions of *philosophy*, and no articles of *faith.*

L.—Sir, if *reasoning* from uncontested principles of faith be what you call *mere inventions* of *philosophy*, I will readily allow *transubstantiation* to be an *invention* of that sort: for it follows by a *necessary consequence* from the supposition, that the words of *Christ's institution* are to be understood *literally:* that is, if they import a *real* and *substantial presence* of his *body* and *blood*, as I have fully proved they do.

G.—But why does *transubstantiation* follow any more than *consubstantiation?*

L.—Sir, if *Christ* taking the *bread* into his hands had said, HERE *is my body*, then *Luther*, setting aside *tradition*, would have had reason on his side in saying that the *bread* and *body of Christ* are joined together in the *sacrament.* But *Christ* did not say, HERE *is my body*, but THIS *is my body*, which nothing but a *substantial change* can make *really* and *literally* true: for if what Christ gave to his *apostles*, continued bread *after*, as it was *before* the words of *consecration*, the proposition was absolutely false; because the sense of it then was, that the *bread* he gave to the apostles *was his body;* which implies a contradiction, and is as impossible, as that any two substances remaining *different* should be the *same.*

It is not then *philosophy*, as you pretend, but the plain *text* of *scripture*, which obliges us to believe *transubstantiation;* that is, an *entire change* of the *substances* of *bread* and *wine*, into the *body* and *blood* of Christ: as nothing but a *substantial change* could have made the words of *Moses* true, if when he threw down his *rod*, he said, *this is a serpent;* or of *Christ*, if he had said at *Cana* in *Galilee*, when the servants brought in water, *this is*

wine. For, if the *water* which the servants brought, had remained in its *own nature*, and *Christ* had said to the governor of the feast, *this is wine*, would he not have spoken a manifest falsehood? In like manner therefore the words of consecration, *This is my body, this is my blood*, could not be *literally* true, when *Christ* pronounced them, if the *bread* and *wine* had remained in their *proper substance.*

Now, Sir, you may put what objections you please. But pray take notice, that there is not an *article* of the *creed*, which a man, if he pleases may not darken and perplex with *sophistical* reasons against it.

" *G.*—The first thing I have to say is, that it is very " strange there should be any dispute about it. For our " Saviour was then fulfilling a *type* of himself, which was " the *passover*, and he kept to the same *phrase* or *form of* " *words*, which was customary with the *Jews* in their celebra- " tion of it, only putting himself in the room of his *type.* " As, instead of, *this is the paschal lamb, which was slain* " *for us in Egypt*, he said, *this is my body, which is given for* " *you.*

" And when *Moses* sprinkled the *blood*, it was with this " form of words, *This is the blood of the Testament, which God* " *has enjoined unto you*, Heb. ix. 20. Instead of which " old Testament Christ said, *This is my blood of the New* " *Testament*, Matt. xxvi. 28. In which words there is no " difficulty at all. For no mortal ever understood these " words of *Moses* in a *transubstantial* sense; and why should " they the same words, when *Christ* spoke them following " the very form of the words of *Moses?*

" This made it familiar and easy to the *apostles*, who " called many things *hard sayings*, which were not so difficult " as this; and yet expressed no wonder or astonishment at " these words of *Christ;* which had been impossible for " them not to have done, if they had taken them in the sense " of *transubstantiation:* for it was a new thing never heard " or thought of in the world to deny all their *senses* at once *pp.* 143, 144.

L.—Sir, I find myself here assaulted with three arguments tacked together, and I shall answer them in the same order as they are proposed. *First*, you tell me it

was customary with the *Jews* in the celebration of the *passover* to say, *this is the paschal lamb, which was slain for us in Egypt.* But, Sir, a fact of this nature ought not to come a *begging.* Where is your proof, that there was such a custom amongst the *Jews?* But this it seems is wholly superseded, it being much easier to suppose, than prove it.

However let us suppose it was a custom amongst the *Jews* to say at their *passover, this is the paschal lamb, which was slain for us in Egypt;* this was as *easy* and *familiar* a *metaphor,* as it would be in visiting a neighbour's garden to say, *this flower grows in my garden;* meaning flowers of the same kind. But to make *Christ* call *wine* his *blood,* or a *morsel of bread* his *body,* and that in the very *institution* of a *sacrament,* is such a violent, improper, and unnatural *figure,* as never was uttered by any one in his right senses. *Christ* could indeed as he was the *Son* of *God,* change *wine* into his *blood,* with the same ease as *water* into *wine;* but he could not speak *absurdly,* nor be guilty of an *equivocation,* which any sober man would be ashamed of. And therefore when he said, *This is my blood,* he could mean nothing else, than that it was his *blood* VERILY and INDEED, as your Catechism expresses it.

Your *second* argument is a very strange one. I shall put it into some form of syllogism thus: [*Moses took* REAL BLOOD, *and said this is the blood of the Testament, &c., and Christ took* WINE, *and said,* THIS IS MY BLOOD. *But no mortal ever understood the words of* Moses *in a transubstantial sense, therefore the words of* Christ *are not to be understood in a transubstantial sense.*] Was there ever such wretched stuff proposed in a serious dispute! For the plain *English* of it is this: BLOOD *is called* BLOOD *without any change; and why then should not* WINE *be called* BLOOD *without any change?* A man in the deepest fit of the spleen would scarce forbear laughing at this question. Yet it is the ground of

Your *third* argument, wherein you tell me, that *the words of* Moses *rendered those of* Christ *easy and familiar*

to the apostles. This supposes, that the apostles reflected at that time upon the words of *Moses*. But I take it to be much more rational to think the apostles before the coming of the Holy Ghost were too dull to make the nice reflections and discoveries you suppose they did. However had they done it, it would make against your argument rather than for it. For what could be inferred from their interpreting the words of our Saviour by those of *Moses*, but that as when *Moses* said, *this is blood*, they understood *blood* in the literal sense, so they understood *Christ* in the very same manner, when he said no less positively, *this is my blood?* For as they could not doubt but that *Moses* spoke the truth, and meant what he said, so it was the farthest from their thoughts to judge their Master guilty of a *shameful equivocation* in so solemn an occasion: and therefore nothing can be more absurd than to argue as you do, viz., that the apostles imagined, that *Christ* called wine, *blood*, because *Moses* called *blood*, *blood*.

And why then should the apostles ask any questions about the matter? the apostles, Sir, believed every thing Christ said with an *implicit faith*, whether they comprehended it or not. The *miracles*, they had seen him work, convinced them, that he could not only *change one substance* into *another*, but likewise that the same *infinite power*, which could make that *change*, could hinder it from being perceived by their *senses*. And therefore when *Christ* told them in the plainest terms, that what he gave them to drink was his *blood*, they had no *business* to consult their *senses* for information whether he spoke truth or not; but took him at his word, and believed they received his *blood* VERILY and INDEED, as you are bound to do, if you believe your own Catechism.

As to what you say, *that the apostles called many things* hard sayings, *which were not so difficult as this*: pray, Sir, where do you find this? Have you a patent granted you to forge and coin *scriptural facts* as you please, because the badness of your cause stands in need of it? Sir, I desire you to let me know in what place of scripture besides *John* vi. 61, *Christ's* words are called a *hard*

saying? But were they the *apostles* that called them so? No, Sir, but only some of the *disciples*, who thereupon separated themselves from our *Saviour:* who turning to the *twelve* said, *Will ye also go away?* 67, and *Peter* answered in the name of all the rest, *Thou hast the word of eternal life, we believe, and are sure, that thou art Christ the Son of the living God.* 68, 69. Which was far from calling his words a *hard saying:* though *Christ* at that very time promised to leave them his *flesh* to *eat*, and *blood* to *drink*. And so it is no wonder, that they made no replies, nor expressed any astonishment, when he performed that promise at his *last supper*.

ADVERTISEMENT.—It is very plain that the three foregoing *sections* contain several objections proposed by the *gentleman*, which ought not to be passed over without an answer. Yet, as the *gentleman* has managed the *former conversation* betwixt his *lordship* and himself, his peaceable antagonist lets him run on there for five whole pages without answering one single word in defence of his cause. I presume the *gentleman* imagined his *protestant* readers would interpret his *lordship's* silence for a tacit acknowledgment that *papists* have nothing to answer to any of the various objections contained in those five pages. But I hope I have now disabused them in the three foregoing *sections;* wherein those five uninterrupted pages are now parcelled out into several heads with their proper answers to them.

However his *lordship* being at length allowed to break silence blunders out the following piece of nonsense in answer to the *gentleman's* two last lines concerning the *denying our senses*. L. *I wonder you should stand so much upon this. You object your senses and your reason: and yet you give them both up in the mystery of the* Trinity, Incarnation, *&c.* This, I say, is rank nonsense. *First,* because our *senses* have nothing to do particularly with the mystery of the *blessed trinity*, and therefore it is talking like a ninny to say they must be *given up* in that mystery. And 2*dly*, as to the *giving up* our *reason*, it is false to say we *give it up* in any mystery whatsoever. For if we did, *faith* and *religion* would be against *reason;* which I take to be little better than blasphemy. It is true we *submit* our *reason* in mysteries that are above it: but submitting in this case is not *giving up* our reason, but acting according to it: because nothing is more reasonable, than that we should submit ourselves to *divine revelation* in mysteries surpassing all human reason, as has been fully explained. [Part I. § 51.]

All this the *gentleman* knew very well, as appears from his answer to the above said piece of nonsense [*Case Stated*, p. 143] which

being the same in substance as what I have now given to it, needs not be repeated here. But the words he concludes with relating to the *senses*, together with his *lordship's* two repartees, in which he even outdoes himself in nonsense, deserve to be set down.

G. But for the other point, viz., *that of contradicting my outward senses, I think is an unanswerable objection.*

L. Why? must you not give them up as to the Trinity *and* Incarnation?

G. Not at all, my lord. They contradict none of my senses. Pray tell me, which of them do they contradict? Is it the sense of hearing, seeing, *or* smelling?

L. They are not the object of sense.

G. Therefore they contradict them not.

This is really overstraining the character of a dunce in the person of our noble peer, and exposing him too unmercifully. For to make him first tell the *gentleman* that he must *give up his senses* as to the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*, and then own in the same breath that those two mysteries are not the *object of sense*, is something so eminently absurd, that nothing but a driveler can be capable of it.

But let us now hear what the *gentleman* has to say concerning the contradiction of our senses in *transubstantiation.*

SECTION XXIV. — NEITHER REASON NOR RELIGION OBLIGES US TO JUDGE ALWAYS ACCORDING TO THE INFORMATION OF OUR SENSES.

" *G.*—My lord, all our *senses* are contradicted in *tran-*
" *substantiation.* And I stand upon it, that since the creation
" of the world, God never did nor said any thing, which
" contradicted the *sense* of any man. It would be destroying
" the certainty of every thing. *Miracles* are *appeals* to our
" *senses*, and without believing our *senses* we can trust to no
" *miracles*, and by consequence to no *revelation.*"—p. 144.

L.—You tell me, *you stand upon it,* that *since the creation of the world God never did, nor said any thing, which contradicted the sense of any man.* It is very stoutly said indeed. But let us see whether you can stand your ground.

Pray, Sir, how long was it *before* the *creation* of the world that an *angel* appeared to *Joshua* in the shape of a man? *Jos.* v. 13, 14. That *God the Father* appeared to *Daniel* in the likeness of an *old man?* Dan. vii. 9

That the *Holy Ghost* appeared over our *Saviour's* head in the likeness of a *dove?* Matt. iii. 16. And, to omit many other instances, that *two angels* appeared to the women at the sepulchre in the likeness of *two men?* Luke xxiv. 4. For I stand positively upon it that in all these *scriptural* facts the *senses* were *contradicted* in the same manner as they are in *transubstantiation.* Could *Joshua* discern by the *ministry* of any of his *senses,* that it was not a *man,* but an *angel* whom he *saw* with a *sword drawn in his hand,* and whose voice he heard commanding him *to put off his shoes,* because the ground whereon he stood was *holy?* And so proportionably of the rest.

But, Sir, are not your *senses* also *contradicted* as often as you receive the *body* of *Christ* VERILY and INDEED? Do your *eyes see* it? Your *hands feel* it? Or your *palate taste* it? No, surely. And yet you receive it VERILY and INDEED, that is, *truly and really,* if you believe your *church Catechism.* And is it not then talking mere unintelligible riddles to say, *God never did any thing which contradicted the sense of any man?* Nay and to *stand upon it* with a positiveness, which must surprise all men of common sense? Had you not much better own *transubstantiation honestly* and *fairly,* than to *play* and *trifle* in this manner with words even in *sacred matters?*

But you tell me, *it would be destroying the certainty of every thing.* That is to say, if things ever appear otherwise to our *eyes* than they are in themselves, we must never trust them any more. Pray, Sir, take care then never to look at the *sun,* or *moon,* or *stars.* For they all appear to your *eyes* much lesser than they are in themselves. But *reason* corrects the *misinformation* of our *senses;* and so it does, when *revelation* tells us, that the thing, which appears to be *bread,* is the *body* of *Christ* VERILY and INDEED.

Lastly, you tell me, *that miracles are appeals to our senses, and without believing our senses we can trust to no miracles, and consequently to no revelation.* The true

meaning hereof is, that unless in all occasions whatsoever we *judge* according to the *information of our senses*, no man can rationally believe he ever saw a *miracle*. Now let us examine the truth of this assertion from the circumstances of a fact, which every body is acquainted with.

St *Peter* was imprisoned in *Jerusalem;* and the very night before he was to be delivered up to the people, an *angel* came to him as he laid asleep bound with two chains, and *smiting him on the side* raised him up, and bade him follow him. Whereupon his *chains fell off* from his hands, and when they came to the iron gate, which led to the city, *it opened of its own accord*. But as soon as they came together to the end of the first street, the *angel* disappeared: and then it was that St *Peter* knew *for certain* that God had sent an *angel* to deliver him. *Acts* xii.

Here then is a fact, wherein St *Peter* both *believed*, and *disbelieved* the *information* of his *senses*. For it is certain, that no *sensation* either of *seeing*, *hearing*, or *feeling* could inform him that it was an *angel*, whom God had sent for his deliverance. On the contrary, had he judged according to the *information* of any of his *senses*, he must have fallen into an *error*, in believing that he *felt*, *heard*, and *saw* a *man*. Yet at the same time he believed his *eyes*, and had nothing but his *eyes* to trust to in believing that he saw *two miracles* wrought in favour of him, *viz.*, the *falling off of his chains*, and the *iron gate's opening of its own accord*. Now we do not find St *Peter* argued, as you do, *viz.*, that *without believing his senses in all things, he could believe no miracles*. Neither do we find him arguing thus. *My senses misinformed me, when I seemed to myself to* see, hear, *and* feel *a man; therefore I must not believe any of the innumerable miracles I have seen Christ work with my own eyes, nor by consequence believe any revelation*. It is therefore false, nay blasphemous what you say, *viz.*, *that without believing our senses* (in every thing) *we can trust to no miracles, nor by consequence to any revelation;* especially when revelation itself obliges us not to judge according to the information of our senses.

" *G.*—It is a needless supposition, for there is no such " *revelation.*"—p. 144.

L.—No, Sir! You must have a good stock of assurance to say so after the many *scriptural* instances I have produced to the contrary. Had not St *Peter* a *revelation*, that it was an *angel*, who appeared to him, when *all his senses* informed him that it was a *man?*

" *G.*—But if there were a *revelation;* if an *angel* should " appear to me, and bid me believe that I saw him, but not " to believe any thing else that I saw of a hundred things " round about him, I should without more ado either believe " that I saw the other things I did see; or if I must not " believe I saw *them*, I should not believe I saw *him.*"—p. 144.

L.—Sir, if I should hear an *angel* talk the *nonsense* you suppose him to talk to you, I would not believe him. For one absurd supposition does many times infer another. As, if I suppose you to be a *horse*, I may legally infer, you are no *protestant divine*. But if *God* should *reveal* to me by an *angel*, that what to my *eyes* and *ears* appears to be a *man*, is *not a man*, I should certainly believe the *revelation* of *God* in flat *contradiction* to the information of my *senses*. Nor should this hinder me from believing my *eyes* as to all other visible objects about me.

" *G.*—My lord, I take it for a *certain rule*, that we must " either believe our *senses* in *every thing*, or in *nothing.*"—p. 144.

L.—Now, Sir, you speak out boldly, and like a true *protestant* hero. But if this be true, it follows *first*, that they, who at our Saviour's baptism saw the *likeness* of a *dove* over his head, were bound to believe it was a *real dove*, and not the *Holy Ghost:* and so the *Evangelists* are made the authors of a falsehood. It follows, 2*dly*, that the *women* at the *sepulchre* acted absurdly in believing that they saw *two angels*. Yet they believed it firmly, and told the disciples *they had seen a vision of angels*. Luke xxiv. 23. It follows, 3*dly*, from your rule that St *Peter* was grossly mistaken, when he said, *now I know for certain, that God has sent his angel, and hath delivered me out of the hands of Herod.* Acts xii. 11. Lastly, it follows from your *certain rule*, that though *God* should at any time tell me, that my *eyes* misinform me, I am

bound either not to believe him, or renounce the use of my senses for ever: which if it be not *blasphemy* or *madness*, I desire to know what is.

" *G.*—Had not the *apostles* at the *Lord's supper* as much " reason to doubt, whether it was *Christ* they *saw*, or that " he spoke to them, as that it was *bread*, which they *saw* and " *eat?*"—p. 144.

L.—No, Sir, they had not; and the reason is plain. Because *Christ* did not tell them, that they *saw him not*, or *heard him not.* But he told them positively, that it was *his body*, which he gave them to *eat.* The *apostles* therefore had no reason to doubt of the *reality* of his *body;* nor could they believe it was *bread*, because a *morsel of bread* is no more a *living body*, than your *head* is a *barber's pole.* Nay you yourself, if you will stand to the doctrine of your own *church*, are bound to believe, that he gave them his *body* VERILY *and* INDEED. And, if he gave them his *body* VERILY *and* INDEED, how could it be nothing but *bread*, which they *saw* and *eat?* Or was it *verily* and *indeed* both *bread* and his *body?*

" *G.*—My lord, if you come once to *deceptio visus*, it will " go quite through, and you cannot be sure of one thing " more than another: because the fault is in the *eye*, not in " the *object.* So that if *transubstantiation* be true, there is " nothing else in the world true but it."—*pp.* 144, 145.

L.—Sir, the *truth* of *transubstantiation* hinders no more the *truth* of *other things* perceptible by our *senses*, than the *truth* of any *mystery*, that is *above* our *reason*, hinders the *truth* of things, that are *within* the *reach* of it. Neither is there any fault either in the *eye*, or in the *object*, but the fault is in the *heart* and *understanding*, if it presumes to question the *divine veracity*, and contrary to the infallible *revelation* of *God* believes that to be *bread*, which he declares to be his *body.*

" *G.*—My lord, *transubstantiation* is no small prejudice to this " *miracle* of *miracles*, and a contradiction to itself, and to all " other *miracles*, and to every thing else in the world; that " it should be put upon us just for nothing but to stagger " our faith, and make us doubt of every thing!"—*p.* 145.

L.—Sir, *transubstantiation* is a *mystery*, which like the

incarnation exercises my *faith*, but *staggers* it not, nor makes me doubt of any one *truth* I know of. Nay, on the contrary, they, who deny it, may with the same obstinacy deny the *incarnation*, with which of all *mysteries* it has the greatest resemblance; and which is both lampooned, and as strongly disputed against by *Jews* and *Socinians*, as *transubstantiation* is by you.

But it is above my understanding to comprehend your saying, *that it is a contradiction to itself and to all other miracles, and to every thing else in the world;* unless your meaning be, that I must utterly renounce *the use* of all my *senses*, if either *reason* or *revelation* assures me, that in some cases things are not what they appear to be. The absurdity whereof I have already sufficiently exposed.

However I am glad to hear you call the *sacrament* of the *Lord's supper* the *miracle* of *miracles*. And indeed it is but speaking consonantly to the doctrine of your *own church* teaching *that the body and blood of Christ are received* VERILY *and* INDEED *in the Lord's supper:* for this is truly the *miracle* of *miracles*. But if in taking it we receive nothing but *plain bread* and *wine*, it is not only rank *nonsense* to call it so, but a notorious *cheat* put upon the people, who will imagine *great miracles* and *wonders* are wrought, when every thing remains in its *proper* and *natural being*.

" *G.*—My lord, if all the benefits of the death of Christ " be conveyed to us, in the *sacrament* by a *figurative* and " *symbolical* representation of his *body* and *blood*, and that it " be so instituted for this end, it is to all intents and pur- " poses as beneficial to us, as if we had eat the *flesh* of *Christ* " off his *bones*, or drank the *very blood* that came out of his " *side*, which is abhorrent to think; and to avoid which you " call this an *unbloody sacrifice*. But how is it *unbloody*, if " it be *real blood*, even the self same *blood*, that was shed " upon the *cross*?"—p. 145.

L.—And would you not have the people believe it to be *real blood*, when you tell them *that the body and blood of Christ are received* VERILY *and* INDEED *in the Lord's supper?* And if it be *Christ's blood*, VERILY *and* INDEED, can it be any other blood as to its *substance*, than what

he shed upon the *cross?* Yet I presume your communicants do not take it in a *bloody manner*. But why then is it called an *unbloody sacrifice?* Because *Christ* the *victim* is not *killed* upon the altar, as he was upon the cross.

As to what you say, *that all the benefits of the death of Christ may be conveyed to us by a figurative and symbolical presence*, I answer, the question is not, *what Christ might have done*, but *what he has effectually done for us.* He might have redeemed us without *dying* on the *cross*, but must we infer from thence, that he has not *died* for us on the *cross?* In like manner, therefore, though all the benefits of his death and passion might have been conveyed to us by our receiving a *morsel* of *common bread*, or any other way, or without any sacraments at all, if he had been pleased to ordain it so, does it therefore follow that he has effectually ordained it so? On the contrary his infinite goodness has thought fit to communicate his own sacred *body* and *blood really* and *truly* to us; that is, not *figuratively* or *symbolically* only, but VERILY and INDEED; for I cannot express it in stronger terms.

SECTION XXV.—CHRIST'S BODY AND BLOOD ARE BOTH REALLY AND SPIRITUALLY PRESENT IN THE SACRAMENT.

"*G.*—My lord, you yourselves allow, that his words must "be taken in a *spiritual*, not a *carnal* sense, because *Christ* "himself said speaking of this *sacrament* (as you own) and "to solve that *hard saying*, at which many were offended, "of giving them his *flesh* to eat, he made it easy to them by "this explication: *It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh "profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, they "are spirit, and they are life*, John vi. 65. May we not "then take his words in a *spiritual* sense?"—*p.* 145.

L.—Yes, Sir, we may; provided the *reality* of Christ's *presence* in the *sacrament* be not excluded by it. That is to say, provided it be consistent with our receiving his *body* and *blood* VERILY and INDEED. Now the words, you have quoted from St *John*, insinuate such a *spiritual* sense, as is neither inconsistent with the *literal* meaning

of the *institution*, nor the *reality* of Christ's *presence* in the *sacrament:* but is only opposed to the *carnal* sense of those incredulous disciples, who according to their gross imagination knew of no other *eating* or *drinking* than for the nourishment of their *bodies;* and (to speak in St *Austin's* own words) *thought our Saviour intended to cut off pieces of his own flesh from his body for them to eat, and therefore said, this is a hard saying.* Aug. in Psalm 98.

Now, to correct this gross mistake, *Christ* said, *it is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.* As who should say, it is not *dead corruptible flesh*, and *changeable* into the substance of your bodies, that *profits* in order to *salvation:* but the *flesh*, I intend to give you for the nourishment of your *souls*, has all its saving qualities from the *spirit* or *divinity*, by which it is *quickened.*

This is exactly conformable to St *Austin's* comment upon those words: *What then* (says he) *is the meaning of this*, the flesh profits nothing? *As they understood it, as it is torn in pieces in a dead body, and sold in the shambles, it profits nothing: but it profits as animated by the Spirit——for if the flesh profited nothing, the word would not have been made flesh, that it might dwell in us.*

Thus St *Austin.* And who would not now be surprised to find most *protestant* authors as well as yourself lay such a stress upon this text, as even to make it the principal support of their error? But ignorant people must be imposed upon by some scriptural text; and this being obscure in itself was fittest for that purpose; though, if rightly understood, it cannot furnish you with the least shadow of an argument against the *real presence* of Christ's *body* and *blood* in the sacrament. *Christ* says, *it is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.* That is (according to St *Austin*) *dead flesh, as cut and sold in the shambles, profits nothing, but it profits as animated by the Spirit:* and is it not playing at cross purposes to infer from thence, that therefore *Christ's living body* is not received *really* and *truly* in the *sacrament?*

G.—My lord, the *body of Christ* is *taken* and *received* in the same manner as it is *present* in the *sacrament:* and

you yourselves allow, that it is there *present* in a *spiritual* not *carnal* manner.

L.—Sir, it is certainly true, that the *body of Christ* is *received* in the same manner as it is *present* in the *sacrament;* and therefore as it is *received* VERILY *and* INDEED; that is, *really* and *truly*, and *without equivocation;* so it is VERILY and INDEED, that is *really* and *truly*, and without *equivocation present* in the blessed *sacrament.* But *real* and *carnal* are not the same. And therefore, though the *body of Christ* be *really* and *truly* present in the *sacrament*, the *manner* of its presence is *spiritual;* not as *spiritual* is opposite to *real*, but as it is opposite to *carnal.* That is, as it is opposite to that *gross idea* or notion, which the unbelieving disciples had of the meaning of our Saviour's words. For they imagined he was to be cut in pieces, and that they were to eat *his flesh*, as that of common animals, for the nourishment of their bodies.

Christ's body therefore is not *present* in this *carnal* manner; yet it is *really* and *truly* present in the *sacrament* as to its *substance*, though the *manner* of its presence be *spiritual.*

First, As to its *condition*, or *endowments:* I mean, its being *glorious*, *impassible*, *incorruptible*, *immortal. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. It is sown a natural body, and it is raised a spiritual body.* 1 Cor. xv.

2*dly*, As to the manner of its being *in place;* which is not according to the usual laws of bodies commensurated to, or circumscribed by *place*, but more resembling the idea we have of *spirits.* Thus, when *Christ* came to his disciples, *the doors being shut*, his entrance was spiritual, though *real.*

3*dly*, It is *spiritual* as to the *end*, for which it is received, *viz.*, the nourishment of our souls.

4*thly*, As to the *persons*, by whom it is received. For the *unworthy communicant* receives it with his *mouth* only, and therefore *the flesh profits him nothing;* but it is *spirit* and *life* to the *worthy communicant;* because he receives it *spiritually*, as well as *truly* and *really.*

5*thly*, and lastly, Its *manner* is *spiritual* as to our *sen-*

sation, because we have not from our *senses* any information of its *presence*, but only from our *faith*.

Thus then the manner of its *presence* is *spiritual*: but it is a *spirituality* no ways opposite to its *reality*. And therefore your argument is of no force to prove against us, that we allow of a mere *figurative*, or *symbolical* presence.

" *G.*—My lord, there is not one man in your communion, " but must own that the words of institution are *figurative*. " For example, *this cup is the new testament in my blood*, " *which is shed for you*, Luke xxii. 20. Here is first the " *cup* for the *wine* by a *metonymy* called *continens pro contento*. " Then the *cup* being the *new testament*, I suppose you will " allow is another *figure*. And it is another, *it is shed* for " *which shall be shed*; for his *blood* was not then *shed*. This " last *figure* you have boldly avoided in your *mass*, where " it is put *effundetur*, shall be shed instead of *effunditur*, or " *effusum* according to the Greek ἐκχυνόμενον. However the " two other *figures* stand unalterable."—*p.* 146.

L.—Pray, Sir, what *figure* is there in these words of St *Matthew*, *this is my body: this is the blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins?* xxvi. 26, 28. I presume you will not deny these to be the words of the *institution*. And if St *Luke* has made choice of *figures* to express the same thing; must *figures* expound *plain words*, or *plain words* the *figures*?

However that be, I cannot but pity the hard shifts you are put to, in being forced to make this an argument of importance, viz.: *Amongst the words of the institution as delivered by St* Luke, *there are some figures; therefore the whole institution is to be understood in a figurative, or symbolical sense*. Suppose a master should speak thus to his servant: *this bottle is not good, bring me a better bottle of the same wine;* here is the very *metonymy* you speak of: yet I believe the servant would not be such a blockhead as to think his master demanded a bottle of *figurative* or *symbolical* wine. In like manner therefore, when St *Luke* uses the aforesaid *metonymy* in thus delivering the words of the institution, *this cup is the new testament in my blood*, though *cup* and *testament* be *figures*, a man must be either very *weak* or very *perverse*

to conclude, the *Evangelist* means *figurative* or *symbolical blood;* and if he does not, what matter is it, whether *cup* and *testament* be *figures* or not?

If *Christ* had said, *this cup is the new testament in wine,* would the *metonymy* have hindered you from taking the word *wine* in its *literal* sense? And why then should it hinder you from taking the word *blood* in its *literal* sense, when he says, *this cup is the new testament in my blood?* You may as well say, that if there be some *metaphors* in any sentence, as thus: *the furnace of tribulation, and the rod of reproof make men wise,* every word in that sentence must be understood *metaphorically;* which would turn all such ways of speaking into rank nonsense; though they be used even in the most familiar discourses. And the reason is, because all *figures* of this nature are so easy and familiar, that no man of common sense can misunderstand them, and the forementioned words of St *Luke* are as plain to all but professed triflers, as these words of St *Matthew: This is the blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins.* But to call *bread* a *living body,* or *wine blood,* that is, to give things names they were never known by in the world; and *that* in the *very institution* of a *sacrament,* and without any previous or concomitant intimation of their meaning, is such an *absurd, unnatural,* and *equivocating* way of speaking, that we cannot without impiety judge *Christ* capable of it.

As to the third *pretended figure,* which you say *we have boldly avoided in the mass,* Sir, I either have a pair of very bad spectacles, or the *Latin version* has *effundetur* in St *Matthew* xxvi. 28, and *fundetur,* that is, *shall be shed* in St *Luke* xxii. 20. And so the *mass* being in *Latin,* and many hundred years older, than the *English protestant Bible,* has *boldly* followed the *Latin version,* which had the approbation of the *Catholic Church* many ages before *reforming* came into fashion.

" *G.*—My lord, to convince you, that the words of *Christ* " are *figurative,* and that the *elements* do not lose their nature " by the *consecration,* they are called by their own names

" *after* the *consecration*, as *wine* is called *the fruit of the vine*
" after the *consecration*, Matt. xxvi. 29; Mark xiv. 25.
" And it is called *bread*, which they eat in the *sacrament*,
" and we are called *bread*, because we partake of that *bread*,
" 1 Cor. x. 17; xi. 26—28. *We* are *bread* by the same *figure*,
" that *bread* is *flesh*: and we are no more sure, that we are
" not *bread*, than that the *sacrament* is not *bread*."—p. 146.

L.—Pray, Sir, forget not your *Catechism*, but vouchsafe to remember, that the *body of Christ* is received *verily* and *indeed* in the *Lord's supper*. This therefore we are *sure* of. But I hope we are not *equally sure*, that either you or I came out of a meal tub, or were baked in an oven VERILY and INDEED. I shall answer your *texts* immediately.

" *G.*—But see now the *arbitrariness* of your interpretation.
" When it is said of *bread*, *this is flesh*, that is so very plain,
" it must be taken *literally*: but when it is said of *bread* in
" the *sacrament*, *this is bread*, the expression is so obscure,
" that it must be taken *figuratively*. Is not this destroying
" the meaning of all expressions to take words *figuratively*
" or *literally* just as you think fit, and contrary to the common
" usage, as understood in all other things?"—*p.* 147.

L.—Sir, to take words *figuratively* or *literally* just as a man thinks fit is certainly *destroying the meaning of all expressions*, and if you will but stand to this one principle, there is an end of the dispute between you and me concerning *transubstantiation*. For then you will find yourself obliged to understand the words of the institution *literally*; since they cannot possibly be otherwise understood but by the most *strained* and *arbitrary* interpretation; as I have clearly proved. Nay your own *church* understands them so by declaring, *that the body and blood of Christ are* VERILY *and* INDEED *taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper*; to which words you can give no *figurative* sense without the most *arbitrary* interpretation in the world: and if Christ's *body* and *blood* are received *verily* and *indeed* in the *sacrament*, there must be either a *substantial change* of the *bread* and *wine* into the *body* and *blood* of *Christ*; or they must be joined together; as *Luther* holds.

But, as an *arbitrary* way of taking words *figuratively* destroys the meaning of all expressions, so it is no less destructive to the common laws of speech to conclude from thence, that therefore *figures* which are *easy* and *natural*, and taken for such by the generality of mankind, are likewise *arbitrary*. Because it is morally impossible either to write or speak without the use of *such figures;* and they are so far from *obscuring*, that they give the greatest *beauty*, *strength*, and *lustre* to any sort of discourse. Now then let us consider, whether calling the *elements* by their *own names* after the *consecration* be not *figures* of this sort, or whether there be any *arbitrariness* in the use of them.

I prove there is no arbitrariness in it, because it is the common custom of mankind to give a thing the name of that, out of which it is made. Thus it was said to *Adam* Gen. iii. 19, *dust thou art;* because though then a *living man* he had been made of *dust*. Thus the person's name is given to his corpse; as *Joseph* desires leave to bury HIS FATHER, Gen. l. 5. And, *behold there was a* DEAD MAN *carried out, the* ONLY SON *of his mother*, Luke vii. 12. The *serpent* was made by a substantial change from *Aaron's rod*, which even lost its former appearance, yet is still called a *rod*, because made from it. *They cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents; but* AARON'S ROD *swallowed up their rods*, Exod. vii. 12.

Thus it is plain we are not guilty of *arbitrariness* either in taking the *words* of the *institution literally*, or the words *bread* and *wine* after the consecration in a *figurative sense*. Nay nothing but one obstinately resolved to be in the wrong can understand either of them in any other sense.

G.—My lord, *we are called bread*, 1 Cor. x. 17. And we are called *bread* by the same *figure*, that *bread is flesh*.

L.—Sir, both these propositions, *we are bread*, and *bread is flesh*. are *literally* false. And if *Christ* had said, *this bread is my body*, the expression would have been *figurative*. Because it is equally nonsense to say that

bread is a *living body literally*, as it is to say, that, *we* are *bread literally*. But *Christ* did not say, *this bread is my body*, but only, *this is my body:* which, according to the common way of speaking, signified no more, than that the *thing present*, which he gave to his apostles, was his *real body*.

SECTION XXVI.—OBJECTIONS FROM THE FATHERS ANSWERED.

G.—My lord, every one abounds in his own sense, but I appeal to that of the *ancient fathers*.

L.—With all my heart, Sir.

TERTULLIAN.

" *G.*—*Tertullian* says, *that Christ made the bread his body*, " by saying, *this is my body*, that is, *the figure of my body*. " Contra Marcion. lib. 4. c. 40."—*p.* 147.

L.—Sir, *Tertullian's* true meaning is, that Christ made the *bread* (which before was but a *figure* of his body) become his *real body* by saying, *this is my body*. The institution therefore did not make it a *figure*, but changed it into the *reality*, whereof it was a figure before. Now that this is the true meaning of his words I prove from the very subject of his dispute with *Marcion*, who held that our Saviour came to *destroy* the *law:* but *Tertullian* proves, he came to *perfect* it by fulfilling the *prophecies* and *figures;* and brings this instance, that *Christ changed bread* (which in the *old law* was a *figure* of his *body*) *into his body*. Which is a plain proof, that these latter words of the passage quoted [*that is, the figure of my body*] are *transplaced*, and cannot be referred to any thing but the *bread*.

G.—But, my lord, the *transposition* you speak of, is but an odd sort of *figure;* and by the help of it you may do wonderful feats, and make the *fathers* say what you please.

L.—Sir, I do not pretend to commend *Tertullian's*

style, or propose his writings as the standard of *good Latin*. But *fact* is *fact*, and it is an undeniable one, that *Tertullian* frequently made use of that *figure* out of respect to the *word of God*, which he would not interrupt by interposing his own words. This made him say, *Lib. contra Prax.* C. 29, *Christus mortuus est, id est, unctus Christ is dead, that is anointed;* instead of saying, *Christ, that is the anointed, is dead.* And in the very book against *Marcion*, C. 2, he writes thus: *Aperiam in parabolam aurem meam, id est similitudinem. I will open to a parable my ear, that is, a similitude.* Where his meaning is undoubtedly this: *I will open to a parable, that is, to a similitude, my ear.* So that let the *transposition* be as odd a *figure* as you please, it is manifest *Tertullian* has frequently made use of it; nor can you explain him otherwise without making him talk wide from the purpose.

ORIGEN.

" *G.*—*Origen* says of the *sacrament*, that it goes into the " belly like other meat, and so into the draught. But says, " he speaks concerning the *typical* and *symbolical* body of " *Christ* in the *sacrament*, in Matth. c. 15.

" It was said of the *body* of *Christ*, Psalm xvi. 10, that " *it should not see corruption.* But we know the *sacrament* " will *corrupt;* therefore it is not the same."—*p.* 147.

L.—Sir, when I was a young scholar, I remember I answered this argument by distinguishing, that the *outward part* of the *sacrament*, viz., the *accidents of bread and wine will corrupt*, but not the *inward part*, which is *verily and indeed the body and blood of Christ.* And, though I know you to be an enemy to *popish* distinctions, I must desire you to accept of this for your answer.

As to *Origen*, you have clipped his words, and concealed that part, which fully explains his meaning. I presume your reason for so doing is, because the words, you have omitted, imply the very *distinction* I have now given. For his genuine words are these: (*This food consecrated by the word of God and prayer*, AS TO THE MATERIAL PART OF IT, *goes into the belly and so into the draught.*) This shews that *Origen* speaks not of the sacrament

absolutely, but with this limitation, *as to the material part* of it; meaning the accidents of bread and wine which he calls the *typical* and *symbolical* body; because the accidents of *bread* and *wine* are a *sign*, *type*, or *symbol* of Christ's body nourishing our souls.

THEODORET.

" *G.*—*Theodoret* likewise calls the sacrament the *symbols* " of the *body and blood of Christ:* and says that upon their " consecration they are *changed* indeed, and made other " things, but still remain in their own proper *nature* and " *substance*, and *shape* and *form:* and are *visible* and *tangible* " as they were before. *Dial.* 2."—pp. 147, 148.

L.—Sir, as to the first part of your quotation, *Theodoret* never calls the sacrament *mere symbols* of the *body and blood of Christ:* and if he does not call it so, he says nothing to serve your turn. Do not we also call it the *sacrament* of the *body* and *blood* of Christ? And what is a *sacrament* but a *sign* or *symbol?* But I hope you will not conclude from thence, that therefore we believe it to be a mere empty *sign* or *figure* of Christ's *body* and *blood.*

The latter broken piece, as you have quoted it, is wholly unintelligible. I shall therefore cite the whole passage, which is taken out of *Theodoret's* second dialogue: where under the name of *Orthodoxus* he maintains the catholic cause against an *Eutychian*, whom he calls *Eranistes.* His words faithfully translated are as follows:

ERANISTES. *What do you call the gift, which is offered, before consecration?* ORTHODOXUS. *Food made of certain grains.* ERAN. *And how do you call the other symbol?* ORTHOD. *We give it a common name, which signifies a drink.* ERAN. *How do you call them after the consecration?* ORTHOD. *The body and blood of Christ.* ERAN. *And do you believe, that you receive the body and blood of Christ?* ORTHOD. *I do believe it.* ERAN. *As therefore the symbols of Christ's body and blood are one thing before consecration, but are changed, and made other things after consecration, so Christ's body after his ascension was changed into the divine substance.* ORTHOD. *You are taken in your own nets. For the mystical signs depart not from*

their own nature by consecration. For they remain in their former substance, and form and shape, and are visible and tangible as before. But they are understood to be the things, which they are made, and so they are believed, and they are adored, as being the things, which they are believed.

These are *Theodoret's* words. But if any man can conclude from them that he denies either the *real presence* or *transubstantiation* without making him *contradict* himself, I will own he has a talent at reconciling contradictions, which I am yet a stranger to.

The reason hereof is clear, because he grants *first*, that the *gift*, which was *bread* and *wine* before consecration is after the *consecration* called the *body and blood of Christ.* 2*dly*, that he *believes* it to be the *body and blood of Christ.* And 3*dly*, that they are *adored*, as *being the things, which they are believed.* Now if this be not professing the *real presence* and *transubstantiation*, no *papist* has ever made a profession of that article of his faith. Nay *Eranistes* lays it down as a principle agreed on by both sides, *that the mystical symbols of bread and wine are changed, and made the body and blood of Christ by consecration*, and concludes from it, *that in the same manner Christ's body was after his ascension changed into the divine substance:* which argumentation would be wholly impertinent if both *Orthodoxus* and *Eranistes* did not believe the *change* of the *bread* and *wine* into the *body* and *blood* of *Christ.*

" *G.*—My lord, *Theodoret* writes, as you have observed, " against the *Eutychians*, who said, that the *human nature* " *of Christ* was *absorpt*, or *swallowed up* in the *divinity.* So " that there remained now none but the *divine nature* in him, " and that he was no more a *man;* and used this comparison, " that it was in like manner as in the *sacrament*, where the " *bread* was changed into the *body of Christ. Yes*, said " *Theodoret, it is in the same manner, that is, in no manner* " *at all.* For that the bread, though changed *in its use and* " *significancy*, yet lost not its *nature*, but remained *truly and* " *properly bread* as before. But had he believed *transub-* " *stantiation*, this had been a full and absolute confirmation " of the *Eutychian heresy* instead of a confutation. For " then there had remained no more of the *human nature* in

" *Christ*, than you believe the *substance* of the *bread* to remain ' in the *sacrament*. This explains the meaning of *Theodoret* ' even *beyond his words*."—p. 148.

L.—Beyond his words, indeed. For surely never were a man's words more foully misrepresented. *First*, instead of *Theodoret's* saying, *you are taken in your own nets;* you make him speak thus: *Yes it is in the same manner; that is, in no manner at all:* which (besides the falsification of his words) is a manifest contradiction to his professing immediately before, that he believed the gift, which was *bread* and *wine* before consecration, to be *the body and blood of Christ* after the consecration. *2dly*, your fixing upon *Theodoret* this meaning, *viz.*, that the bread is changed *only in its use and significancy*, but remains *truly and properly bread*, is no less a contradiction to his words immediately following, wherein he declares that the symbols after the consecration *are understood to be the things which they are made; that they are believed to be so, and are adored as being the things they are believed.* For I appeal to common sense whether all this can be spoken of a change barely *in use and significancy.*

I add, that if *Theodoret* meant no more than a change *in use and significancy*, it will follow contrary to all probability, that he has made his *Eutychian* adversary argue the most childishly imaginable. For his argument would run thus: *as the bread* and *wine are changed only* in use and significancy, *so the humanity of Christ is* really changed *into the divinity.* Which being most eminently absurd cannot be attributed to *Theodoret* with any colour of reason. And it is an unanswerable proof that *Orthodoxus* and *Eranistes*, that is, *Theodoret* and the *Eutychian* his adversary agreed in this common principle of their faith, *viz.*, that the *bread* and *wine* are by consecration really changed into the *body and blood of Christ;* because he makes it the ground and foundation of the *Eutychian's* argument or similitude to set forth the change made in the humanity of Christ after his *ascension* into heaven. Which is the particular branch of *Eutychianism* attacked by *Theodoret* in the passage quoted, as appears from *Eranistes's* words.

G.—But, my lord, how is this consistent with *Theodoret's* telling the *Eutychian*, that *he is taken in his own nets?* For if they both supposed a *real* and *substantial* change in the sacrament, the similitude came home to the point, and could not be retorted upon *Eranistes.*

L.—This, Sir, is the knot of the difficulty, to which I answer directly; that the mystery of the holy Eucharist according to catholic doctrine contains two things. *First*, that the *bread* and *wine* are substantially changed into the *body and blood of Christ.* And 2*dly*, that the *accidents*, or natural proprieties of *bread* and *wine*, as *figure*, *taste*, *colour*, *&c.*, remain the same they were before. This latter truth *Theodoret* expresses by telling *Eranistes*, that *the mystical signs depart not from their former nature by consecration, but are visible and tangible as before;* which being a principle agreed to by his adversary, *Theodoret* had just reason to tell him, that *he was taken in his own nets*, in drawing a similitude from a mystery to establish his error, which very mystery contained a confutation of it. For immediately after the passage quoted, he concludes, that as the symbols after consecration retain all their former *natural proprieties*, so the body of Christ even after his resurrection and ascension was *circumscribed*, *visible*, and *tangible*, and had all the qualities of a human body glorified.

It is true, *Eranistes* lays the whole stress of his argument upon the *substantial change* wrought in the *sacrament;* as every man, that argues rationally, is supposed to set the best foot foremost: but *Orthodoxus* takes the advantage against him from the other part of the mystery; *viz.*, the *natural proprieties* of bread and wine remaining after the consecration, and infers from it, that therefore the *natural proprieties* of Christ's body always remained; which he tells *Eranistes* is *taking him in his own nets.* Because though all agreed that the *natural proprieties* of bread and wine remain without their *substance* in the *sacrament*, no man ever said that the *natural proprieties* of Christ's body ever were without his *real body;* and so it followed by a clear consequence from the very simili-

tude insisted upon by *Eranistes*, that the *humanity* of Christ was not absorpt in the *divinity*, and that there were always *two real natures* in Christ; the disbelief whereof was the capital error of the *Eutychians*.

All this shews plainly, how little reason you have to say, *that if* Theodoret *had believed* transubstantiation, *it had been a full and absolute confirmation of the* Eutychian *heresy instead of a confutation*. For, to speak properly, the doctrine of *transubstantiation* is neither a confirmation nor confutation of the *Eutychian* heresy; nor has it any more connexion with it than the change of *Moses's rod* into a *serpent;* or the change of water into wine at *Cana* in *Galilee*. But since the *Eutychians* drew a similitude from one part of the mystery of *transubstantiation* to colour their error, *Theodoret* had reason to answer them in their own way, and a just title to take the advantage of the other part of that mystery against them. So that nothing is more frivolous than what you add; *viz.*, that (if *Theodoret* believed *transubstantiation*) *then there had remained no more of the human nature in Christ, than we believe the substance of bread to remain in the sacrament.* For you may with just as much good sense infer the same consequence, if *Theodoret* believed that *Moses's rod* was changed into a *serpent*, or that Christ changed water into wine: both which miracles I presume *Theodoret* believed without prejudice to the catholic cause.

G.— But, my lord, *Theodoret* says positively, that *the mystical signs depart not from their own nature by consecration.*

L.— No more they do in *Theodoret's* sense: because the *mystical signs*, that is, the *accidents* remain the same *after*, as they were *before* consecration. Now *accidents* have their proper *nature* and *essence* as well as *substance;* and the *natural proprieties* of things are often called their *nature:* as we say, it is the *nature* of *ice* to be *cold*, of *water* to *moisten*, and of *fire* to *burn*. So St *Hilary*, Lib. 10. de Trin. says, *that fire in the Babylonian furnace lost its nature.* And in the very same sense *Theodoret* speaks, when he says, that *the mystical signs depart not from their own nature*, that is, their *natural proprieties* by consecration.

G.—Ay, but *Theodoret* says more. For he adds, that *they remain in their former substance, and form and shape, and are visible, and tangible as before.*

L.—He does so. But pray, Sir, take the very next words with them. *But they are understood to be the things, which they are made; and so they are believed, and they are* ADORED, *as being the things, which they are believed.* That is, the *true body* and *blood* of *Christ;* as he professed to believe a few lines before. This, Sir, explains *Theodoret's* meaning, and shews, that he takes the word *substance*, not as it is opposite to *accidents*, but for a collection of them, as *form*, *shape*, *visibility*, *tangibility*, *&c.* For otherwise his meaning will be, that, though the *bread* and *wine* be *changed* into the *body* and *blood* of *Christ;* and, though the things, into which they are changed, are to be *adored*, yet they are nothing but *plain bread* and *wine after*, as they were *before* consecration; which is both a *contradiction* and *blasphemy.* It is a *contradiction* to say, that *bread* and *wine* retaining in *all respects* their former nature are *changed* and made the *body* and *blood* of *Christ:* and it is *blasphemy* to say, that *bread* remaining *plain bread* is to be *adored:* and nothing can clear *Theodoret* either from the one or the other, but taking the word *substance* for a collection of *natural proprieties.*

G.—But where does your *lordship* find the word *substance* ever taken in that sense?

L.—Sir, the *English* word *substance* does not bear so large a sense, as *substantia* in *Latin*, or *ουσία* in *Greek;* which is the word *Theodoret* makes use of in the text quoted. And therefore, though it be improper in *English* to give to *accidents* the denomination of *substance*, it is not so in the other two languages. *Aristotle*, who as a *philosopher* is supposed to follow the strictest laws of speech, writes thus, Lib. 5. *Metaph.* C. 8.: *The word substance* [*ουσία*] *may be taken in two different senses. First, for the last subject* [and this we properly call *substance* in *English*]. *2dly*, FOR ANY ACCIDENT, THOUGH SEPARABLE FROM THE THING. And thus the Latin word *substantia* is taken by St *Peter Chrysologus* saying, *a*

glorious body is changed in substance, but not in person. Mutasse *substantiam*, sed non mutasse *personam.* Serm. 82, and by St *Austin* saying, *Man by sin fell from the substance in which he was made.* Per iniquitatem homo lapsus est a *substantia*, in qua factus est. *Psalm* lxix. In both which places the word *substance* is taken for *accidental qualities.* Which suffices abundantly to justify my answer. However if you can find me any other *English* word to answer the full extent of the *Greek* οὐσία, or the Latin *substantia*, I shall be obliged to you for it, and use it for the future in translating the text, you have objected from *Theodoret.*

" *G.*—My lord, *Theodoret* says in the same place, *that our* " *blessed Saviour, who called himself the living bread and the* " *vine, has also honoured the visible signs with the title and* " *appellation of his body and blood, not changing their nature,* " *but adding to nature grace.*"—p. 148.

L.—Sir, this passage is not in the same place with the former, but is taken from *Theodoret's* first dialogue. However the principal difficulty it contains is already answered. For since the *visible signs* lose nothing of their *natural qualities* by consecration, they may properly be said not to be *changed* in their *nature:* and the *grace*, which *Theodoret* says is added to *nature*, is *Christ* himself; of whom St *Paul* says, *the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, has appeared to all men.* Tit. xi. 11.

As to *Theodoret's* saying, *that Christ, who called himself the living bread and the vine, has also honoured the visible signs with the title and appellation of his body and blood:* his true meaning is, that the elements, which of their own nature are nothing but *bread* and *wine*, are *honoured with the title and appellation of Christ's body and blood*, by being made his true body and blood by the words of consecration: as a man of a mean extraction is said to be honoured with the title of *lord* or *duke*, when he is really made one. And that this is *Theodoret's* meaning is manifest from his own words immediately preceding the piece you have quoted. Eranistes. *I should be glad to know why the names are changed.*

ORTHODOXUS. *The reason is evident to those that understand the mystery. For Christ would not have us regard the nature of what we see. But as the names of the elements are changed, so to apprehend by faith the change, which is made in them by grace.*

I shall conclude with a passage from *Theodoret*, where treating professedly of the *sacrament*, I presume he will speak his mind plainly. *Christ* (says he) *at his last supper shewed the* TRUE ORIGINAL, *of which the paschal lamb was a* TYPE; *opened the gates of the holy sacrament, and gave his* PRECIOUS BODY AND BLOOD *not only to the eleven apostles, but also to the traitor Judas——Those words* [he shall be guilty of the body and blood of our Lord] *mean this: that as Judas betrayed him, and the Jews insulted him, so they offer him a very great affront, who take his* MOST HOLY BODY *with unclean hands, and put it into a defiled mouth,* in 1 Cor. xi.

Here he declares *first*, that the *body* and *blood* of *Christ* are truly contained in the *sacrament:* and 2*dly*, that they are given to all communicants both *good* and *bad*. And let any man now judge, whether this be not *papistical* doctrine. Nay, the four *protestant Centuriators* acknowledge *Theodoret* to be an abettor of *transubstantiation. Theodoret* (say they) *affirms dangerously, that the symbols of the* body *and* blood *of* Christ *after the invocation of the priest are changed and become another thing.* Cent. 5. C. 10. Let us now consider, whether any other amongst the fathers will be more favourable to you.

GELASIUS, AND FACUNDUS HERMIANENSIS.

" *G.*—Pope *Gelasius* says, *that the sacrament of the body* " *and blood of Christ, which we take, is a divine thing, by which* " *we are made partakers of the divine nature: and yet it ceases* " *not to be the substance and nature of bread and wine. And* " *certainly* (says he) *the image and similitude of the body and* " *blood of Christ is celebrated in the mysteries.*

" And *Facundus* says the same. *Not* (says he) *that the* " *bread is properly his body, or the cup his blood, but that they* " *contain the mystery of his body and blood.*"—p. 149.

L.—Sir, what has been already said to *Theodoret*, will

fully answer *Gelasius;* who makes the same comparison as *Theodoret* did, and almost in the same terms. His design too is the same, *viz.*, to shew, that, as the *natural proprieties* of *bread* and *wine*, though changed into the *body* and *blood* of *Christ*, remain after consecration; so after the *incarnation* there remain all the *natural proprieties* of human nature, and by consequence the human nature itself in Christ.

But pray, Sir, who has privileged you not only to suppress a material part of his words, but even to alter in your translation the broken piece you have quoted, by substituting *and* instead of *or?* For *Gelasius* says not *substance* AND *nature*, but *substance* OR *nature*. *It ceases not* (says he) *to be the substance or nature of bread and wine:* and he seems to have designedly used the particle *or*, to mollify the harshness of the preceding word *substance*, and make way for his own following explanation, viz.: *that the sacraments by the divine operation of the Holy Ghost pass into the* DIVINE SUBSTANCE; *yet remain in the* PROPRIETY *of their nature:* which you have wholly omitted; because it is rank popery, and makes *Gelasius* a witness for transubstantiation.

As to his saying, *that the image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ is celebrated in the action of the mysteries;* it imports no more than what children are taught in their Catechism, *viz.*, that the *eucharist* is the *sacrament* of our Saviour's *body and blood:* because every sacrament is a *sign* or *image* of the thing it contains. And the words of *Facundus Hermianensis* saying, *that they contain the mystery of Christ's body and blood*, will bear the same meaning. For the *eucharist*, or *sacrament* of Christ's body and blood is certainly a great *mystery:* and every *Roman catholic* in the world will subscribe to his saying, *that the bread is not properly his body, nor the wine his blood:* but that they are changed into his *body* and *blood*. Have you any more fathers to quote?

G.—Yes, my lord, St *Austin*, and St *Chrysostom*.

L.—St *Austin* and St *Chrysostom*, do you say? Then

I fear you are in a bad way. But let us have St *Austin* first.

St AUGUSTIN.

" *G.*—St *Austin* says, *if sacraments did not bear some* " *similitude to the things, of which they are the sacraments, they* " *would not be sacraments at all. But from this similitude* " *they often take the name of the things themselves. As,* says " he, *the sacrament of faith, which is baptism, is called faith.*" —p. 149.

L.—Sir, I have more difficulty to find an objection in these words of St *Austin*, than to give an answer to it. For I do not see what other sense St *Austin's* words will bear, than that as every sacrament is *a visible sign of invisible grace*, Christ has instituted such *visible signs* for sacraments, as bear some similitude to the peculiar grace they produce. As *bread* and *wine*, which are nourishing things, and the matter of the holy *eucharist*, signify the *spiritual nourishment* of our souls, which is the peculiar grace of that sacrament; and it is therefore called the *nourishment of our souls.* And so of all the other sacraments.

But let us now hear St *Austin* deliver three truths diametrically opposite to the general *protestant* doctrine.

First, That *Christ's* immortal *body* is really present upon the *altar* under the *sacramental signs.*

2*dly*, That we receive it not only with our *hearts*, but also with our *mouths.* And

3*dly*, That it is actually received even by the *unworthy* communicant.

The *first* of these we have in his *Confessions*, where he writes thus of his mother: *She desired to be remembered at thy altar, whereat she had been constantly present without missing any one day: and* FROM WHENCE SHE KNEW WAS DISPENSED THE HOLY VICTIM, *by which the hand-writing that was against us, was blotted out, and by which the enemy was conquered, that numbered our sins.* Lib. 9. Conf. C. 13.

The 2d. *We receive with a faithful heart and* MOUTH *Jesus Christ giving us his flesh to eat, and his blood to*

drink: though it be more shocking to eat man's flesh, than to kill it, and to drink man's blood, than to shed it. L. 2. *Contra adversarium Legis et Prophetarum.*

And the 3d in these words: *They, who, as the apostle says, eat and drink damnation to themselves, yet* EAT THE VERY FLESH OF CHRIST, AND DRINK HIS VERY BLOOD. Serm. 11. De verbis Domini. C. 11.

All these are necessary consequences of *transubstantiation*, and shew plainly that a mere *figurative* or *symbolical presence* are contrary to St *Austin's* doctrine.

He adds (in Psalm xcviii. 5) *that no man eats the flesh of Christ but he adores it first.* As likewise (in Psalm xxxiii.) that *Christ* upon the *altar* is offered in *sacrifice. There was, as you know* (says he), *formerly a sacrifice of the Jews according to the order of* Aaron *in victims of cattle, and this is a mystery. There was not then the sacrifice of the* body *and* blood *of our Lord, which the faithful, and those that have read the gospel know: which sacrifice is now spread over all the world.*

And is not then St *Austin* a very proper judge for a *protestant* to appeal to? Now let us hear St *Chrysostom.*

ST CHRYSOSTOM.

" *G.*—St *Chrysostom* speaking of the vessels, in which the " *sacrament* was put, *in which* (says he) *there is not the true* " *body of Christ, but the mystery of his body is contained in* " *them.* Opere imperf. in Matt., and Epist. ad *Cæsarium,* " in Biblioth. p. Col. 1618.

L.—Sir, the author of the book you have quoted is not St *Chrysostom,* but a rank *heretic.* And you yourself must own him to be one, unless you will maintain it to be *orthodox* doctrine, 1. *That marriage is of itself a sin.* 2. *That a second marriage is only an honest fornication;* and 3. *That the catholic doctrine of the divinity of Christ is the Homousian heresy:* all which, and many other errors are scattered up and down in the writings of that author.

The epistle to *Cæsarius* is likewise suspected to be spurious by the learned. But this all men of sense must grant, that if it contradicts St *Chrysostom's* constant

doctrine in his undoubted works, it ought to be rejected. Let us then hear *himself* speak, and he will teach us these three considerable truths.

First, That the *body* and *blood* of *Christ* are in the *sacred vessels.*

2*dly*, That the *body of Christ* is at the same time in *heaven* and upon *earth.*

And 3*dly*, that we must not trust our *senses* in this *mystery:* though you told me but a while ago, and were *positive* in it, that *God* never said, nor did any thing to *contradict* man's *senses.*

The *first* truth is delivered in the following words: *The apostle* (says St *Chrysostom*) *tells us, that what is in the* CHALICE *is the same as that which flowed from his side. And the wise men adored that body even lying in the manger; but you do not see it in a manger, but upon the* ALTAR. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. x. 16.

The *second* truth is delivered by the same *father* in the two following passages: *O miracle! O divine bounty! He, who sits above at the right hand of the father, is at the very same instant in all men's hands.* L. 3. De Sacerdotio. C. 4.

And again; *this mystery here changes for the earth into heaven——For I will shew thee here placed upon earth even that, which is most precious and adorable in heaven. ——The body of* [Christ] *the King is the most magnificent thing in heaven; but you may now see it upon earth.* Hom. de *Sancto Philogonio.*

The 3*d* truth is thus set forth at large by St *Chrysostom. Let us always believe God, and not contradict him,* THOUGH THAT, WHICH HE SAYS, SEEMS TO CONTRADICT BOTH OUR THOUGHTS, AND OUR SENSES.—*For his words cannot deceive us, but* OUR SENSES MAY BE EASILY DECEIVED. *He never errs, but* THESE ARE OFTEN MISTAKEN. *Since therefore he says,* This is my body, *let us be fully persuaded of it.——How many say now, O that I could see him in his own shape! Or his clothes, or any thing about him! Believe me* YOU SEE HIM, YOU TOUCH HIM, YOU EAT HIM. *You would be content to see his clothes, and he lets you not only*

see him, but also touch him, and eat him, and receive him within you. Hom. 83. in St Matt.

And in the same *Homily* he tells us, the priest's office is only *ministerial*, but *that the elements are sanctified and* CHANGED *by Christ.*

Here we have both *transubstantiation* clearly taught. and the grand *protestant* objection from its *contradiction* to our *senses* fully answered. And had I not reason to tell you, it would go badly with you, if either St *Austin*, or St *Chrysostom* were to give verdict. Believe me, Sir, whenever you appeal to the *fathers*, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, you put yourself into the hands of enemies, and must expect to succeed accordingly.

SECTION XXVII.—THE GENTLEMAN'S UNSEASONABLE BOASTING.

" *G.*—My lord, not to trouble you with more quotations, " I refer you to Bishop *Cosin's* history of *transubstantiation:* " where beginning at the *institution*, he sets down in every " century the words of the *fathers* upon this point. A little " book long since printed both in *English* and *Latin*, not " yet answered (that I hear) and I believe unanswerable. " Wherein you will see a cloud of witnesses, through the " first ages of the church, and so downwards in perfect " contradiction to this new article of your *faith.*

" And as the *scriptures, primitive church*, and *fathers* are " all against you, so have you nothing but an unintelligible " *jargon* of *metaphysics*, upon which the *schoolmen* ring " changes, till the noise of their bells have deafened common " *sense* and *reason.* Such are their subtilties upon *substance*, " *accidents, subsistence, modusses*, and *modalities*, and many " more such *quiddities;* and their *distinctions* of *materialiter* " and *formaliter, per se*, and *per accidens*, and a thousand " more to solve all *difficulties*, and reconcile *contradictions.* " No absurdity can be named out of the reach of a *distinction.* " And when we understand it not, it operates most effectually, " because then we may suppose there is something in it." *p.* 150.

L.—Truly, Sir, to hear you swagger at this wild rate,

one would think you had an adversary at your feet begging for quarter. But if you be in this *gasconading* humour, when you ought to be sensible, that you just come from being driven out of all your entrenchments, how would you proclaim your victory with beat of drum, and sound of trumpet, had the advantage of any one argument been visibly on your side?

You began the attack with arguments from *scripture*: but finding your own artillery turned against you, you made haste to call the *senses* to your assistance, and these you bragged of as an *invincible host.* But they were unable to stand their ground against plain *scriptural* facts, *common experience* and *reason.* Lastly, you halled into the field some *fathers;* the greatest part of them most wretchedly *disguised* or *mangled;* and you would needs force them to maintain a cause, against which they all solemnly protest, when they are allowed to speak their own minds. Yet you have the confidence to tell me with a serious air, *that scriptures, primitive church and fathers are all against me, and that I have nothing in the world on my side but an unintelligible jargon of metaphysics,* with a deal more of such rodomontado stuff.

However I must own you have managed the *fathers* with most exquisite skill, sometimes by the most strained and contradictory interpretations, and other times by suppressing some *material part* of the text, which might serve as a key to open the true sense and meaning of the author. By the help of these ingenious artifices the *fathers* may be made mere *punchinellos,* or speaking trumpets, and in spite of their *great age* be taught the modern *protestant* language, which they were utter strangers to 1200 years ago.

But you refer me to Dr *Cosin's unanswerable history of transubstantiation,* and particularly to his quotations from the *fathers;* out of which you thought fit to choose to the number of *seven.* And I presume I may be allowed to have that good opinion both of your judgment, and zeal for the cause, as not to doubt, but that out of the numerous quotations, with which Dr *Cosin* has crammed

his book, you have picked the very *choicest*. For it is not reasonable to suppose, that a judicious collector, who had so much choice before him, would leave the best, and take the worst. Whence it is obvious to guess, what sort of lumber you have left behind, when the wretched ones you have made choice of, are the very best of the bunch. One of your quotations, is taken from an *heretic* instead of an *orthodox father*. Your mentioning St *Chrysostom*, and St *Austin* have served for no other purpose than to give me a fair occasion to shew how flatly those two fathers are against you: *three* other *fathers* are downright falsified. For *Origen's* words are *clipped* to conceal their true meaning; and in your quotations from *Theodoret* and *Gelasius* you have practised the art both of *clipping* and *coining*. Thus, after all your boasting, your quotations turn only to your confusion: and if these be the most *select* ones of your *unanswerable Doctor*, it will be no rashness to judge, that the rest of his quotations are either nothing to the purpose, or that he has taken care to cook and dress them with the same exquisite skill, as some of those you have already entertained me with.

SECTION XXVIII.—SOME ANIMADVERSIONS UPON DR COSIN'S HISTORY OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

But, to come to a closer examination of that author, I perceive it is his example has encouraged you to that wild and defenceless assertion, viz., *that the whole primitive church, and all the fathers are against us*. For I find him under the same sort of *delirium*, p. 159, where he tells us, *that transubstantiation is a mere novelty, invented about the middle of the twelfth century, and confirmed by no ecclesiastical or papal decree before the year* 1215. This I own is laying the axe to the root, if the *Doctor* can make good what he says. For, if he can prove, *that the doctrine of transubstantiation is a novelty invented about the middle of the twelfth century*, he certainly gains his cause: But, instead of that, he has deprived himself of the very

possibility of proving it by what he writes, p. 137, which is a flat contradiction to it. His words are these: *At last a new form of retractation was imposed on* Berengarius, *whereby he was henceforth to confess under pain of the Pope's high displeasure, that the mystic bread is substantially turned into the true and proper flesh of Christ.*

Here, Sir, if you can bring off your *unanswerable* author, you will do him a signal piece of service. *Berengarius* began to broach his new doctrine concerning the *Eucharist* about three years before the middle of the *eleventh century*, and one article of his heresy was, *that the bread and wine are not changed by consecration into the body and blood of Christ:* as appears plainly from the very form of retractation, which he was obliged to make in these remarkable words: *I* Berengarius *with my heart believe, and with my tongue confess, that the bread and wine, which are placed upon the altar, are by the mystery of holy prayer, and the words of our Redeemer substantially changed into the true and proper and life-giving flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.* This, Sir, is the *retractation* Dr *Cosin* speaks of; and was made in the *Roman council* under Pope *Gregory* VII. the 79th year of the *eleventh century.*

Now, if it be true (as it most certainly is) what the *Doctor* tells us, p. 137, that *Berengarius* was obliged to make a public profession of the doctrine of *transubstantiation* in the *eleventh century* (in which he lived and died) I desire to know how it can likewise be true, what he tells us, p. 159, that *transubstantiation* is a novelty invented about the *middle* of the *twelfth!* unless a doctrine can be professed about four score years before it is invented: this I think is a sufficient warning to any man not to believe the *Doctor* upon his bare word.

But, setting aside the grossness of this palpable contradiction, which is no small blemish in an *unanswerable piece*, the falsehood of his historical account may be demonstrated from unquestionable facts. *Transubstantiation* (says the Doctor) was invented about the *middle* of the *twelfth century;* yet all the learned know, that *Beren-*

garius began to write against it about the year 1047, that is, about a hundred years before the *Doctor's* epocha.

Nay his new scheme of a mere *figurative* or *symbolical presence* no sooner appeared in public, but was opposed by the most learned writers of that age, and condemned the first time in a *council* held at *Rome* under *Leo* IX. anno 1050, and the same year in *two councils* more, one held at *Vercelles*, the other at *Paris*. Five years after it was again condemned in *two councils*, one held at *Florence*, the other at *Tours*. And four years after that in a *council* at *Rome* under *Nicholas* II. in which council *Berengarius* threw his own writings into the fire; though (as bishop *Lanfranc* feared) with a bended body, but not an humbled heart, *inclinato corpore, sed non humiliato corde*. After that it was again condemned in a council at *Rouen*, anno 1063; in another at *Poitiers*, anno 1075; and in two others at *Rome* under *Gregory* VII., anno 1078 and anno 1097.

Thus was *Berengarius's* doctrine against *transubstantiation* condemned by 10 *provincial councils* during his life; and seven years after his death (which happened anno 1088) it was again condemned in a numerous *council* at *Plaisance*, in which the *decree* is thus expressed, *that the bread and wine, when they are consecrated upon the altar, are truly and essentially changed into the body and blood of our Lord, and not in figure only*. Tom. 10. Conc. Lab. p. 502.

Now, Sir, these undoubted facts are *first* an unanswerable proof, that the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* was believed by the *church* in the *middle* of the *eleventh century;* and it could not be *then* believed, if it was *first invented* about the middle of the *twelfth;* that is, about a hundred years after; as the *Doctor* tells us.

They are likewise an unanswerable proof of the falsehood of what he adds, viz., *that it was not confirmed by any ecclesiastical or papal decree before the year* 1215. For I take it to be an undoubted truth, that the *eleventh* century was before the *thirteenth*. And I think the *decrees* of eleven *provincial councils*, at some of which the *Pope* himself *presided* in person, may properly be called

ecclesiastical and *papal decrees*. So that the *Doctor* is most grievously out in both the parts of his story.

G.—My lord, the word *transubstantiation* never was heard of till the fourth *Lateran Council* which was held An. 1215. So far therefore Dr *Cosin* has truth on his side.

L.—But other words equivalent to it were frequently heard of even amongst the *ancient fathers*, as I have already instanced in some, and shall instance in more immediately. But, Sir, are we disputing about the word *transubstantiation*, or the *doctrine* signified by that *word?* Has Dr *Cosin* writ his elaborate history only to prove that *transubstantiation* is a *new word?* Or was there any need of forty quotations from the *fathers* to decide this weighty point? Truly, Sir, though I have but a very indifferent opinion of the *Doctor's* performance, I cannot think him such an errant trifler, as this would make him.

You know as well as I that the thing signified by the word *transubstantiation* is *a change of one substance into another*. And in relation to the *eucharist* it signifies *a change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of our Saviour Christ made by the words of consecration*. And the question is not, whether the word *transubstantiation* be *old* or *new*, or *when* it was first made use of to signify that *mystery;* but whether the *mystery* signified by it be the *ancient* faith of the *Church*. Nay I have so good an opinion of the *Doctor's* judgment as to presume he means the *doctrine itself*, and not the *word*, when he tells us, *that transubstantiation is a novelty invented about the middle of the twelfth century, and that it was not confirmed by any ecclesiastical or papal decree before the year* 1215.

But, if he slinks away from the *true question*, and means no more than to trifle about the *word*, I know not where he will find an adversary, and I am very ready to grant, that as the word *consubstantial* was first made use of in the great *council* of *Nice* to express the *divinity* of *Christ* against the *Arians*, and that as this was not coining a *new article* of faith, but only a *new word* to express the *ancient faith* more clearly; so in like manner

the word *transubstantiation* was first used in the *Lateran Council* held anno 1215, to express the *ancient faith* of the *Church* in relation to the *mystery* of the holy *eucharist.*

But what is all this to the Doctor's purpose? Is this a consequence becoming a man of sense and learning, *the word* transubstantiation *was not generally made use of before the year* 1215, *therefore the* doctrine *signified by it is a novelty, and was not confirmed by any ecclesiastical or papal decree before that time!* If you have nothing better to say in defence of your *unanswerable* author, it will go hard with him in the judgment of all unbiassed men. For, as to the *doctrinal part* in question, I have already demonstrated from undeniable facts, that the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* was believed by the *Church* in the *eleventh* century, and that by consequence it was not a *novelty* invented about the middle of the *twelfth.* From the same unquestionable facts I have demonstrated, that, if the *eleventh* century was by good computation before the *thirteenth*, the same doctrine was confirmed by eleven *provincial councils;* or *ecclesiastical decrees* before the year 1215. And this is a full and plain confutation of the chief article of the *Doctor's* history; which was to fix the *epocha* of the general belief of *transubstantiation* no higher than the *thirteenth century.*

But to give you still a more ample demonstration of the *Doctor's* fruitful invention, and skill in *romancing*, he tells us, p. 131, *that almost all the French, Italians, and English of those times were of* Berengarius's *opinion.* And p. 132, *that it was maintained by many famous nations.* A man must surely have a very large stock of confidence to assert two facts so notoriously false. For, *first*, if almost all the *French*, *Italians*, and *English* held *Berengarius's* doctrine, and if it was maintained by *many famous nations*, how came it to pass, that in the very age he lived in, there were *eleven provincial councils* called to condemn it, and not one to approve or defend it either in *Italy*, *France*, or *England*, or any other nation of the known world! Were all the *famous nations*, the

Doctor speaks of, intoxicated with wine, or laid fast asleep with *opium*, that they could not stand up for the common cause of *religion*, nor oppose *councils* against *councils* to support the sinking credit of their champion, and save him from being run down by numbers! Or must we suppose it to be the common practice of *bishops* to define a doctrine contrary to their own conscience and belief! Such pretty suppositions as these may indeed relieve the *Doctor* in some measure: but without their help it is impossible for any man in his right senses to believe, that *many famous nations*, nay even one single *famous nation* was for *Berengarius*, when there are no noted facts to render it credible, and innumerable ones to disprove it.

2*dly*, If *Berengarius* asserted the *ancient doctrine*, and had so *many famous nations* for him, I ask, whether the *Greeks* were of the number of these *famous nations?* For I am sure the *western nations* were all against him. And if the *Greeks* were for him, why did they not engage openly in his quarrel? They were at that time so exasperated against the *Latins*, that they even reproached them with the most trivial things, as *shaving their beards*, *eating hogs'-flesh*, and *consecrating in unleavened bread;* but never accused them of any error relating to the subject in question: which is a demonstrative proof, that the *Greeks* agreed with the *Latins*, and were against *Berengarius* in this *mystery*.

3*dly*, The most learned writers of the *eleventh* age knew nothing of the *many famous nations*, the *Doctor* speaks of; and I may modestly presume, they could not be ignorant of the *religion* professed in any *noted* nation of *Christendom*.

Hugh bishop of *Langres* in *France* writing to *Berengarius*, told him, that he scandalized the whole church: *universalem ecclesiam scandalizas*.

Durandus abbot of *Troarn* in *Normandy* told him he impunged the doctrine of the whole Catholic Church. *Quod catholica per orbem universum prædicat ecclesia*.

Lanfranc primate of *England*, and a man of extra-

ordinary parts, in the beginning of his book against *Berengarius* tells him he holds an opinion contrary to the whole world. *Contra orbem sentire cæpisti.* And *Guitmond* abbot of *Averse* told him, he was the *author* of his sect. *It is* (says he) *notoriously known at this time, that this mad doctrine never was taught before* Berengarius *began to run mad.* L. 3. *Notissimum est hoc tempore, priusquam* Berengarius *insanisset, hujusmodi insanias nunquam fuisse.* And in the same book he reproaches him, that not even any *poor town* or *village* had received his doctrine: *neque enim eis vel una civitatula vel villa concessit.* And pray, Sir, in what part of the terrestrial globe were *then* the *many famous nations* discovered since by your *unanswerable* Doctor?

SECTION XXIX.—THE ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

But, to return to that piece of Doctor *Cosin's* history, where he tells us, *that transubstantiation was first invented about the middle of the twelfth century*, I shall now produce some testimonies of fathers, that lived in the *fourth*: and if these teach the doctrine of *transubstantiation* as plainly as *Bellarmin* himself, then the *Doctor* must stand condemned. I have already fairly proved St *Austin* and St *Chrysostom* to be found *papists* in relation to the article in question. To these I shall for brevity's sake only add four more, two *Greek*, and two *Latin* fathers (for I omit a whole cloud more of venerable witnesses) *viz.*, St *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, St *Gregory Nyssen*, St *Ambrose*, and St *Jerome*. Whoever cannot find the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* in these fathers, must have very bad eyes. I say the *doctrine;* for I am not disposed to trifle about the *word.*

St *Cyril* (Catech. Mystag. 4.) writes thus: *Jesus Christ* (says he) *in Cana of Galilee changed water into wine, which has some affinity with blood, by his will only. And can we not believe him,* THAT HE CHANGED THE WINE

INTO HIS OWN BLOOD?——*Let your soul rejoice in the Lord being persuaded of it as a thing most certain, that the bread, which appears to our eyes, is not bread, though our taste do judge it to be so, but that it is the body of* Jesus Christ. *And that the wine, which appears to our eyes is not wine, though our sense of taste takes it for wine, but that it is the blood of* Jesus Christ. Nothing can be plainer than this.

St *Gregory Nyssen* in the same century having said, *that the immortal body of* Christ (*as a powerful preservative*) *is received into our bowels,* and then inquired, *how this same body, which is distributed to so many thousands of the faithful over all the earth, should be entire in each of these, and in each part, which they receive, and yet not cease to remain entire in itself?* He answers, because the visible *substance* of *bread* and *wine* are *changed* into it. *The body of* Christ, says he, *is deified by his person. And therefore I have reason to believe, that to this day the bread being sanctified by the word of God* IS CHANGED INTO THEBODY OF GOD THE SON.—*For there the divine person sanctified the body, which had bread for its nourishment, and so was as it were bread. And here in like manner, bread, to use the words of the apostle, is sanctified by the word of God and prayer. Not so, that it is to be changed into the body of* Christ *by nourishing it;* BUT THAT IT IS SUDDENLY CHANGED INTO IT BY THESE WORDS, *this is my body;* THE NATURE OF THOSE THINGS THAT APPEAR, BEING TRANSELEMENTED INTO IT BY THE POWER OF CONSECRATION. In Orat. Catech. Cap. 37. T. 3. Edit. Par.

This I think is teaching the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation*, though the word itself be not made use of.

St *Ambrose* likewise teaches it so very plainly, that the *protestant Centurists* made bold to give him a reprimand for it, saying, *Ambrose did not write well of transubstantiation.* Cent. 4. C. 4. Col. 295. It seems then he wrote of it; and since he lived above 700 years before the middle of the *twelfth* century, I know not what will become of Doctor *Cosin's epocha.*

Let us then see how he handles this subject in his book *De Initiatis: Perhaps*, says he, *you may tell me I see another thing.——I must therefore prove, that what you receive, is not that which nature framed, but that, which the benediction has created; and that the benediction has a greater force than nature.* Moses *held a rod in his hand, he threw it down, and it was made a serpent. Again he took hold of the serpent, and it returned into the nature of a rod——The rivers of Egypt ran with streams of pure water, when presently blood gushed forth out of the fountain. There was no water in the rivers, and again at the prayer of* Moses *the blood ceased, and the nature of waters returned——.*

To those he adds other miracles: *viz.*, that when *Moses* held up his rod, the sea opened a passage for the *Israelites.* That *Jordan* ran back. That *Moses* brought water out of a rock by striking it; and that *Elisha* made iron swim upon the water contrary to its nature. Then he goes on thus: *We see therefore that grace is stronger than nature. Now, if a man's blessing could change the course of nature, what do we think of the divine consecration itself, in which the very words of our Saviour operate? For the sacrament, which you receive, is made by the words of Christ. And if Elisha's words were able to draw fire from heaven, will not Christ's words* BE ABLE TO CHANGE THE SPECIES OF THE ELEMENTS? *We read of all creatures in the world,* he said and they were made, he commanded, and they were created: *Is not then the word of* Christ, *which could give a being to that which had none, able to* CHANGE THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE, INTO WHAT THEY WERE NOT BEFORE? *For it is not less* TO GIVE NEW NATURES TO THINGS, THAN TO CHANGE THEIR NATURES.

Lastly, St *Jerome* Epist. ad *Heliod.* writes thus: *God forbid I should speak detractingly of those men* [Bishops] *who succeeding the apostles in their functions do* MAKE THE BODY OF CHRIST *with their sacred mouth.*

These certainly are authentic witnesses of the *public faith* of the *church* in their times, both in regard of their *holiness* and *learning;* and because they never were

accused by the *church* of any error against faith; which censure they could not have escaped, had they been guilty of broaching any doctrine contrary to the *known faith* of the *universal church*. Whence it is plain, that they taught no other doctrine, than what they had received by a *constant tradition* from the *apostles:* for otherwise they would undoubtedly have been publicly censured for introducing *novelties* into the *church*.

Even many *protestants* convinced by these, and other numberless testimonies of the *ancient fathers* have owned the *antiquity* of *transubstantiation*. For besides the *Centurists*, who blame several fathers by name for teaching it, *Adamus Francisci* (marg. Theol. p. 256) confesses *that transubstantiation entered early into the church*. And *Antonius de Adamo* another *protestant* writer (Anat. Miss. p. 36) fairly owns, *that he has not hitherto been able to know, when this opinion of the real and bodily being of Christ in the sacrament did begin*. Which according to St *Austin's* maxim against the *Donatists*, is owning in effect, that it had its beginning from *Christ*, and his *apostles*.

Hence I may fairly conclude, that Doctor *Cosin's* calling *transubstantiation* a *novelty invented about the middle of the twelfth century*, and your telling me *that the primitive church and fathers are all against it*, are two assertions wholly void of truth.

St *Ignatius* bishop of *Antioch*, in the very first age a *disciple* of the *apostles*, and an illustrious *martyr*, is alone sufficient to disprove both the *Doctor*, and yourself; and give us certain information of what the *primitive* church believed and taught concerning the *eucharist*. For in his genuine epistle to the church of *Smyrna* he has these remarkable words (quoted also by *Theodoret*) of the *heretics* of his time: *They do not admit eucharists and oblations, because they do not confess*, THAT THE EUCHARIST IS THE FLESH OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, WHICH SUFFERED FOR OUR SINS, AND WHICH THE FATHER RAISED AGAIN BY HIS BOUNTY.

SECTION XXX.—TRANSUBSTANTIATION NOT REPUGNANT TO THE CURRENT PRINCIPLES OF PHILOSOPHY.

G.—My lord, you have repeated many times that the *substance* of *bread* and *wine* are changed into the *body* and *blood* of *Christ;* but that the *accidents* of both remain.

L.—Well, Sir, what then?

"*G.*—Then I ask, whether you know the difference betwixt "*substance* and *accident?*"—p. 150.

L.—Sir, when I was a boy, I was taught to answer, that *substance* is *a being which subsists by itself,* and that the *essence* of an *accident* is not *actual inhesion,* but a *natural exigency* to inhere. So that, though by a *supernatural* power it may exist without any *subject,* it still retains its *essence,* because it naturally requires a *subject,* even when it exists without one.

G.—My lord, this seems to be a *philosophical scheme* cooked up expressly to make the hard morsel of *transubstantiation* go down the better.

L.—Sir, I believe the cookery does not please your palate. However it is good sound *Aristotelian philosophy.* And *Aristotle* (who lived long enough before *transubstantiation* was known in the world) could not easily be bribed by *papists* to come in to their notions. Now he taught expressly, that *accidents* are really distinguished, and may consequently by a *supernatural* power be *separated* from their *substance;* as we say they are in the *sacrament* of the *holy Eucharist.* And so we cannot be said to have made a *precarious* philosophical scheme in favour of *transubstantiation:* since we only maintain, that it is not repugnant to current principles held for many hundred years before christianity was established.

G.—My lord, when the *substance* of bread is gone, how can the *figure,* and *colour,* and *taste* of it remain? "For "then there will be *accidents* of *nothing.* There will be "*roundness,* and *nothing round; whiteness,* and *nothing white;* "a *taste* and and *nothing tasted;* which is ridiculous."—*p.* 151.

L.—It is so, Sir, if *quantity* be *nothing.* But *quantity* according to *Aristotle's* philosophy is a *physical accident*

distinct, and by consequence *separable* from *substance*; and it is the immediate subject of the other *accidents* mentioned by you; which in reality are but so many different *modifications* of *quantity*: and therefore cannot be destitute of their *proper subject*, whether *quantity* be joined to, or *separated from* its *substance*; as it is in the *sacrament* of the *holy eucharist*.

"*G.*—My lord, if *quantity*, and other *accidents* subsist by "themselves, why are they not *substances?* For that is "the definition you give of *substance*."—pp. 151, 152.

L.—Sir, the reason is, because they do not subsist *naturally* by themselves, as *substance* does, but only by a supernatural power.

"*G.*—But if it be by *miracle*, that they stand by them- "selves, then by *miracle* they are *substances*, and there is an "end of the *jargon*."—p. 152.

L.—Sir, I hope there is. For I have already told you, that their *essence*, according to *Aristotle's* philosophy (which I think you have not yet confuted), is not an *actual inhesion*, but a *natural exigency* of it, which remains when they are *miraculously* separated from their *substance*. And therefore, good Sir, the *miracle*, by which they are thus *separated*, does not convert them into *substances*.

"*G.*—If your lordship be in earnest about this *logic* of "*substance* and *accidents*, will you lay a good wager upon "it?"—*p.* 153.

L.—*Hudibras* says, *fools for arguments lay wagers*.

"*G.*—Yet you have laid all your *honour* and *estate* upon "it. But are you so sure of it, that you would take your "*oath* upon it."—*p.* 153.

L.—Whatever you may fancy, Sir, I do not know that I hazard the value of a farthing upon the *logical* question of *substance* and *accidents*.

G.—That is very strange, my lord. Is it not a point of *faith* with you, that the *accidents* of *bread* and *wine* remain after the *consecration?*

L.—It is, Sir; if by *accidents* you mean the *signs* or *appearances* of *bread* and *wine*. But whether those *signs* or *appearances* be true *physical accidents*, or only *modi-*

fications of the object, or such impressions made upon our outward senses by the *body* and *blood* of *Christ*, as *bread* and *wine*, if they had been present, would have made; are mere *school questions*, upon which I shall never be disposed to hazard either my *honour* or *estate*, much less *pawn* my *soul* upon the truth or certainty of them; the faith of the church being not the least concerned in them.

G.—But, my lord, did you not just now defend *transubstantiation* by the *philosophical* distinction between *substance* and *accidents?*

L.—But, Sir, do you make no difference between building *faith* upon *philosophy*, and shewing that the one is not repugnant to the other? I believe all *mysteries* of *faith* purely upon *divine revelation*, and not upon their *non-repugnance* to human reason, which only shews them to be *possible*. But if a man be such a trifler as to muster up boyish arguments from *philosophy* against them, am I not *a debtor to the wise, and to the unwise*, and bound to shew that *christianity* and *philosophy* are not irreconcilable? And for this reason I have insisted upon the *Aristotelian* distinction of *accidents* and *substance*: not that the mystery of *transubstantiation* is built upon that *philosophical* distinction, or depends upon it, but only to convince you, that it is not repugnant to the *current principles* of *philosophy*.

"*G.*—My lord, this is that *philosophy*, and *vain deceit* or "*fallacy*, which the *apostle* says will *spoil* or hurt our *faith*. "*Doting upon questions and strifes of words——perverse* "*disputings——and oppositions of science falsely so called*, "*which some professing have erred concerning the faith.* Col. "ii. 8; 1 Tim. vi. 4, 5, 21, 22."—*p.* 153.

L.—Sir, the *apostle* censures those, who draw arguments from *philosophy* to overthrow, or ridicule the sacred mysteries of *christian religion*. So that you have only provided a scourge for your own back; and, if you will but consider yourself attentively in the looking-glass St *Paul* has set before you, it will discover to you the weak condition of your cause. I have proved *transubstantiation* from *scriptures*, and the unquestionable *tra-*

dition of the *church.* And what do you oppose against these solid proofs but arguments from *human reason,* the testimony of our *senses,* and poor trifles of *philosophy,* which the apostle justly calls, *doting upon questions and strifes of words, perverse disputings, and opposition of science falsely so called?* These are the arguments, with which you attack us; and when we have the condescension to take notice of them, and oppose *philosophy* against *philosophy* (which indeed is more than you can in rigour oblige us to in *controversies* of *faith*), you cry out, *that we have nothing but an unintelligible jargon of metaphysics on our side.* As if *philosophy* were intended only to run down *christian religion,* and it were an abuse to employ any part of it in its service.

ADVERTISEMENT.—N. B. that the *gentleman's* whole reply to the notorious nonsense, he has made his *catholic lord* speak in his *Case Stated, p.* 151, can only be ushered in by the nonsense itself which it confutes. This is the reason, why a great part of *pp.* 151—153, is here omitted. For though his *lordship* has now answered every thing, that looks like an objection in those pages; it was impossible to repeat word for word all the *gentleman's* fine drollery contained in them without making his lordship personate the dunce as effectually as he does in the former conversation. For he is there made to answer, *p.* 151, that *actual inherence,* or *insticking* (to render the farce more ridiculous) is the *essence of accidents.* And the *gentleman* taking the advantage of his blunder draws consequences from it, and plays most unmercifully upon him.

If any one has so much idle time to throw away, he may read the forementioned pages in the *gentleman's Case Stated.* Where he will see how poorly his *lordship* comes off at last: when weary of being pelted with hard words, and unable to resist the *gentleman's* powerful *logic,* he asks quarter, and begs leave *to believe as the church believes.* To which his triumphant adversary answers in the following manner.

SECTION XXXI.—OF IMPLICIT FAITH.

" *G.*—Can you believe what the *church* believes without " knowing what she believes? This is believing nothing. " It is *implicit indeed!* At this rate you need but one article " of your *creed,* to believe the *holy catholic church.* And all " the rest may go off *implicitly,* though you should know

" nothing of any other of the *articles*. And what a man " knows nothing of, he can give no *reason* for. But St *Peter* " bids us *be ready always to give an answer to every man that* " *asketh us a reason of the hope* (or faith) *that is in us*. Which " supposes our understanding it ourselves, and not an *implicit* " faith in others of we know not what. So that if you make " *transubstantiation* an *article* of your *faith*, you are obliged " to understand it aright."—*p.* 154.

L.—Sir, I think I do understand it aright; for I know that the *transubstantiation*, which the *church* believes, is *a change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ made by the words of consecration*. And this is as much as I need to *know* or *understand* for my *belief* of it: and neither you, nor the wisest man upon earth knows any more in proportion of the *dark mysteries* of the *blessed trinity*, the *incarnation*, the *propagation* of *original sin*, and such other articles of *faith*, which we both equally believe and profess. Yet I bless God *I shall always be ready to give an answer to every man, that asketh me, a reason of my faith*, or *belief* of these mysteries: and the answer I am ready to give is, because *God has revealed them;* and the church, which is *the ground and pillar of truth*, teaches them. And whoever is not satisfied with this answer, must bid adieu to christianity.

You say, this is believing with *implicit faith*. And I say, there is not a christian in the world, let him be as wise and learned as he will, but is bound to believe innumerable things with *implicit faith*. I presume, Sir, you have not the vanity to pretend to *know*, much less to *understand* the *whole Bible*. Yet I have the charity to think you believe both all the facts and doctrinal truths whether intelligible or unintelligible contained in it. Nay you must either do it, or renounce all revealed religion. And what is this but believing with *implicit faith?* But suppose any one should have the vanity to think he knows and understands the whole Bible, yet it is certain there are thousands amongst christians, who do not; and are not these bound to believe what they neither know, nor understand of it with an *implicit faith?* When St *Peter* said to our Saviour, *John* vi. 68. *Thou hast the*

words of eternal life: had he not an *implicit faith* of all the mysteries of christian religion? And is this a thing to be ridiculed?

You say, at this rate we need but one article of our *creed*, viz., *to believe the holy Catholic Church.* But I deny your consequence. Because there are several articles, all are bound to believe with an *explicit faith.* As, the *being of a God*, the *divinity of Christ, &c.*, and therefore early care is taken to teach children their *creed*, and explain to them all the articles it contains. But let us hear, what you have still more to say against *transubstantiation.*

SECTION XXXII.—NO DANGER OF IDOLATRY FROM THE ADORATION OF CHRIST IN THE EUCHARIST.

" *G.*—But there is something yet more terrible behind. " For, if there be no *transubstantiation*, then you worship " *bread* and *wine* with *latria*, by which you mean the *supreme* " *worship* due to *God* alone."—*p.* 155.

L.—How scrupulous are men sometimes even against their conscience! But pray, Sir, would you be so very much frightened, if an *Arian* should argue thus against the *divinity* of Christ? *But there is something yet more terrible behind: for if Christ be not God, you are all idolaters.* Sir, we have no different classes of *revealed truths* as to their certainty; all being equally grounded upon *God's veracity:* and we are as certain of the *revelation* of Christ's *real presence* in the *eucharist*, as of the *divinity* of his person.

" *G.*—But, my lord, though *transubstantiation* were granted, " and fully understood, yet it is impossible for any man to " know whether he *worships* plain *bread* and *wine*, or the " *body* and *blood* of *Christ;* because in the *rubric* of the *mass*, " *de defectibus circa missam*, there are several cases put, " wherein the *consecration* is void, and there is no *sacrament* " made, and then there is nothing there but plain *bread* and *wine.* " One of these cases is, if there be a greater mixture of any " other grain than of *wheat* in the *wafer.* Another is, if the " *wine* be made of sour grapes or grapes not ripe; *si vinum* " *sit ex uvis acerbis vel non maturis*, which is pretty hard

" to know for the people, who never taste it, or the *wor-*
" *shippers* who see or taste neither but only a *pixis*, or a *cup*
" they look not into: and in both these cases besides others
" it is said, *non conficitur sacramentum*, there is no *sacrament*
" made. And so it is said, if the *intention* of the *priest* be
" wanting, which is impossible to know. Upon which head
" they put a pleasant case; as suppose a priest *intends* to
" consecrate *ten wafers* (for example), and after conse-
" cration there may be found *eleven* or *more;* then none
" of them are consecrated, because the *intention* going
" only to *ten*, it cannot be known, which these *ten* are.
" But if there be *nine* or fewer, they are all consecrated,
" because the *intention* going to *ten*, it includes all within
" that number. Besides you take it wholly upon trust,
" whether there be any *consecration* at all; because your
" *priests* do not *consecrate* before the people, when they
" administer the *sacrament*, but at set times they *consecrate*
" numbers of *wafers* together, which they reserve for occasions,
" and for daily *worship*. Again it is said in some cases, *dubium*
" *est an conficiatur sacramentum*: that it is doubtful whether
" the *sacrament* be made or not. And what shall we do in
" this case? Is it a *doubt* whether we worship *God* or a
" *creature?* Or is it *indifferent* to which we give *latria?*"
pp. 155, 156.

L.—Sir, many of your observations are wholly frivolous; but the sum of all is this, *viz.*, that an *unconsecrated host* may possibly be mistaken for a *consecrated one;* which is easily granted. And you conclude from it, that they, who *adore Christ* supposing him by mistake present under that *host*, are guilty of *idolatry*, which I deny. For how is it possible a person intending nothing else but to *adore Christ*, should commit *idolatry* whether he will or no? *Idolatry* is a most grievous *sin*, and every sin is an *act* of the *will* freely consenting to it. Because, though a man may sometimes commit a sin even against his inclination out of compliance, or for lucre, it is a mere *chimera* to sin against one's will. And how then can he commit the sin of *idolatry*, when his heart and will are wholly intent upon *adoring Christ*, whom he supposes to be *really present.*

We read *John* xii. 21, that several *Gentiles* came with

a desire to see *Christ*. Now let us suppose, that for want of a guide to direct them, they had prostrated themselves at the feet of some other, would any reasonable man have condemned them as guilty of *idolatry?* Or suppose St *Mary Magdalene*, as she took *Christ* to be the *gardener*, John ii. 15, had with as much innocence afterwards taken the *gardener* for *Christ*, would this have made her an *idolater?* I presume your excessive zeal would have passed sentence of condemnation upon her. But I can never imagine, that a true and ardent love of *Jesus Christ* can be the sin of *idolatry*.

But let us hear, how an eminent *protestant* writer answers this frivolous objection. I mean Dr *Taylor:* who in his *Liberty of Prophesying*, Sect. ii. Numb. 26, writes thus: *Idolatry* (says he) *is forsaking the true God, and giving divine worship to a creature, or to an idol, that is, to an imaginary god. Now it is evident, that the object of their* [i. e. the *papists*] *adoration in the blessed sacrament, is the only true and eternal God, hypostatically joined with his humanity; which humanity they believe actually present under the veil of the sacramental signs. And if they thought him not present, they are so far from worshipping the bread in this case, that themselves profess it idolatry to do so. Which is a* DEMONSTRATION, *that their soul has nothing in it but what is a great enemy to idolatry: and nothing burns in hell, but proper will.* Thus Doctor *Taylor;* who writes like a fair adversary, and a man of sense.

As to the two smart questions, wherewith you conclude, viz.: *Is it a doubt whether we worship God or a creature? Or is it indifferent, to which we give latria?* I answer 't is not. Because our *adoration* is directed wholly and solely to *Jesus Christ;* who I presume is neither a *pure creature*, nor an *idol*.

G.—But do you not *adore* the *host?* And if it be an *unconsecrated* one, do you not then *adore* a *creature?*

L.—Sir, the *host* implies two things. *First*, the *sacramental signs*, and *2dly*, the *true body and blood of Christ*. And therefore, when we are said to *adore* the

host, the meaning is, that we adore *Jesus Christ* under the *veil* of the *sacramental signs*. But our *adoration* is not directed to the *accidents* themselves any more than the adoration of *Christ clothed* upon earth was directed to his *clothes*. And so there is no danger of *idolatry*, though the *host*, which the people present suppose *consecrated*, should by mistake or malice be an *unconsecrated* one. Because their act of *worship* being directed to *Christ alone* supposed to be corporally present and not to *bread*, their mistake regards the *place* alone, and not the *object*.

ADVERTISEMENT.—His *lordship* in the *gentleman's Case Stated* having some difficulty to get rid of the foregoing objection, answers (according to his usual method of mistaking things) that in the supposition of an unconsecrated host, they who adore it are guilty only of *material*, but not of *formal* idolatry. To which the *gentleman* replies in the following manner.

SECTION XXXIII.—OF SCHOOL DISTINCTIONS.

" *G.*—These *school distinctions* are mere *cobwebs*, and will " bear no weight. For *material idolatry* is *idolatry*, else it " were not *material idolatry*. And if our *intention* will solve " it, it will solve it also as to the *heathens*, who directed their " *worship*, and referred it ultimately to the *true God*, as has " been shewn.

" But I hope you will not make *Solomon* so stupid, as you " have made the *heathen*, and to think that he believed " *Ashtoreth* the goddess of the *Sidonians*, and *Milchom* the " abomination of the *Ammonites*, and the other gods of the " nations whom he worshipped, to be every one of them the " one only *supreme God*. Yet he is charged with *idolatry*, " whether *material* or *formal* is not the question; nor is there " a word of it in the *scriptures*; for *idolatry* is *idolatry*, let " it be of what sort it will; and these distinctions are only " to excuse it, and let it loose among us.

" The *Arians* were charged with *idolatry* for worshipping " *Christ* supposing him but a *creature*: and they were so far " from disowning the true *God*, that it was his honour they " pretended in denying the *divinity* of *Christ*. So of the

" *Socinians*, and our *Unitarians* among us, who give themselves that name for supporting the *unity* of the *Godhead*. Yet they are charged with idolatry for worshipping *Christ* as an *inferior God*. And they have the same distinction as you of *latria* and *dulia*, a higher and lower degree of worship. But all *religious* worship is forbidden to any but to *God alone*. These *degrees* of it are of human invention to excuse your breach of the commands of God. But we are to keep far from the forbidden thing, not try how near we can come to it by *distinctions* of our own coining. We ought to *make a hedge about the law*, as the phrase of the *Jews* was to guard against any approaches towards the breach of it. Or in the apostle's words, *to abstain from all appearance of evil*. And remember, that you venture your soul upon these *distinctions*. Which then are in the safest way, we who follow the direct *rule of God's commandments*, as they are plainly laid down to us in holy *scripture* without *turning to the right hand or to the left, without either adding to them, or diminishing from them as we are commanded*, Deut iv. 32; or you who *distinguish* the plainest *precepts*, and make them speak *metaphysics?*

" By which the worship of the *devil* may be justified: for it is plain, that when he offered to our *Saviour* all the *kingdoms* of the *world*, he meant not that he was the *supreme God* and *sovereign disposer*. For he said, *that is delivered unto me, and to whomsover I will I give it*. Luke iv. 6, 8. And it is as plain by the answer our Saviour gave him, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him alone thou shalt serve*, that all sort of *religious worship* was forbidden to be given to any but to *God* alone. And St *Austin* makes all to be *devils* who *require* and *accept* it. *Latria* and *dulia* signify both the same thing, that is, *service;* and here all *religious service* is reserved to *God* alone. The *distinction* of the *schools* is vain, and meant only to elude the commands of *God*, and introduce all *superstition*."—pp. 156—158.

L.—Sir, since you are so very sharp upon *school distinctions*, I shall consider presently, whether you be not many times obliged to have recourse to them as well as we. But in the case we have now before us, to wit, of an *unconsecrated host*, the distinction between *formal* and *material idolatry* is wholly unnecessary. For I deny positively, that in that case a person adoring *Christ*

(whom he supposes *really present* under the *sacramental veils*) commits even *material idolatry*. Because the *direct object* of his adoration is not *bread* or the *accidents* of it, but *Jesus Christ* alone: who being neither a *pure creature*, nor a *false god*, his adoration of him is no idolatry at all, neither *material* or *formal*, but an act of divine worship. Pray remember what Dr *Taylor* has already told us upon this subject.

However, though the distinction of *formal* and *material* be unnecessary, as I have now fully shewed, in the case under debate, what wretched stuff do you entertain me with, when you tell me, *that material idolatry is idolatry, else it were not material idolatry.* Which is just as wisely said, as if a young *logician* should argue thus: *a dead man is a man, else he were not a dead man.* And you add, *if our intention will solve it* (that is, excuse it from being *idolatry*) *it will also solve it as to the heathens, who directed their worship, and referred it ultimately to the true God.* Which is flatly false, though you confidently add, *as you have shewed:* whereas you should only say, *as you have endeavoured and laboured hard to shew to your immortal honour.* For you may as easily prove the *devil* to be a *beauty*, as that the *heathens* directed their worship, and referred it ultimately to the *true God.*

Your instance concerning *Solomon* is the widest imaginable from the purpose. For though he neither believed *Ashteroth*, nor *Milchom*, nor the other *heathen idols*, whom he worshipped, to be *true gods*, yet he was certainly guilty not of *material*, but true and *formal idolatry;* because his direct intention (though out of compliance to his mistresses) was to offer *divine honour* to their *idols;* and his crime was precisely this, that knowing them to be the *statues* of *devils* or *evil spirits* he paid them the *supreme worship*, which is due to God alone.

As to the *Arians*, *Socinians*, and *Unitarians* mentioned by you, they may likewise be justly charged with *idolatry*, if believing *Christ* to be no more than a *pure creature*, they worship him as *God*, which I never heard they

did; but you say, *they come off with the distinction of latria and dulia;* then I am sure they do not worship him as *God;* as I shall prove immediately, by explaining the meaning of that distinction.

But let us now see, whether you can stand your ground against *Socinians*, *Anabapists*, and *Jews*, without the help of *school distinctions*, which you declaim so bitterly against. Suppose a *Socinian* should prove his blasphemy against the *divinity* of *Christ* from these words of St *John* xv. 18, *My Father is greater than I;* how would you answer him?

G.—Very easily, my lord, for I would tell him those words are to be understood not with relation to the *divine*, but *human nature* of *Christ*.

L.—Very right, Sir. But it seems then that school distinctions are not always mere *cobwebs*, or *vain things that will bear no weight*, but they are sometimes both useful and necessary to support religion. And pray remember (as you just now exhorted me) that you venture the very foundation of *christian religion*, and your own soul into the bargain upon your *distinction* of the forementioned plain words of Christ. For if the distinction be *vain*, you are guilty of *real idolatry* in worshipping *Christ* as *God*. But if distinctions be *good* and *legal* in a *protestant's* mouth against *Socinians*, I may modestly say they are equally *good* and *legal* in a *papist's* mouth against *protestants*.

G.—But, my lord, do we *distinguish* the *commandments?*

L.—Sir, to answer this, I have a second question ready for *you*. Is not this precept, *thou shalt not kill*, one of the ten *commandments?*

G.—What then?

L.—Why then, Sir, all those are guilty of a breach of this *commandment*, who *kill* their enemies in war. For the *commandment* is *general* and *absolute;* and there is no *distinction*, or *limitation* tacked to it.

G.—But, my lord, all the world understands it of *killing* by *private authority*.

L.—Then all the world must condemn the malicious nonsense you have talked, and own, that the *plainest commandment* may be *distinguished*, and made *to speak metaphysics*, as you call it.

But I have a third question to ask, is not *Saturday*, or the seventh day of the week meant by the *Sabbath day* in holy writ?

G.—Yes, my lord. For God himself says *Deut.* v. 13, 14: *Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.* And therefore *Saturday* is called in *Latin*, *dies Sabati*, as it is still the day of *worship* amongst the *Jews*.

L.—Well, and is not this precept, *thou shalt keep holy the Sabbath day*, among the *commandments* of the *Decalogue?* Is it not clear and precise as to the very day of the week?

G.—Who doubts it?

L.—And why then do you keep the *Sunday* instead of *Saturday holy?*

G.—My lord, the *particular day*, which we call *Saturday*, was only commanded with relation to the *Jews*, but not to *christians*, who have therefore changed the *Saturday* into the *Sunday*.

L.—What! still another *distinction* even of the very *plainest precept*, and that without the least foundation in the word of God! Did you not just now tell me, that *such distinctions are mere human inventions to excuse our breach of the commands of God?* That *we are to keep far from the forbidden thing, not try how near we can come to it by distinctions?* That finally *we ought to make a hedge about the law, or in the apostle's words to abstain from all appearance of evil?* Thus you preached to me just now with a great deal of zeal. But pray, Sir, what becomes now of all this fine *cant?* For either the *commandments* may be *distinguished*, or not. If not, how can you defend yourself either against *Anabaptists* denying the lawfulness of shedding blood according to the fifth commandment, or against the *Jews* insisting upon the express commandment of *keeping the Sabbath*, that is,

the *Saturday, holy?* But if they may, is not all you have said against our *distinguishing* the *commandments* mere pedantic cavilling and nonsense?

Suppose a *Jew* should retort upon you, what you just now said to me, viz.· *Which then are in the safest way, we who follow the direct rule of God's commandments as they are plainly laid down to us in holy scripture without turning to the right hand or to the left, or you who distinguish the plainest precepts, and make them speak metaphysics?* Suppose, I say, a *Jew* should retort this canting stuff upon you, you must either turn *Jew*, or make him an answer, which will be a cap to fit your own block, unless you have this pretty *salvo* to come off with, viz., that a *popish distinction* of the commandments *is meant only to elude them, and introduce all superstition*, but that *protestants* may *distinguish* them without any such felonious intention: and then we shall have a supernumerary *metaphysical distinction*, which the *schoolmen* yet never thought of.

However I perceive the *popish distinction* of *latria* and *dulia* will by no means go down with you. But pray, Sir, what do you call the *honour* you pay to *saints* and *angels*, when you keep *holy days* in memory of them? For I am apt to think this *distinction*, as *popish* as it is, will be here full as serviceable to you against the *dissenters*, as it is to us against the *Church of England.* For, give it what name you please, if *keeping holy days* be any part of *christian devotion*, all the world besides yourselves will call it a *religious honour*: because when we *honour* persons merely for *supernatural gifts* bestowed upon them by *God*, then the *honour* we pay them is in the common language of mankind called *religious.* And, if the *English* word, *worship*, be extendable, as it certainly is, to all sorts of *religious honour*, then it follows, that besides the *supreme religious worship* called *latria*, which is due to *God alone*, there is likewise an *inferior religious worship* called *dulia*, paid to God's *saints* and *angels* even by your *church.* Which plainly shews, how wretchedly you are out in saying that *latria* and *dulia signify both the same thing:*

and the consequence of all is, that you are no less out in your main assertion, viz., *that all sort of religious worship is forbid to be given to any but to God alone;* unless you will acknowledge, that your *own church* is as guilty of acting contrary to that pretended prohibition, as *papists* themselves. Nay, it is impossible for you to answer the *dissenters* but with the help of that very *popish distinction*, or something equivalent to it, which you have taken so much pains to ridicule.

As to your saying, that St *Austin* makes all to be *devils, who require or accept of any religious honour*, I am only sorry you put me again in mind of your sins past: I mean your *controversial sin* of *falsifying;* which in a dispute about *religion* may be counted amongst the deadly ones; and ought therefore to be repented of and retracted, rather than aggravated by an insulting repetition.

But the finest stroke is yet to come, *viz.*, your saying, that by the distinction of *supreme* and *inferior worship*, which we call *latria* and *dulia*, *the worship of the devil may be justified.* What, Sir! are you in good earnest, when you talk such extravagant stuff? May the *devil* be *worshipped* with an *inferior* or *relative honour* as well as the *friends* and *servants* of *God!* This I presume is a piece of *divinity*, in which you have not yet many followers. However, as you have already *one holiday* for all the *saints* in general, and *another* for St *Michael* and all the *angels;* who knows, but that by your interest and zeal the *reformation* of the *Church of England* may be so well improved in time, that a *day* may likewise be set apart for *Lucifer* and his *angels?* For since *the one* may be *justified* by *the other*, why should not the *devil* have his due? I am sure the *religious honour* you pay to *saints* and *angels* in keeping their *holidays* is *justified* by the practice of *both churches;* and if that will *justify* our giving the same *religious honour* to the *devil*, I see no reason why, according to this new system of *protestant divinity*, he should not have a *holiday* allowed him.

The *papists* indeed will be highly scandalized and cry out shame against it; because they make a large differ-

ence between the *faithful friends* and *servants* of *God* and his *incorrigible mortal enemy the devil.* They discover in the former the beautiful supernatural gifts of *grace* and *glory*, which entitle them to an *inferior religious honour* for the sake of him who has bestowed those gifts upon them, and to whom that *honour* is *ultimately* referred: but they see nothing in the *devil*, which can justify their honouring him in the same manner.

It is true, the *devil* was so true to himself (as you have carefully remarked to do him *justice*) as not to pretend to be the *supreme God* and *sovereign disposer* of all things. But does it follow from thence, that he may be put upon the *level* with *God's* most *faithful servants*, and be *honoured* by us as they are? For shame, Sir, see your error, and be sensible to what extravagances the *prejudice* of *education* will hurry a man, that gives himself blindly up to it.

SECTION XXXIV.—SOME TOUCHES OF THE GENTLEMAN'S SKILL IN DROLLERY AND SLANDER.

"*G.*—My lord, besides the cases already mentioned by "me, there are some unworthy ones put in the *rubrick* of the "*mass;* as if a *dog* or a *mouse* should eat the *sacrament*—— "if a *priest* should vomit it up again, in which case he is to "lick it up *reverently*, unless it be *nauseous* (that was well "put in,) and then it is to be disposed of so and so. And "again, if a *fly* should drop into the *cup*, how the *fly* is to be "dealt with.——And one reason given for taking the *cup* "from the *laity* was, that the *laity* (at that time I suppose) "wore long *beards*, and least the *blood* of *Christ* should drop "upon them or stick to their *whiskers.* All these are the "genuine effects of *superstition*, occasioned by the notion of "*transubstantiation.*"—p. 159.

L.—Sir, all *religion* is *superstition* to those, who have little of it besides the empty name and show. However this pleasant drollery is at least a testimony, that we are convinced in our *hearts* of what we profess with our *tongues:* since it appears from it how extremely solicitous we are both to *prevent* indecencies in the *administration*

of the *sacrament*, and *remedy* them the best way possible, when they chance to happen.

But let that be as it will, I shall put a case somewhat like one of the *unworthy* ones you have mentioned. Your *church Catechism* teaches, that *in the Lord's supper the faithful receive verily and indeed the body and blood of Christ.* Now suppose a sudden fit of *vomiting* should take a *faithful protestant* in the very moment he receives the *sacrament*, I ask whether he may not in that case *vomit up verily and indeed*, what he has just then *received verily and indeed?* And if this should happen, I desire to know what is to be done? If you can propose any thing more decent than what is prescribed in the *rubrick* of the *mass*, I am very confident your advice will not be neglected, unless you be for the *licking part*, of which there is not a word in the *rubrick* you refer me to. But this dirty fiction was necessary to furnish some matter for a *jest.*

However I must here desire you to take notice, that for one *scurrilous jest* a *protestant* can make upon *transubstantiation*, a *deist* or *atheist*, disposed to shew his wit that way, shall make a thousand upon the *incarnation* and *death* of the *Son of God:* and, if *lampooning* be good *arguing*, we may soon be laughed out of the very *fundamentals* of *christianity.*

"*G.*—But here, my lord, I must beg leave to observe, "that the natural effect of *superstition* is *atheism* and *deism;* "as one extreme runs into another like *east* to *west.* For "men of sense must find out the deceit that is in *superstition;* "and then placing all *religion* on the same foot (as in your "communion upon the authority of your *church*) they must "think the whole to be a *deceit*, or in the modish word *priest-craft*, and the contrivance of those who gain by it. Whence "it is that the holy *scriptures* and the *legends* have the same "foundation in the Church of *Rome*, that is, her *authority:* "therefore the common people believe them both alike, and "the men of sense believe neither. And this does so lead "towards the general *defection* foretold, that in a great "measure it is it. For it destroys the foundation of *religion*, "and turns it all to *superstition.* And when the *infidelity*,

" which that begets, shall come to be publicly owned, then " where shall *faith* be found upon earth? It is now *acted* in " the *opus operatum*: and instead of the *two sacraments* which " *Christ* has appointed as *means of grace*, the whole face of " your *religion* is covered with ten thousand of your own " invention. The unlimited power taken in your *church* of " *consecrating* every thing into a *means of grace*, your worship " of *saints* (many of them *legendary*) their *relics* and *images*, " of *crosses* and of the *host*, make up the bulk of your *religion* " and *devotions*."—pp. 159, 160.

L.—And, Sir, the *bulk* of this discourse of yours is made up of slander, and the old thread-bare nonsense of *opus operatum*, *means of grace*, *sacraments of our own invention*, *&c.* already repeated twenty times, and as often confuted. [Vide Sect. 1, 3, 4, Part II.] Fine stuff indeed for a man of sense!

You say, *faith* is now *acted* in the *opus operatum*. And is not this a pretty handle for *atheists* to lay hold of to ridicule the *sacrament?* Will they not say that in the administration of *baptism* (which I defy you or any man to explain without the doctrine of *opus operatum*) *faith* is only *acted* by *priests* and *parsons* as so many *mountebanks* upon a stage? I know you are not much concerned for the *five sacraments*, we acknowledge more than you, and which by a true *protestant figure*, called *slander*, you have multiplied into *ten thousand*. But if *faith* be only *acted* in the use of these *sacraments* and the customary *benedictions* of the *church*—(of which you also have your share, as I have shewed, sect. III.)—if *faith*, I say, be only *acted* in these, will not *atheists* and *deists* have a fair handle to reproach us, that we are likewise no better than *stage-players* in the administration of the two *sacraments* acknowledged by you, and other *public devotions* of the *church?* Will they not have reason to regard all religion as *priestcraft*, which you say is now the *modish word?* But pray, Sir, who brought that scandalous expression chiefly into vogue? It was a member of the *Church of England*, who had so mean an opinion of the religion he was then of, and particularly of the ministers of it, that he scarce ever represented them in his writings

but under the most vile and contemptible characters. But when he became a *Roman Catholic*, for which he lost his pension of poet laureate in king *William's* reign, he used no such profane language. Nay he employed his pen in defence of the religion he had embraced, and particularly of the *mystery* you impugn with so much bitterness. Which shews, that though he were acknowledged by all to be a man of excellent sense, he could see nothing of the *superstition* you lay to our charge; nor find out the *deceit* or *priestcraft* you speak of, but in the religion he had abandoned: and he was so far from becoming an *atheist* or *deist* by the change, that it purged him effectually of the *atheistical* principles he had imbibed, and used to maintain and glory in, whilst he was a member of your church.

This leads me to a direct answer to the first part of what you spoke last; where you observe, that the natural effect of *superstition* is *atheism* and *deism:* and out of the abundance of your charity for us, you confidently suppose us to be deeply concerned in that *superstition*, whereof *atheism* and *deism* is, as you tell us, the natural effect.

Here then to make your observation fully answer the charitable end you drive at, you ought to shew, that professed *atheists* and *deists* were far more numerous in this nation *before*, than they have been since the *reformation*. For, if what you commonly call *popish superstition* (which is precisely the *pretended superstition* you speak of) has a natural tendency to *atheism* and *deism*, the undeniable consequence must be, that during the many hundred years, wherein that *superstition* was universally professed and practised in this nation, when it had the *law* on its side, and the authority of all the *tribunals* both *civil* and *ecclesiastic* to support it, the consequence I say must be, that in those days of *popery*, *atheists* and *deists* must, like *Egyptian locusts*, have overspread the whole land; whereas it is a noted fact, that those wild beasts never appeared in *herds*, or *bare-faced* to destroy the *vineyard*, till the fences of the *church* were laid open, and her authority made *precarious* by the blessed *reformation*.

Pray, Sir, if the natural effect of what you call *popish superstition* be *atheism* or *deism*, will it not follow, that *this effect* must appear very remarkably in those of our *communion?* Shew me then the *professed atheists* or *deists* amongst *Roman Catholics.* Shew me from some history, that there was a *sect* of *deists* or *free-thinkers* in *Great Britain* before its *religion* was *reformed;* and then your observation will be allowed to have at least some sense in it. But if you can shew no such thing; if, on the contrary, it be as well known as any piece of public news, that all the noted *atheists*, *deists*, or *free-thinkers* in *Great Britain* were either brought up in the *protestant communion*, or turned *protestants* to be at full liberty to turn afterwards what they pleased; if it be a certain truth, that the *two sects* of *deists* and *free-thinkers* are of a much later date than the *Reformation*, and had their *grand lesson* of *private judgment* in opposition to *church authority* taught them in *protestant schools;* then give me leave to tell you, Sir, that the *men of sense*, you appeal to, will be so far from judging the *religion* you traduce to be the source of *atheism* or *deism*, that they will certainly judge your observation to be as void of justice, as it is of common sense.

And what then will they think of the scandalous piece that follows, viz: *That the holy scriptures and the legends have the same foundation in the Church of Rome, that is, her authority;* and that *therefore the common people believe them both alike, and our men of sense believe neither?* This certainly is a calumny of so black a nature, that *protestants* themselves cannot but be highly scandalized at it. For as to our common people, there is not a child amongst us that knows his Catechism, but is a living witness against you, and will tell you he has been taught, that the *scriptures* were writ by *divine inspiration*, and have *divine authority* for the truth of every thing they contain: but that their belief of the *legends*, like that of any *profane history*, is grounded merely upon *human authority:* and they are free to *believe* or *disbelieve* them according as their own private judgment shall direct them.

But as to what you add, *that our men of sense neither believe scriptures nor legends*, I am very confident there is not a man of sense or probity in your own *church*, but will blush for you, and disclaim any part in this gross calumny. So I leave you to account for it at the great tribunal. I shall say nothing to the consequence you draw from it relating to the pretended *general defection*. For consequences grounded upon barefaced calumny are sufficiently answered by exposing the calumny itself.

SECTION XXXV.—TRANSUBSTANTIATION AS ANCIENT AS CHRISTIANITY.

Now, Sir, to conclude the subject we have been so long upon, I shall propose an argument, which appears to me to be a moral demonstration, that the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* is as *ancient* as *christianity*, and never had a beginning but from the *apostles* themselves. I shall explain myself in the clearest manner I am able; and the first thing I remark to you is, that if the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* be a *novelty*, it is one of the most extraordinary nature that ever was broached: both because it is not a mere *speculative* doctrine, but the ground of the most solemn *practical devotions* of the *church*; and because it is in itself the most seemingly repugnant to all the *senses* and *reason* of mankind.

G.—And what does your lordship infer from thence?

L.—Sir, I infer from it, *first*, that a *novelty*, of this nature, could not be brought into the *church* without *noise*, *disputes*, and *troubles*; and in a word, without the greatest *difficulty* and *opposition* imaginable: because people are not wont to part *tamely* and *quietly* with their *ancient faith*; especially when a doctrine the most repugnant in appearance to *sense* and *reason* is substituted in place of it. I infer, 2*dly*, that the exact *time*, *manner*, and other *circumstances* of a *novelty* of that importance being brought in, and made an *article* of *faith* must of necessity be known by all the learned part of the world. Whence I infer, 3*dly*, that the *histories* of the time, in

which this happened, must all be filled with particular relations of the most *memorable events* occasioned by this wonderful *change* in the *public faith* of the *church.*

Now I have already proved, with the utmost evidence against Dr *Cosin*, that the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* was held both by the *Greek* and *Latin church* in the *eleventh* century, when it was first openly writ against by *Berengarius*, who was immediately opposed by the ablest pens of that time, and condemned by eleven *provincial councils* in that very age; the last whereof defined in express terms, *that the bread and wine, when they are consecrated upon the altar, are truly and essentially changed into the body and blood of our Saviour, and not in figure only.* Tom. 10. Conc. Lab. p. 502.

If then the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* be not as *ancient* as the *apostles* themselves, but a *novelty* invented since their time, it must have been introduced into the *church* in some age between the *death* of the *apostles*, and the *eleventh century.* And unless *protestants* can prove this fact from the uncontestable evidence of as authentic *histories* and *records*, as there are (for example) to prove that *England* was *converted* in some age between the *death* of the *apostles* and the *eleventh century*, they labour in vain to persuade any man of sense that the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* is a *novelty* invented since the time of the *apostles.*

The reason hereof is manifest, because all *changes* in *religion* are constantly attended with such a train of remarkable *circumstances* and *events*, as cannot possibly escape the notice of historians; and I can as easily believe the greatest contradiction in nature, as that *such changes* can really happen without being mentioned in the general histories both of the *times*, which gave birth to them, and of the *kingdoms*, which were the principal theatres, on which they were transacted.

Thus we have the *history* of the *Arian*, *Nestorian*, *Eutychian*, and other less considerable *heresies* transmitted to us by innumerable hands, which inform us not only of the *names*, but of the very *personal qualities* of the

chief authors of them: of the very *year* and *place*, wherein they were first broached: of the *progress* they made, the *opposition* they met with, the *disturbances* they occasioned, the *books* that were writ *for* and *against* them, the *councils* that were called to condemn them, and other such particulars, from whence we cannot but form a fixed judgment, *first*, that the main facts contained in these histories are no fictions; and 2*dly*, that the *doctrines* so particularized in every circumstance relating to them have all the marks of being *novelties* brought into the *church* since the *time* of the *apostles*.

Now if this be so in relation to all *heresies* or *new doctrines*, that ever were broached in the *church*: if none of them could ever escape either being *detected* by the vigilancy of her pastors, or *recorded* in the writings of those, whose business it is to instruct posterity in the transactions of past ages: if this, I say, be so, then let any one judge, whether it be possible, that *such a change* in the *public faith* of the *church* as the introducing of *transubstantiation* must have made (if it were not *apostolical doctrine*) could be compassed without the same violent *struggles*, *disturbances*, and *opposition!* And then I ask, whether it be possible, that *such considerable events* could be passed over in silence by the histories of the times, in which they happened? I take this to be as morally impossible, as that the *changes* of *religion* in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, or the *Revolution* under king *James* II. should be wholly omitted by an historian writing the lives of those two persons.

This then is the substance of my argument in short. *Transubstantiation* was the *public faith* and doctrine of the *church* in the *eleventh century*: therefore, if it was not taught by the *apostles* themselves, it was introduced in *some age* between the *death* of the *apostles*, and *that century*. But a *novelty* of that extraordinary nature, and so *repugnant* in appearance to all the *senses* and *reason* of mankind could not be introduced without noise, disputes, and troubles, and throwing the whole church into sorder and confusion; and such remarkable events

cannot but be recorded in the histories of the times, in which they happened; therefore if nothing of this appears in ancient or authentic history, it is a moral demonstration, that they never happened at all: and that by consequence the doctrine of *transubstantiation* is as ancient as christianity, and derived from the apostles themselves.

Let us suppose the whole christian world agreed now in the belief that the *bread* and *wine* remain unchanged in the *sacrament*, and that this belief had been handed down to us from the very time of the apostles till now. I ask, *first*, whether it would be possible for any man in this case to introduce the doctrine of *transubstantiation* without being opposed even by some whole national churches, many universities, and by numberless persons both of the prelatic order and inferior clergy? I ask, 2*dly*, whether this opposition would not cause great disturbances and troubles, and throw the whole church into the most violent ferment? And I ask, 3*dly*, whether such a revolution in the public faith of the church, in case it should succeed, could be passed over in silence by all the writers of the age, wherein it happened? I cannot think there is a rational man upon earth, but his reason and conscience will tell him, they are all three morally impossible in the case supposed. And indeed there is no example of it since the very first establishment of christian religion.

I add, that if *transubstantiation* be not *apostolical* doctrine, it is a most gross and pernicious *heresy:* and since it is an uncontestable truth, that it was believed, professed, and maintained by the universal church against *Berengarius* in the eleventh century, if it be an *heresy*, it must have been invented in some *preceding age*, by some *particular heresiarch*, in some *particular town* or *country;* and it must have had a *name* to distinguish it both from other heresies, and the orthodox faith opposite to it.

Here then to give a solid answer to this argument, you are bound to shew from some authentic ancient history all the following particulars, viz., in *what age*

between the *death* of the *apostles* and the *eleventh century* the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* was first invented. Who was the *first author* of it. In what *town* or *country* it was first professed. (For all *new doctrines* must have their *beginning* of *place* as well as *time.*) By *what name* the professors of it were distinguished from other *heretics,* and *what councils* were called to condemn it. Because there never was a *noted heresy* in the world, but was distinguished by *some name,* and condemned in some *council,* or by the *church diffusive.* Finally, you must inform me by *what methods* it made such a prodigious progress, as to be at length acknowledged, professed, and maintained by the *universal church,* as I have fully proved it was in the *eleventh century.*

These are the most important particulars, wherein I demand to be satisfied. For nothing less can suffice to convince any man of sense, that the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* is a *novelty* invented since the time of the *apostles.* Neither must you pretend to slur me off with *precarious guesses, bare possibilities,* or *imaginary suppositions* of your own fruitful invention; but you must produce *authentic history* to attest the *facts* I insist upon, as all men of learning can do to witness every fact of moment relating to any *noted heresy,* that ever was in the world.

But, if neither you, nor any body else can undertake this task without exposing himself to the laughter of mankind: if there be no *ancient history* extant, in which there appears a fair account both of the *beginning,* the *author, time, place,* and *progress* of the *doctrine* in question, with the most remarkable events, that attended it till its full *establishment* in the *eleventh century,* when it was the *public faith* both of the *Greek* and *Latin church:* if, I say, nothing of all this can be found in any *ancient history* or *records,* then I repeat once more, what I said before, that such a *universal silence* relating to a thing of that moment is a moral demonstration, that the *doctrine* of *transubstantiation* never had any other beginning than from the *apostles* themselves according to St *Austin's* rule, which is grounded upon constant experience and common

sense, viz., *that when any doctrine is found generally received in the visible church in any age whatsoever, whereof there is no certain author or beginning to be found, then it is sure, that such a doctrine came down from Christ and his apostles.* L. 4. de Bapt. C. 6. 24., as also Lib. de Unit. Eccl. C. 19.

Give me leave, Sir, to illustrate all this from an example which will set the whole matter in the clearest light. I maintain, that the doctrine opposite to *transubstantiation* is an *heresy*. If you ask me how I prove it to be one? I answer that I prove it from a full collection of all such historical facts as I demand of you to prove that *transubstantiation* is a *novelty* or *heresy*. For I will shew the doctrine opposite to it to be a *novelty* brought into the church many ages after the time of the *apostles*. I will name the chief *author* of it, the *time* when, and the *place* where he first broached it; the *name* it was distinguished by, and finally the *opposition* it met with in the universal church.

It was first publicly maintained about the middle of the eleventh century at *Lyons* in *France*. The chief author of it was one *Berengarius* a canon of that place, and his doctrine was called the *Berengarian heresy*. He had few followers in those days, and himself retracted it before he died. Yet it alarmed the whole church, and caused very great disturbances. The ablest pens were employed against it, and it was condemned by eleven *provincial* or *national councils* before the end of that very century. And all these particulars with many more are transmitted to us by all the ecclesiastical histories of that age.

This I think suffices to convince any man of sense, that the doctrine opposite to *transubstantiation* was regarded as an *heresy* by the Catholic Church in the eleventh century, and it follows manifestly from it, that if *transubstantiation* itself had ever been regarded as an *heresy* by the Catholic Church in any of the preceding ages, it must have undergone the same fate, found the same opposition, if not greater by reason of its seeming

extravagance, caused the same disturbances, excited the zeal of particular persons to write against it, and occasioned the calling of councils to condemn it. But since no ancient ecclesiastical historian, or other writer has ever mentioned any such thing: since neither the *person* by whom, nor the *place* where, nor the *time* when it was first broached in any of those ages, nor finally any *opposition* made to it by the church in any age between the apostles and the eleventh century was ever recorded in any history, that ever appeared in the world; I say once more that this is a moral demonstration, that the Catholic Church has never regarded *transubstantiation* as a *novelty* or *heresy*, but as a doctrine derived from *Christ*, and his *apostles*. For it is wholly inconceivable, that the doctrine opposite to *transubstantiation* should have been so vigorously opposed by the church, if it were not a *novelty;* and that *transubstantiation* itself, if it were a *novelty*, should never meet with any opposition at all. Now if you please, Sir, you may proceed to some other subject.

SECTION XXXVI.—CONCERNING THE WORSHIP OF THE CROSS, AND IMAGES OF CHRIST.

" *G.*—My lord, not only the *host*, or *body of Christ* sup-
" posed to be *corporally* in the *sacrament*, but the *cross of*
" *Christ*, or any *effigies* of that *cross*, and the *images* of *Christ*
" are worshipped in your church with the *supreme divine*
" *adoration* of *latria*."—p. 160.

L.—Sir, that is false, and being extremely injurious, it is rank *calumny:* for I defy you to prove from any *Catholic divine*, that we worship the *cross* or *images* of *Christ* with SUPREME DIVINE ADORATION.

" *G.*—My lord, it is taught by a great *saint* of your *church*,
" whom you call the *Angelical Doctor*, St *Thomas Aquinas*,
" who says [3 Par. Qu. 2, Art 4.] that *crux Christi est ador-*
" *anda adoratione latriæ.* And again: *crucis effigies in aliqua*
" *alia materia——latria adoranda est.* And in the *Roman ponti-*
" *fical* it is ordered that in the procession of the *emperor* and
" a *legate* of the *Pope*, the legate's *cross* shall be carried on

" the right hand of the emperor's *sword*, because *latria* is " due to the *cross*."—pp. 161, 162.

L.—Sir, I still insist upon it, that you wrong us; because the words you have quoted, unless they be strained from the known sense of the author, do not amount to what you charge us with, *viz.*, that *we worship* the *cross* or *images* of *Christ* with SUPREME DIVINE ADORATION, as I shall fully prove, when you make an end of what you have to say upon that subject.

" *G.*—My lord, in the *adoration* of the *cross* upon *Good* " *Friday* (which is the principal part for the office of that " day) the *cross* being veiled is discovered to the people by " degrees; first one *arm* of the *cross*, then another, and at " last the whole *cross* is unveiled. And at each time the " priest says, *Ecce lignum crucis, Behold the wood of the* " *cross:* and the people answer, *Adoremus, Let us worship.*" —p. 161.

L.—But they do not say, *let us worship it with* SUPREME DIVINE ADORATION, nor do they intend it; so go on.

" *G.*—And then the *priest* first, and afterwards the *people* " come upon their knees, and pay their *adoration* to the *cross.* " And remember that it is the adoration of *latria*, which " they gave to it."—*p.* 161.

L.—I remember it, Sir, in St *Thomas's* sense, which I shall explain presently.

" *G.*—Now for *images*, the same *Aquinas* before mentioned " tells us the worship we pay them is *religionis cultus*, a " *religious worship:* and that it is not a different *latria* which " is given to *Christ*, and to his *images. Quod imaginibus* " *Christi exhibetur cultus, non diversificatur ratio latriæ, nec* " *virtus religionis*, 2da. 2dæ. Quest. 81. Art. 3. Resp. ad 3. " If then there be but one *latria*, and the same that is paid to " *Christ* and his *images*, it will justify what *James Naclantus* " bishop of *Clugium* writes in his exposition of the Epistle " to the *Romans*, Ch. i., that the faithful ought not only to wor- " ship *before* the *image* (as some perhaps out of caution speak) " but to *worship* the *image itself* without any scruple at all; " and with the same sort of worship as the *prototype*, or whom " it represents. And if that is to be worshipped with *latria*, " so its image with *latria:* if with *dulia*, or *hyperdulia*, " so the image is to be worshipped with the same worship.

L.—Sir, what explains St *Thomas*, will suffice to explain all the rest, who have only followed his way of speaking. But a man must have a very strong implicit faith, who can believe that so great a man (as all the learned world allows St *Thomas Aquinas* to have been) was capable of teaching that *supreme divine adoration* is to be paid to a piece of wood or stone.

G.—My lord, he certainly teaches, that the worship of *latria* is to be paid to the *cross:* but the worship of *latria* is *divine worship*, therefore he teaches that *divine worship* is to be paid to the *cross.* I think this argument is conclusive.

L.—Sir, the worship, which St *Thomas* calls *latria*, must according to his true meaning be considered under a double regard: one to *God* himself, the other to his *image.* As it regards God himself, it is *supreme divine adoration.* But as it regards his *image*, it is no more than an *inferior relative honour*, which however terminating ultimately in God is for that reason, as he teaches, a *religious act* of the same *kind* or *species* as the act of worship which has God for its immediate object; and therefore he gives it the same name.

I shall explain myself by an easy example. There is but one *theological virtue* of *charity*, which is *the love of God above all things.* Yet by the *same virtue* we love our *neighbour* for *God's sake.* So that the *act*, or *virtue*, by which we thus love our *neighbour*, has a *double tendency* or *respect:* one to our *neighbour*, who is the *image* of *God;* the other to *God* himself, *for whose sake* we love him. It may therefore be said in St *Thomas's* way of speaking, that when we love the *image* of *God* in our *neighbour*, the *nature* or *species* of the *virtue* of *charity* is not different from that, by which *we love God above all things.*

But would not a man be grossly mistaken, who should argue thus from it, that since there is but *one virtue* of *charity*, which is *the love of God above all things;* therefore, when by *that virtue* we love our *neighbour*, it follows, that we love him *above all things*, and by consequence

pay that *supreme love* to the *image* of *God*, which is due to *God alone?* For would you not readily answer by telling him, that though the *virtue* of *charity*, whereby we *love* our *neighbour for God's sake*, be of the *same kind* or *species* with that, by which we *love God above all things*, yet since its *act* or *habit* has a *double tendency*, it is an *inferior* love, as it regards the *image* of *God*, and only the *supreme divine love of charity*, as it regards the *prototype?* Now Sir, apply but this to St *Thomas's* notion of *latria*, and you will be sensible how much you have wronged both him, and the whole body of *Roman Catholics* by concluding from it, that if there be but one *latria*, *supreme divine adoration* is given to the *cross*, and *images* of *Christ*. For you may as well argue thus, that if there be but *one theological virtue* of *charity*, the proper object whereof is loved above all things, it follows, that we love our neighbour *above all things*, that is, *above God himself*.

Hence it follows, that the whole present question is in reality reduced to this trivial point, *viz.*, whether St *Thomas* and his followers express themselves properly? Some think they do; others not. But all (excepting our *protestant* friends, who are glad to catch at any thing to pick a quarrel) agree, that St *Thomas* means the same as they, who express themselves otherwise: and what assures them of this are his own words in other parts of his writings. *Properly* (says he) *we do not adore the cross, but only Christ, who is crucified.* Hæb. ii. Lect. 5. And again: *It is idolatry* (says he) *when the honour due to God is given to images.* ad Coll. 3, Lect. 1. When therefore he says that *latria* is due to the *cross*, he must of necessity speak of a *relative latria*, and not of that *supreme divine worship*, which is due to *God alone*.

G.—But what does your lordship say concerning your *adoration* of the *cross* upon *Good Friday?*

L.—I say, Sir, that if the word *adoration* be taken, as it is generally by *your church*, for *supreme divine worship*, we *adore* the *cross* no more than you *adore* the *altar* when you *bow* to it. But if it be taken, as we really

understand it, for an *inferior relative honour*, nothing but wilful malice can carp at it.

I desire you then to observe (as Mr *Thorndike* does very well, Epil. p. 3, p. 353) that these words, viz., *adoration, worship, honour, respect, or however you translate the Latin word*, cultus, *are or may be equivocal in spite of our hearts.* That is, sometimes they may signify *one kind of honour*, and sometimes *another.* Sometimes that which belongs to *God*, and sometimes that which belongs to *creatures.* And *the cause of this equivocation* (says he) *is the want of words: vulgar use not having provided words properly to signify conceptions, which came not from common senses.* And from this *equivocation* in the words, *adoration, worship, &c.*, the greatest part of *protestant* objections against the *veneration* we pay to *saints* and *images* arises; and the whole stress of what you say concerning our *worship* or *adoration* of the *cross* upon *Good Friday*, is grounded upon it.

You know, Sir, our *liturgy* is in *Latin;* and the *Latin* word ADORO, though commonly used to signify *divine worship*, yet both in the *Latin scripture*, and *Latin fathers* it frequently signifies no more than an *inferior honour.* Thus St *Jerome* says, ADORAVI *præsepe et incunabula Salvatoris*, Apol. 2. contra Rufum, *I have worshipped the manger and crib of our Saviour.* And *Tertullian* uses the same word, when he says, ADORO *Scripture plenitudinem*, Lib. cont. Herm. C. 22, *I reverence the fulness of Scriptures.* Thus it is likewise said in scripture, *surrexit Abraham, et* ADORAVIT *populum terræ.* Gen. xxiii. 7. Which you translate, *Abraham stood up, and bowed himself to the people of the land.* And again, *filii prophetarum venientes in occursum Elisæi* ADORAVERUNT *eum.* 4 Reg. ii. 15, is translated thus in your Bible: *The sons of the prophets came to meet Elisha, and bowed themselves to the ground before him.* And (to omit innumerable other passages of the same sort) that of *Psalm* xcviii. 5, ADORATE *scabellum pedum ejus*, is likewise thus translated by you, *fall down before the footstool of God.*

Now these are sufficient instances to shew, that the *Latin*

word ADORO frequently signifies no more than an *inferior honour;* since it is manifest, that in the passages I have quoted both from *scriptures* and *fathers* it can have no other signification. And in effect it signifies no more in our *office* on *Good Friday;* and so your objection against it is mere froth, unless you can prove more effectually than you have done hitherto, that even an *inferior relative honour* is too much to be given to the *cross* or *images* of *Christ:* though the very *Jews* were commanded to give it to the *footstool of God*, that is, the *ark*.

Pray, Sir, when you make a *bow*, and your women a *low curtesy* to the *venerable name* of *Jesus*, as is appointed by your *church*, what is the meaning of it? I presume you do not pay that *respect* either to the *sound*, or to the *syllables* or *letters* of that *word;* but the ground of the *respect* and *honour* you pay to it is the *relation* it has to the *divine Person*, who bears that *name*. And then I should be glad to know what difference there is between *your bowing* to his *name*, and *our kneeling* to the *cross*, whereon he died! Nay suppose it were a custom both for men and women to *kneel down* as often as they heard the *name of Jesus* pronounced, it would be no more than what St *Paul* encourages us to do when he tells us, *that God has given him a name, which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow*, Phil. ii. 9, 10.

I know that Dr *Stillingfleet* (of whom you have borrowed all your fine arguments to prove us *idolaters*) to get rid of this troublesome parallel between the *protestant bows* or *curtesies* to the *name of Jesus*, and our *kneeling* to the *cross* answers, *that we might as well instance in going to church at the toll of a bell, as in bowing at the name of Jesus: for, as the one only tells us the time when, so the other only puts us in mind of the person whom we are to worship.* So that according to this learned *protestant Doctor* no more reverence is paid to the *most holy name of Jesus*, when we hear it pronounced, than to a *bell*, when we hear it *toll*. Most shameful doctrine! And how different from the *text*, I have just now quoted from St *Paul!* I heartily wish the doctor may not have

his portion with the *heathen Jupiter*, for whose honour he was so zealous in this life.

But let that be as it will, unless you can shew a *substantial difference* between *bowing* or making *low curtesies* to the *name* of *Jesus*, and *kneeling* to the *cross*, you will never avoid being guilty of a manifest *incoherency* in *practising* the one, and *condemning* the other. For *kneeling* is an action as *indifferent* in itself as *bowing*. Both are in proper circumstances made use of to testify our *respect* either to *God* or his *creatures;* and the *nature* or *quality* of the *respect*, we shew by those actions, are chiefly diversified by the *intention* of the *will*. So that if *bowing* to the *name* of *Jesus*, be no more than an *inferior relative honour*, which terminates wholly in *Christ* himself, *kneeling to* and *kissing* the *cross* are likewise no more. And if this be properly called *worshipping* the *cross*, the other is as properly called *worshipping* the *name* of *Jesus:* or call it by what *name* you please, provided you give the *same name* to both.

SECTION XXXVII.—SOME TOUCHES OF PROFANE BURLESQUE.

" *G.*—My lord, there is another strange *latria* paid to " the *præputium* of *Christ*, or the *fore-skin*, that was cut off " at his *circumcision*. Your Doctors are at great pains to " know what is become of it. They might as well ask what " is become of the *parings* of his *nails*. Whither will *super-*" *stition* run? They had it at *Antwerp;* but the *heretics* " took it away. From thence it travelled by many miracles " to the *church* of St *John Lateran* at *Rome*. And how it " was thence translated to the church of *Cornelius* and *Cyprian* " at *Calcata* about twenty miles from *Rome*, I have read at " large the account in a book in *folio* intitled *de Basilica et* " *Patriarchio Lateranensi ad Alex. VII., Pont. Max. Authore* " *Cæsare Raspono ejusdem Basilicæ Canonico*. Romæ 1656. " p. 364, &c. And of the *miraculous* difference it shewed, " when it was touched by *virgins* and by *married women*, " see the *Devotions of the Roman church*, p. 31. Where you " will find other authors quoted, as *Bolandus, Act. Sanct. ad* " *Jan.* 1 *de præputio Christi*. And *Rivet: Apologia pro*

" *Sanctæ Mariæ Virgini.* Lib. 1. C. xvii. Cardonel *Tolet:* in " *Caput* 2. *Lucæ, Annot.* 31. *And Salmeron in Evang.* " Tom. 3. Tract. 36. And that though it is still at *Calcata,* " yet it is carried about at *Podium* with great veneration " upon the feast of the *ascension. Salmeron* in the place " above quoted tells us out of the *Legend* of *Jacobus de Vora-* " *gine,* that the *blessed Virgin* gave this *præputium* first to " *Mary Magdalene,* and that it was brought afterwards by " an *angel* to *Charles* the *Great* at *Aken,* and how after it " came to be laid up in the *Lateran;* whence these verses :

" *Circumcisa caro Christi, sandalia sacra,*
" *Atque umbilici viget hic præcisio chara.*

" Put thus into English :

" *Christ's fore-skin, and blessed sandals are kept here,*
" *And what was cut from off his navel dear.*

" I suppose they meant the cutting of his *navel-string.* And " his *sandals* (though it is not said that he wore any ; for he " is always painted bare-foot) will come in here too for *latria,* " for the same reason, which *Thomas Aquinas* gives for *latria* " as due to the *cross, propter membrorum Christi contactum,* " because it touched the *body* of *Christ.* Then all his *clothes* " must come in for the same reason, and the *nails* and *spear* " that pierced him. And why not the *spittle* that was thrown " in his face? For the *cross* was as much his *enemy* (as far " as *wood* could be) as any of the other, or the *spittle* itself. " And I know not why the *crucifiers* should not be admitted " too, though they touched him with an hostile mind: as " some have sainted *Judas,* because he was an instrument in " our redemption. For there is no stop in *superstition* more " than in other *arts.*"—pp. 162—164.

L.—Sir, buffoonery ought at least to have its bounds, and keep at a respectful distance from every thing belonging to the *sacred person* of *Christ.* So far ought we to be from making any thing relating to him the subject of *burlesque.* What a number of questions as *undecent* as *profane* might not an *atheist* or *deist* start concerning our Saviour's *circumcision* and *passion.* And would you think them worth a serious answer? Now, Sir, the *legendary* stuff you have rehearsed concerning our Saviour's *foreskin* is as impertinent as those questions would be, and it is a subject not fit to be jested with.

And therefore when any of our authors write of it, let their relations be as fabulous as you please (for that is beneath my concern) they observe at least a *decorum*, and speak not of it like *jack-puddings* in *Bartholemy fair*, or in the *ribaldry style of Merry Andrews* to make sport for *libertines* and *atheists*.

But as to that *undecent piece*, for which you quote *the Devotions of the Roman Church*, I am not surprised at any sort of *filth* coming from that *sink* of *forgeries* and *scandals*. It is a mere *common sewer*, into which the author has conveyed all the *dirt*, he has with infinite labour raked together to throw at us.

However one short answer to all the fine stories that author has told, and those you have now entertained me with, is, that when you find any of them either in the *decrees* of *our councils*, or *Catechisms*, or *professions of faith* or when we insist upon them as *terms of communion*, then we are responsible for them, and not otherwise. So that telling *old wives' stories*, or the indiscreet disputes or fabulous relations of *particular persons* to ridicule any *church*, is *beneath* a grave *divine*, and betrays not only a dearth of solid arguments, but a mistrust of his cause: since he is forced to have recourse to such vile means to support it.

As to the *latria*, which you run so much descant upon, I have already sufficiently explained St *Thomas's* meaning of that word, and how it may be applied to the things you make yourself merry with. But this I assure you, that had I a handkerchief, which had wiped off the *spittle* from our *Saviour's face*, or the *nails* that pierced his *sacred hands* and *feet*, I should keep them with a singular veneration, and as a most *precious relic* in remembrance of him: and so I would the least *scrap* of his *clothes*: nor should any *profane buffoon* ever make me alter my mind. How common a custom is it to keep a *lock* of a person's *hair*, whose memory is dear to us, or even a *toy* that but belonged to him? And, if this practice be grounded upon an *inbred impression* of *nature*, and is not thought absurd in *common life*, why should it be a

superstition in religion to have a veneration for things, that have any ways belonged to our *divine Redeemer?*

The *woman*, that was troubled with the *bloody flux*, had a firm faith, that if she could but touch the *hem* of his *garment*, she should certainly be cured. Now, if the *apostles* had been *protestants* in their *principles*, they would have upbraided her with *superstition*. And how much more would St *Peter* have condemned those, that crowded to come within the reach of his *shadow*, and St *Paul* those *zealous devotees*, that brought their *aprons* and *handkerchiefs* to *touch* his *body?* But in those early days of *christianity* men had a *religious respect* for things, that but *touched* the *body* of a faithful *servant of Christ*. Believe me, Sir, they were not in those days a subject of *mirth* and *laughter:* that sort of wit is a fruit of a later growth, and was brought into credit by the blessed *reformation*. Before which time I find that men were also so stupidly *superstitious*, as to make a difference between the *dead instruments* of our *Saviour's passion*, all which they held in veneration, and his *crucifiers*, whose *cruelty* and *malice* they detested: though your more elevated genius cannot stoop low enough to make these vulgar distinctions between *things* and *things*, or between *things* and *persons*.

All the world knows what honours *antiquity* paid to the *cross of Christ* on account of its being the *instrument* of our *redemption:* and with what solemnity St *Helena* the ancient glory of *Britain* placed it again upon *mount Calvary*, after it had distinguished itself from the *two crosses* found with it under ground by the *miraculous cure* of a woman afflicted with a grievous distemper: and how being afterwards carried away by *Chosroas* king of *Persia*, was fourteen years after again recovered by the emperor *Heraclius*, who refused to make peace with the *Persians*, but upon condition, that they should restore the *cross*, which himself carried on his shoulders with great pomp to the place, where *Christ* had suffered upon it; and the like honour was in those days paid to the *nails*, which fastened him to it. But I never heard of any honours paid by the *ancient church* to his *crucifiers*. Which shews, they plainly

saw a difference, where you pretend to see none, *viz.*, between the *dead instruments* of our *Saviour's passion*, and the *criminal actors* in it. But some *ornamental strokes* of *buffoonery* are absolutely necessary to make *falsehood* go down, and supply the *deficiencies* of solid reason.

" *G.*—But, my lord, I must not forget my friends the " *schoolmen* upon the occasion I have spoken of. They dispute, " that the *fore-skin* being of the *entireness* of the *body*, it must " have been reunited to the *body* of *Christ* upon his *resurrection*, " else that the entire *body* did not arise. *Sueraz* therefore " concludes, that the *body* of *Christ* at the *resurrection* had a " *foreskin*, which is shewed in the *church* here below. He " says, that the *foreskin* belongs to the *entireness* of the *body* " *non formaliter sed materialiter*, not *formally* but only *materially* " and so the business is made up. But he adds, that " *Innocent* III., did call in question this *foreskin* upon earth. " It is a question then. And do the people still pay *latria* " to it? How comes this to be suffered in the *church?* In " the *church* that is *infallible!*"—pp. 164, 165.

L.—And I ask you, Sir, whether the church's *infallibility* obliges her to interpose her authority in all the trivial questions, which *divines* dispute *pro* and *con* against one another? You are sometimes very angry at her for *pronouncing decisively* in matters, where she is sure she has *authority* to do it; and now you quarrel with her for not doing it in matters, wherein she judges her *authority* not to be concerned. So that whether full or fasting, you are equally displeased.

All then that the *church* suffers is, that they who are convinced in their hearts, that there is *such* or *such* a *relic* of our *Saviour* upon earth, may give it the *respect* that is *due* to it; call it by what *name* you please: which surely cannot be an argument against her *infallibility*; unless you make this a good consequence, *the church acts prudently therefore she is not infallible.*

" *G.*—But, my lord, several parcels of the *blood* of *Christ* " shed upon the *cross* are likewise shewed; and *Cressy* quotes " *Math. Paris* for a signal testimony of it. To this, says " *Aquinas, whatever belongs to the nature of a human body was* " *wholly in the body of Christ when he rose, as his flesh and* " *bones and his blood, and that entirely without any diminution;*

" *otherwise* (says he) *it had not been a perfect resurrection.* " And afterwards, that all the *blood*, which flowed from the " *body* of *Christ*, rose again in his *body*. *But as for that blood* " (says he) *which is preserved in some churches for relics, it did not* " *flow from Christ's side, but is said to have flowed miraculously* " *from a certain image of Christ, that was pierced.* Yet the " people pay *latria* to it grounded wholly upon a *legend:* and " *Aquinas* gives no further assurance of it, than that *it was said.* " Is this worshipping in *faith?* What *blood* was that which " came out of an *image?* Was it *Christ's blood?* And how " was it made so? Was it *transubstantiated*, or was it blood " *materially* though not *formally?* Or had it only the *colour* " of *blood*, the *accidents* remaining without *substance? Vasquez* " comes pretty near this when he says, *that no portion of the* " *blood of Christ did remain on earth under the form of blood,* " *but only under its colour*, amissa forma sanguinis, *having* " *lost the form of blood.*"—pp. 165, 166.

L.—Sir, I am wholly of St *Thomas Aquinas's* mind, that *Christ* at his *resurrection* resumed every thing requisite to the *integrity* of a *human body*, as by God's infinite power every man will do at the *general resurrection*. And I am likewise so far of *Vasquez's* mind, *viz.*, that there is no *blood* of *Christ* upon earth but that, which we receive in the *sacrament* of the holy *eucharist*. So that, if the fact be true (for neither you nor I are bound to believe it) that *God*, to confound the *sacrilegious impiety* of those, who pierced an *image* of *Christ* in derision or hatred of him, manifested his displeasure in the *miraculous* manner as is commonly related; what appears to me most probable is, that it was *real blood* indeed, but not the *blood* of *Christ* that issued from it: which utterly spoils the jest of all your fine questions. For I find no more necessity either for the *distinction* of *material* and *formal*, for or *transubstantiation*, or *accidents* remaining without their *substance* in the above mentioned *miracle*, than in the *miraculous flowing* of *water* from the *rock*, when *Moses* struck it with his *rod:* because the same *power*, that produced *water* out of a *rock*, can surely produce *blood* out of an *image* of *wood*. And in such a case the same sort of *respect* is due to the *blood* produced in that *miraculous* manner, as to the *crucifix* from which it *flows;*

because as the one is an image of *Christ dying*, so is the other of his *shedding his blood* on the cross.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*The* gentleman *in his* Case Stated *having a great itching to make a witty jest upon* Aristotle's *principle of* privation; *in order to usher it in decently and with connexion, makes his* lordship *ask this wise question.* What is this matter and form, with which they keep such a stir? *To which the* gentleman *answers as follows:—*

"*G.*—They make three *constituting principles* in every "thing. These they call *materia*, *forma*, and *privatio*. That "is, the *matter*, of which any thing is made. The *form*, "which is wholly unknown to us. And the *want* of that "*form*. For you must know, that we must *want* a thing "before we *have* it."—*p.* 166.

L.—Sir, it is no small oversight in a pretender to *logic* to tell me, that *privation* is one of *Aristotle's* CONSTITUENT *principles:* which suffices to answer this idle *jargon.*

"*G.*—Yet your article of *transubstantiation* is nothing "else, as I hope I have made it plain. And I will shew "you another instance, wherein you follow the *schoolmen* "too, and are grossly misled by them: that is, the *distinction* "of *concomitancy*."—p. 166.

L.—Sir, you have made it just as *plain*, that *transubstantiation* is a mere *jargon*, as you have made it plain, that the *heathen Jupiter* is the *true supreme God* adored by *Christians:* and as you have made it *plain*, that our *men of sense* believe neither *scriptures* nor *legends.* Truly Sir, if asserting *falsehoods* boldly be *making* things *plain*, you have done great feats in this conversation. But I must tell you plainly, you are in a bad way at present, unless you succeed better than you have done hitherto, in *making it plain* that the *distinction* of *concomitancy* is a *mere jargon.* Let us then hear what you have to say for yourself.

"*G.*—I have before told you of several injuries done to 'our *Lord Christ* in *adding* to his *commandments*, and making "to yourselves *means of grace*, which he has not instituted." —*p.* 166.

L.—And I have before made it plain to a demonstration [Part II. Sections 3. & 33.] that you have even contradicted the practice of your *own church*, upon both those heads.

SECTION XXXVIII.—OF CONCOMITANCY, AND COMMUNION UNDER ONE KIND.

" *G.*—What I am to speak of is now an error on the other " hand, that is, of *substracting* from his *institutions*, and the " *means of grace*, which he has appointed. I mean in taking " away the *cup* from the *laity* in the holy *sacrament*. *Christ* " instituted the *sacrament* of his *body* and *blood* as an effectual " *means* of *grace*, calling it the *communion* of his *body* and " *blood*. Particularly of the *cup* it is said, *The cup of blessing*, " *which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ*, " 1 Cor. x. 16. And that we all partake of the *cup* according " to several manuscripts of your own *vulgar Latin: Omnes de* " *uno pane, et de uno calici participamus*. But that the *laity* " might not think themselves deprived of this so beneficial " a *means* of the greatest *grace*, the *schools* have invented a " *distinction* they call *concomitancy*, which is, that in all *flesh* " there is some *blood* goes along, or is *concomitant* with it. " So that whoever eat the *flesh*, partake also of the *blood*." —p. 167.

L.—Really Sir, I wish you had studied our divinity a little better. What! do we say, *that in all flesh there is some blood goes along with it?* And is this the meaning of our doctrine of *concomitancy?* I cannot but pity your real or affected ignorance. But that you may be better instructed for the future, what our divines teach is this, to wit, that neither a *living body* can be without *blood*, nor the *blood* of a *living incorruptible body* without the *body* itself. And therefore when the *laity* receive the *living body* of *Christ*, under the *form* of *bread*, they must by consequence also receive his *sacred blood*, which is inseparable from it: and so it is truly called *the communion of his body and blood:* nor are they by consequence *deprived* of any part of the *sacrament*, or of the *grace* it contains. This Sir, is our meaning of the *distinction* of *concomitancy*, which is so far from being a *jargon*, that it is plain *common sense*.

You say, of the *cup* it is particularly said by St *Paul*, *the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?* 1 Cor. x. 16. Who doubts it? And in the same verse it is as particularly said, *and the*

bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of our Lord? Now I presume St *Paul* does not speak of a *dead* but a *living body*, which is necessarily composed of *flesh* and *blood*. Nor can any man have such a gross imagination as to think the *blood* is *really* separated from the *body* in the *cup*, or the *body* from the *blood* in the *host*.

We may likewise modestly presume that St *Paul* was no equivocator, but called things by their own names. And therefore when he said, *that the bread and cup being blessed are the communion of the body and blood of Christ*, he could not mean that they continued to be *plain bread* and *wine* after the consecration. And so his words are a full confutation of this impious error.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*Instead of the answer now given, his* lordship *in the* former conversation *takes all for current coin, and only asks this modest question;* and is not that true? *To which the* gentleman's *reply is so exorbitantly weak, that the reader will be surprised at it. However he must take it for better or for worse. His* lordship *therefore put this question,* And is not that true? *The* gentleman *answers as follows:*—

"*G.*—Really, my lord, I know not. But I am sure it is "a *nicety*. For *flesh* may be so *dried*, that no *blood* shall "appear in it; and in a *wafer* there can be none without "having recourse to a *miracle*."—p. 167.

L.—But I hope, dear Sir, there may at least be some in the *living body* of *Christ*, which the *faithful* receive *verily* and *indeed* in the Lord's supper. Unless you will say, that they receive a *dead body* under the *form* of *bread*, and *dead* or *inanimate blood* under the *form* of *wine*: which is both impious and absurd.

"*G.*—I think, my lord, it is making too bold to throw "off the *institution* of *Christ* upon such imaginations of our "own, which imply that there was no need of the *institution* "of the *cup*. For if it be not necessary now, it was not so "then."—*p.* 167.

L.—Sir, it is not only *making too bold* (for that is too soft a term) but *wicked* and *sacrilegious* to throw off the *institution* of *Christ* upon any imagination whatsoever. But do we throw off the *institution* of *Christ*, because we teach that a *living body* cannot be without *blood*, nor the *blood* of a *living person* be separated from his *body*? And

that by consequence we receive *whole Christ*, whether we receive him under *one* or *both kinds*?

G.—But does not this make the *institution* of the *cup* unnecessary?

L.—No Sir, it does not. Because the *eucharist* is not only a *sacrament*, that is, a *sign of invisible grace* instituted for the nourishment of our souls; but also a *sacrifice*, which is one of the most essential parts of religion. And for this reason *Christ* instituted the *blessed eucharist* under *both kinds*, that by the *mystical separation* of his *body* and *blood* upon the *altar* their *real separation* on the *cross* might be more perfectly represented, and so be both a standing lively *memorial* of the *death* he once suffered, and a perpetual *oblation* of infinite value for us. But many of the *Reformation* have effectually robbed the people of this *whole sacrifice* and all its fruit by denying the *real presence* of *Christ* as a *victim* under the *sacramental signs*, and had no other way to cover the impiety of this fact than by raising a clamour about the *cup*, as if without it the people received a *mangled* and *imperfect sacrament:* whereas nothing is more false; because by receiving the *living body* of *Christ* they are made as much partakers of his *sacred blood*, as if they received it under *both kinds*.

"*G.*—But, my lord, this *sacrament* was ordained not only "to express the *death* of *Christ*, but also the manner of it: "that is, by the *shedding* of his *blood* according to the *bloody* "*types* of him under the *law*, as it is said, *without shedding of* "*blood there is no remission*, Heb. ix. 22. *It was therefore* "*necessary*, says the apostle. But whatever *blood* may be "*concomitant* in the *flesh*, yet there is no *shedding* of it ex- "pressed in a *wafer*."—p. 168.

L.—Sir, not in a wafer remaining *true bread* after, as it was before the consecration. But if the *bread* and *wine* be by the *words of Christ* converted into his sacred *body* and *blood* (as they most certainly are, unless you can prove *Christ* to be an *equivocator* or *liar*) the separate consecration of them, which belongs to priests alone, is the most lively expression both of his *death* and the *manner* of it: that is, by the *mystical shedding of his blood*. But if

neither the *bread* be by consecration converted into his *body*, nor the *wine* into his *blood*, I should be glad to know, how *this shedding of his blood according to the bloody types of him under the law* can be expressed by it. And I leave every man to judge, whether he who talks of nothing but the *flesh* and *blood* of *Christ* in the *sacrament*, and believes nothing conformably to the natural and obvious *meaning* of his words, be not guilty of damnable hypocrisy and dissimulation?

" *G.*—But, my lord, when the *host* is carried in procession, " as upon *Corpus Christi* day, or frequently to the sick, there " is no *cup*, nor does the priest himself communicate. But " however if the people are to partake of the sacrifice as it " was under the law, here they are defrauded of one half of " it."—*p.* 168.

L.—But Sir, when the *host* is carried in procession or to the sick, it either is *Christ's body* or not. If not, then neither is the *cup* his *blood*. And so according to this *protestant system* your people are downright bubbled; imagining they receive both *Christ's body and blood*, when in effect they receive neither. But if the *host* be *Christ's real body*, I am sure it is not a *dead one;* nor are they by consequence, who receive it, defrauded of *one half* either of the *sacrament* or *sacrifice*. Pray would the people under the *old law* have been defrauded of *half the sacrifice*, in case the whole victim had been given to all, and to every particular person? Now though this be an impossible supposition in reference to the *sacrifices* of the *Mosaic law*, it is literally true in reference to the *Christian sacrifice*. For the *whole victim*, I mean, the *entire body* and *blood* of *Christ* is given to every christian communicant, in whatever manner he receives it, that is, whether by the *action* of *eating*, or *drinking*. For *Christ* in his *impassible* and *immortal* state cannot be divided, and we either receive *whole Christ*, or nothing of him. So that whoever receives his *sacred body* receives his *blood:* and whoever receives his *sacred blood*, receives his *body:* for he neither receives *dead flesh*, nor *dead* or *inanimate blood*. And this is what we call *concomitancy*. And by consequence it is not only calumny, but rank

nonsense to say the people are defrauded of *one half* of the *sacrament.*

" *G.*—My lord, the people are as much commanded to " partake of the *cup* as of the *bread.* And the *church* may " as well take away the *bread*, and leave only the *cup*, and " say, that the *flesh* is contained in the *blood*, as well as the " *blood* in the *flesh.* Strange power of the *church!* What " *institution* of *God* can stand at this rate? Suppose the " *Jews* had neglected to pour out or sprinkle the *blood* of " the *sacrifices* as commanded, and said it was sufficient that " it was by *concomitancy* in the *flesh*, would this *distinction* " have served in that case? And why not as well as in " this?"—*pp.* 168, 169.

L.—Sir, if the *Jews* had neglected to *pour out* or *sprinkle* the *blood* as *commanded*, they would have been guilty of a grievous sin in disobeying the express command of God: nor could the pretence of *concomitancy* have in any manner palliated their disobedience: nay it would have been ridiculous in the highest degree; because it is impossible that the blood of a victim *really* shed (as it was by the priests of the old law) should at the same time remain in the victim: but it is absolutely necessary that the blood of Christ, which is only shed *mystically* by the priests of the new law, should remain really united to his body. The consequence whereof is, that the people receiving his *living body* receive his sacred blood *concomitantly:* which shews your parity to be entirely void of sense. For it implies two parts equally absurd. *First*, that as the blood was not by *concomitancy* in the *dead victims* of the law, so neither is it by *concomitancy* in the *living body* of Christ. And, 2*dly*, that as the *Jewish* priests were bound to pour out or sprinkle the blood of the sacrifices, so the priests of the new law are bound to give the *cup* to the people. And is not this fine stuff?

There are indeed two parities that may be fairly made; for they contain two solid truths. The *first* is, that as the priests of the *old law* would have been guilty of a grievous disobedience, if they had neglected to shed the blood of the victim *really* under pretence of *concomitancy* in the flesh, so the priests of the *new law* would incur the like guilt, if in celebrating the mysteries they should by not

consecrating the wine separately neglect to shed the blood of Christ *mystically* under pretence of its *concomitancy* in the host. The 2*d* is, that as the obligation of shedding the victim's blood *really* regarded the *Jewish priests* only, and not the people in the old law, so the obligation of shedding the blood of Christ *mystically* regards *priests* alone, and not the people in the new law. These two parities, I say, are just and fair, but they can render you no manner of service.

You say, *the church may as well take away the bread and leave only the cup, and say that the flesh is contained in the blood as well as the blood in the flesh.* Most certainly, Sir, the *church* not only *may* but *does* say, that the *all-glorious* and *incorruptible body* of *Christ* is as inseparable from his *blood*, as his *blood* is from his *body:* and she says this because she is convinced, that neither the *bread* is consecrated into *dead flesh*, nor the *wine* into *dead* or *inanimate blood.* And therefore, if the *church* had the same *rational* motives to give only the *cup* to the *laity* as she has to give them only the *consecrated bread*, she might lawfully do it. And if she did, the *people* would receive the *same body* and *blood of Christ whole* and *entire* as they now do: nor would there be the least difference in the *thing received*, but only in the *manner* of *receiving*.

But here you cry out, *Strange power of the church! What institution of God can stand at this rate!* Sir, as long as there are true *bishops* and *priests* in the world who derive their *ordination* from the *apostles*, the *institution* of *Christ* is in no danger of failing. So that your vehement exclamation had been very much to the purpose had it been worded thus: *Strange insolence and impiety of a few wretched reformers, who by denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist have done what in them lies to abolish that august and venerable sacrifice, which Christ himself instituted and left by his last will as the most precious legacy he could bestow upon his holy church!* For if such wickedness can be justified, we may with reason ask, *what institution of God can stand at this rate!*

G.—But, my lord, are not the people as much commanded to partake of the *cup*, as of the *bread?*

L.—Sir, if by *partaking of the cup as well as of the bread* you mean, *receiving the blood of Christ as well as his body*, I answer they are commanded to receive the one as well as the other, and so they do by receiving the *sacrament* in *one kind* only. Because the *body* and *blood* of *Christ* are inseparable; nor is it possible to receive the one without receiving the other, both *body* and *blood* being contained under *either kind.*

G.—But if the church can take away *one kind* from the people, may she not exert her power a step farther and take away *both?*

L.—No, Sir, she cannot. Because the people are commanded to receive the *body and blood of Christ.* And this they could not do, if both the one kind and the other were refused them. But as long as they receive the sacrament in *either kind*, they fully obey the command of *Christ* in receiving both his *body and blood*, which is all that is commanded. Nay I defy you to shew any positive precept obliging the *laity* to receive it in *both kinds.*

SECTION XXXIX.—LAY COMMUNION IN ONE OR BOTH KINDS IS A POINT OF DISCIPLINE ONLY; AND NEITHER FORBID, NOR COMMANDED BY CHRIST.

" *G.*—My lord, it is observable that *Christ*, as foreseeing " this taking away of the cup from many, added the word " *all* to the drinking of the cup. *Drink ye all of it*, Matt. " xxvi. 27. And it is said, *they drank all of it*, Mark xiv. " 23, it is not said so of the *bread.*"—p. 169.

L.—Sir, since you are in your observing mood, give me leave to make my observation too, *viz.*, that *Christ*, as foreseeing that you and other *protestants* would start this frivolous objection against the *discipline* of his *holy church*, took care that both St *Mark* and St *Luke* should furnish her with a solid answer to it. For who were the *all* St *Matthew* speaks of? Were they not the same *all*, as are spoken of by St *Mark*, saying, *and they all drank of it*, viz., the *apostles*, who were the only persons with

our Saviour at his last supper. For surely if the apostles alone were the *all* that drank, they were likewise the *same all*, that *were bid to drink*. A strange argument to prove, that the *laity* are *all* bound to drink of the cup!

G.—But is it not remarkable, that *Christ* should in distributing the *bread* say no more than *take and eat;* yet in giving the *cup* should say expressly, *drink ye all of it?*

L.—Sir, St *Luke* has insinuated a reason for it, which utterly spoils the force of your observation. For he observes, that *Christ* himself *divided* the *bread*, and gave to each *apostle* the morsel he was to eat, *Luke* xxii. 19. So that all were not to *eat* of the same *piece* of *consecrated bread:* but all were to *drink* of the *same consecrated cup;* which therefore (according to St *Luke's* relation) he gave them, and bid them *divide it among themselves*, ver. 17. And this explains those words of St *Matthew*, *drink ye* ALL *of it;* which was only said to caution them, that they were all to have their *share* of the *cup* he gave them: whereas this caution was unnecessary as to the consecrated *bread*, which he distributed with his own hands.

" *G.*—But if these two texts, *take and eat*, and *drink ye* " *all of it*, regard the *apostles alone*, you may say of the *bread* " as of the *cup*, and take that too from the *laity* by the same " rule. And you take the *cup* from the *priests*, who do not " officiate."—*p.* 169.

L.—Sir, it is plain that the word *all* in this text *drink ye all of it*, regarded the *apostles alone;* because *they alone* were the persons, whom *Christ* commanded to drink of that *consecrated cup*, which he handed to them, and bid them *divide it among themselves*. But the *institution* itself of the *eucharist* regarded the *whole church;* that is, all the faithful; though not *all* in the same manner. For, as it is a *sacrifice*, the *institution* regarded the *apostles* immediately, and in them all *bishops* and *priests* deriving their ordination from them. But as it is a *sacrament*, the *institution* regarded the *people* also, who therefore are bound to receive it for the *spiritual nourishment* of their souls; but their *manner* of *receiving* it, that is, whether by the *action* of *eating* or *drinking* or *both*, is not determined by the *institution* itself.

" *G.*—But, my lord, *Christ* said to the *people*, to the *laity*, " *except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood,* " *you shall have no life in you*, John vi. 53. And this is " understood by all you of the *Church* of *Rome* as spoken " of the sacrament."—*p.* 169.

L.—Sir, they who understand this *text* of the *sacrament*, do likewise understand all that has a relation to the same subject in the chapter from whence it is quoted: which being supposed, your observation, that *Christ* spoke those words to the *people*, will do you no service: because the rest of that chapter was spoke to the *people* as well as those words.

Now, as Christ said to the people, *except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you shall have no life in you*, ver. 53. And as it is said, *whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life*, ver. 58. So at the same time he said to the people, *If any man* EAT *this* BREAD *he shall live for ever; and the* BREAD *that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world*, ver. 52. And again, *He that* EATETH *me shall live by me*, ver. 58. And thirdly, *He that* EATETH *this* BREAD *shall live for ever*, ver. 59. In which *three texts* not a word is said of the *cup*, or of the *action* of *drinking*, but only of *eating* the *bread.*

Now to reconcile these with the other *two texts*, where the *cup* and *drinking* are mentioned, it must necessarily be said, that by *eating* and *drinking* is only meant the *action* of RECEIVING the *body and blood of Christ*, and not precisely the *manner* of *receiving* it: and so the *precept* with respect to the *laity* regards not the *way* or *manner* of *receiving*, but only the *thing received.* Nay nothing can be more rational than this interpretation of the forementioned texts: because the only drift of our Saviour's discourse was to convince the disbelieving *Capharnaits*, that unless their souls were nourished with the real *flesh* and *blood* of the *Son of Man*, they should not have *life everlasting;* and that they, who were made *partakers* of his *body* and *blood*, should have *life everlasting.* So that provided the *real body and blood* of *Christ* be but received, whether it be by the *action* of *eating*,

or of *drinking only*, or by *both* together, it is manifest, that all worthy communicants, as they receive *whole Christ*, who is the fountain of *grace* and *eternal life*, so they fully satisfy the *end* of *Christ's institution*, and perform all that is obligatory in the *precept* of *communion*.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*Instead of this answer, which delivers the true sense of our Saviour's words in St* John, *his* lordship *in the* Gentleman's Case Stated *contents himself with one of* Bellarmin's *supernumerary answers; which though defensible, is useless and superfluous. But the* gentleman *had a mind to be merry; and his* lordship *was to give him a handle for it; which he does very opportunely in telling him, that* Bellarmin *says, that in this text,* except you eat, *&c.*, and drink, *&c.*, *the word* and *is to be taken for* or: *wherewith the* gentleman *diverts himself in the following manner:—*

"*G.*—That is to say, I may understand all the *ands* in "the *creed* to be *ors;* and instead of, I believe this *and* "this, I may say, I believe this *or* this. So that, if I believe "any *one article* it is sufficient, though I believe never another. "If you send your servant to market, and bid him bring *beef* "and *mutton* and *pork*, and he buys only *beef*, and says, he "understood all your *ands* for *ors*. And so if you bid him "bring so much *meat* and so much *drink*, and he brings only "*meat* for the same reason. Thus we may easily get over "all the commands of God, and give the reverse to St *James*, "that *he who offends in one point is guilty of all.* No, but "*he who keeps one point, keeps the whole law.* This is *bantering* "instead of *arguing*. And it shews a cause to be very "destitute, when so great a man as *Bellarmin* could content "himself with giving such an answer."—*pp.* 169, 170.

L.—Sir, I may truly say, *this* is *bantering* instead of *arguing*. Nay I perceive you are seized with such a violent fit of drollery, that you choose to forfeit your judgment rather than lose your jest. For, though I am not disposed to espouse *Bellarmin's* answer for the best that can be given, I cannot think he deserves the sharp reflections you have made upon him. What, Sir! if the word *and* may be taken in a *disjunctive sense*, and understood for *or* in *one text* of scripture, does it therefore follow, that it may be so understood in *all texts* whatsoever, and the whole *creed?* Can a man of sense be capable of arguing in this wild manner? Ought you not at

least to have first proved, that *Bellarmin's* interpretation of the aforesaid *text* is wholly groundless and precarious, before you venture to crow over him at that unmerciful rate?

But Sir, I shall instance in a *text*, wherein the word *and* must be taken *disjunctively*, and understood for *or*. The *text* I mean are these words of St *Peter*, *Gold and silver I have none*, Acts iii. 6. I omit others of the same kind for brevity's sake. But it is plain, that in this text the word *and* cannot but signify the same as *or* to make St *Peter's* words bear this sense, *I have neither gold nor silver*, which doubtless is the true one. And does it therefore follow, that all the *ands* in *scripture* must signify the same as *or?* Or is there any ground for your merry banter of sending a servant to the market for *beef*, and *mutton*, and *pork?*

G.—But, my lord, what reason had *Bellarmin* to say, that *and* signifies the same as *or*, in the text we have under debate?

L.—Sir, you ought to have examined that before you made yourself so merry with a man of his learning. However to satisfy you he grounded himself upon our *Saviour's* own words in the very chapter, whence the text in question is taken, and where *Christ* promises *eternal life* no less than *thrice* to those, that shall *eat* the *bread*, which himself explains to be his *flesh*, ver. 15, without so much as mentioning the *cup*, or the *external action* of *drinking*. Whence *Bellarmin* justly concludes, that if this precept, *except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood, &c.*, regards the *external forms* of *eating* and *drinking*, they must be understood *disjunctively* to reconcile them with the *other three texts*.

This, Sir, suffices to shew, that *Bellarmin's* answer is not so absurd, as you have represented it in your merry mood. And I should make no difficulty to prefer this answer, were I not convinced, that by *eating and drinking* is meant no more than RECEIVING *both the body and blood of Christ into our stomachs*. For, as this fully answers the *end* of *Christ's institution*, so is it an entire fulfilling of the *precept* of *communion;* which regards not the

manner of *receiving*, but the *things received:* because they are the things received that give *eternal life*, and not the *formality* or *outward actions*, with which we receive them. This common sense alone suffices to convince us of, and the doctrine of *concomitancy* is a sequel of it.

" *G.*—My lord, the doctrine of *concomitancy* will not do " here. For, if I eat a piece of *flesh*, suppose some *blood* " may be said to be *concomitant* there, yet I cannot be said " to *drink*, where there is not a *drop*."—p. 170.

L.—What Sir! is there not a *drop* of *blood* in the *real*, *living*, and *incorruptible body* of *Christ?* Or do we eat *pieces* cut from it, as we do *butchers' meat?* Strange wilful ignorance!

" *G.*—My lord, the threatening is, except ye *drink*, there " is no life in you."—*p.* 170.

L.—Yet *Christ* tells us, at the same time, that *he that eateth this bread shall live for ever.* Which is a demonstration, that by *eating and drinking* is effectually meant RECEIVING *both his body and blood:* though his *blood* be not conveyed into the stomach by that *material action*, which in receiving ordinary liquids is called *drinking.*

" *G.*—*If it be but a man's testament* (says St *Paul*) *yet if* " *it be confirmed, no man disannulleth, or addeth thereto*, Gal. " iii. 15. This holy *sacrament* was the *last testament*, which " *Christ* left to his church, instituted the evening before he " entered upon his sacred *passion.* Therefore Pope *Gelasius* " (*apud Gratianum*) had good reason to call it *sacrilege* in any, " who should mutilate this *sacrament*, and commanded that " they, who would not *drink* the *cup*, should be denied the " *bread* too."—*pp.* 170, 171.

L.—Sir, not only Pope *Gelasius*, but all the Popes that ever were in the world have judged it *sacrilege* to *mutilate* the *sacrament.* But will you know the *true reason*, why Pope *Gelasius* commanded certain persons to receive both the *consecrated bread* and *wine?*

" *G.*—I never heard a tolerable *reason* for taking the *cup* " from the *laity*, except because they were the *laity.* But " the dispute is not about the *reasons* for it, but the thing " itself. To take away the *cup* is to *mutilate* the *sacrament:* " And this is *sacrilege* by *Gelasius's* determination."—*p.* 171.

L.—Sir, I tell you once more, that to *mutilate* the

sacrament is *sacrilege* in the judgment not of Pope *Gelasius* only, but of all *catholics* in the world. But where will you find it determined by Pope *Gelasius*, that *lay communion* in *one kind* is *mutilating* the *sacrament?* This trivial circumstance you have wholly overlooked?

G.—My lord, I have referred you to his *decree* in *Gratian.*

L.—Who is of no authority amongst us. But if you will needs refer me to that *decree*, you must be content to take the *gloss* along with it, which will set the matter in its true light. *There were certain priests* (says the *gloss*) *who duly consecrated the body and blood of Christ, and received the host, but abstained from the cup: which Gelasius being surprised at said, he could not imagine through what superstition they did so: and commanded them, that they should either receive both as they consecrated both, or abstain both from consecrating and receiving. Because it is sacrilege in a priest offering sacrifice to receive one without the other.* And pray what reference has this to *lay communion*, or the point in question?

SECTION XL.—THE DECREES OF THE COUNCILS OF CONSTANCE AND TRENT CONCERNING COMMUNION IN ONE KIND ARE NOT CONTRARY TO CHRIST'S INSTITUTION, NOR THE FAITH OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

" *G.*—The *Testament* of our Lord, which was *confirmed* " by the *practice* of the *church* for fourteen hundred years, " was *mutilated* by the *Council* of *Constance*, and the *cup* taken " from the *laity* with a *non-obstante* as well to the *institution* " of *Christ*, as the *practice* of the *primitive church.* It was " declared no *sacrilege*, and the *priest* was excommunicated, " who should communicate the *laity* under *both kinds.*

" The *Council* of *Trent* likewise puts in its *caveat* to the *in-* " *stitution* in *both kinds*, and (*that notwithstanding*) the *laity* " must be excluded from the *cup:* and they make it a *heresy* " to say that *whole Christ* is not under *each species.* Then " the *flesh* is as much in the *blood*, as the *blood* in the *flesh*, " and it is all one, which *species* we take. But since the " *body* and *blood* of *Christ* were *separated* at his *death*, and

" he ordained them to be so *separated* in the *sacrament* of it, " I see not how we can take away either *part* upon the " account of their being not *separated*."—pp. 171, 172.

L.—Sir, I shall consider your last words first; which have something in them very extraordinary. For though you have said many unwarrantable things, nothing can be more surprising than what you tell now, viz., *that since the body and blood of Christ were separated at his death, and he ordained them to be so separated in the sacrament of it, you see not how we can take away either part upon the account of their being not separated.*

What Sir! Has Christ ordained his body and blood to be so separated in the *sacrament*, as they were at his *death!* If so, then as they were really separated at his death, so are they really and truly (not *mystically* only, as we say) separated in the sacrament. And since a real separation of blood from the body destroys the life of it, it follows that Christ, though *impassible* and *immortal*, has ordained himself to be destroyed as really in the sacrament, as he suffered death upon the cross. So that according to this doctrine we receive a *dead corps* in the *consecrated host*, and *dead* or *inanimate blood* in the *consecrated wine*.

This, Sir, is the monstrous assertion you are driven to, at least in appearance, by denying our doctrine of *concomitancy*. I say *in appearance;* because I cannot think you so mad as to mean it in earnest; though you express it plainly in words. For reflecting with myself that in our present dispute I must not understand your words according to their usual signification, I easily perceive you have a loophole to creep out at; *viz.*, that when you mention the *body of Christ* in the *sacrament* you mean nothing but a morsel of *bread:* and when you mention the *blood of Christ*, and repeat it over and over again, and seem highly concerned at our *laity's* being deprived of it, you mean no more than a sup of *wine:* and to be sure there is no absurdity in maintaining, that the *bread* and *wine* are as really separated in the *sacrament*, as Christ's *body and blood* were at his *death*.

This I presume is your *salvo* to come off with. But

the remedy is as bad as the disease. For can any thing betray a greater insincerity, than to speak of the *sacrament* as *papists* do, and call it the *body and blood of Christ* twenty times over, and yet mean nothing either of what they mean, or what the words import of themselves? Does it not shew, that in a point of the greatest consequence you dare not speak out, or call things by their proper names? And what can be the reason of this dissimulation, but a just fear least the people who are not only taught in their Catechisms, *that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received in the Lord's supper*, but are accustomed to hear his *body* and *blood* continually spoken of in their *communions*, should become sensible of the cheat that is put upon them, if you should tell them in plain words that there is nothing but *bread* and *wine* in the *sacrament?* For, unless this be your belief and real meaning; that is, unless you mean *bread*, when you say *body;* and *wine*, when you say *blood;* you cannot avoid being guilty of the gross absurdity I have charged you with when you say, *that Christ ordained his body and blood to be* so *separated in the sacrament, as they were at his death.*

For this reason the *Council* of *Trent* defined it to be *heresy* (they might have called it *blasphemy*) to say *that whole Christ is not received under each kind:* which you object as an absurdity; as you likewise do what follows from it; viz., *that then the body of Christ is as much joined with his blood, as the blood with his body.* But if these be absurdities, then it follows, that they who believe *that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received in the Lord's supper*, must believe that they receive *one half* of Christ under one kind, and the *other half* under the other kind.

Whence I conclude, that you cannot avoid one of these three things: either you must own, that you do not believe *the body and blood of Christ to be verily and indeed taken and received in the Lord's supper;* and then you both contradict your church which teaches that doctrine, and your own plain words so often repeated in this dispute, calling it the *body* and *blood* of *Christ* in the

sacrament, and arguing from it against our taking the *cup* from the *laity:* or you must maintain, that *one half* of Christ is received under *one kind*, and the *other half* under the other *kind* or *species*, which is most impiously and superlatively absurd: or you must be content to take up with the *jargon* of *concomitancy* as you call it, and confess fairly that the *body* and *blood* of *Christ* being inseparable in this his glorious and immortal state, the one cannot be without the other. The first makes you both a rank *Calvinist* and professed *equivocator*, the second a madman, and the third a *papist:* choose which you please.

G.—But, my lord, what do you say to the councils of *Constance* and *Trent* taking away the *cup* with a *non-obstante* both to the *institution* of *Christ*, and the practice of the primitive church? This I think was a bold attempt, and wholly unjustifiable.

L.—Sir, they who can see no difference between *instituting* both kinds, and *commanding* both kinds to be received by *all*, must be wilfully blind. *Christ* instituted and administered the *sacrament* at *supper;* but we are not *commanded* to take the sacrament at supper, though it be expressly called *the Lord's supper.* The whole question then is reduced to this point, *viz.*, whether all be *commanded* to receive the sacrament in *both kinds?* And whether the councils of *Constance* and *Trent* took away the cup with a *non-obstante* to the *command of Christ?* Which we flatly deny as a thing unjustifiable and impious in itself: though *protestants* do what they can to persuade the people that this is the true meaning of the *council's non-obstante:* which in effect is representing that *council* to have been no better than an assembly either of *atheists* or *madmen.* For who but *atheists* or *madmen* are capable of making a decree like this? viz., *notwithstanding that Christ has commanded all men to receive the sacrament in both kinds, it shall be given in one kind only to the people.* Surely a man must renounce his reason to judge, that an assembly of *christian bishops* and *pastors* in their senses should combine together to make such a mad and impious decree in the face of the whole world.

The true meaning therefore of the *council* is, that though *Christ instituted* or *consecrated both kinds*, that both might be offered in *sacrifice*, yet there being no *command* that obliges *all*, to receive *both kinds*, the *council* ordered for just reasons that the *sacrament* should be administered to the *laity* in *one kind* only: as the same *council* ordered, that though *Christ* had *instituted* and *administered* the *sacrament* at *supper*, all should be obliged to receive it *fasting* (persons dangerously sick alone excepted) and *your church* dispenses with that circumstance of the *institution* no less than ours.

Now, Sir, as to the *practice* of the *primitive church* (which by an *hyperbole* of a very large size you have extended to fourteen hundred years) no man doubts, but that *public communions* in *both kinds* were practised by the *primitive church:* though the common practice of them was forborne long before the *council* of *Constance*, which *only* made that discipline *obligatory*, which it found established before in most places by *custom*. As appears from the preface to its decree, Sess. 14., whereby it was rendered every where uniform.

But let that be as it will, if our dispute is to be decided by the *practice* of the *primitive church*, you certainly lose your cause. I go upon *two principles*, which no *protestant* will deny: 1*st*, that the *commands* of *Christ* cannot be *reversed* or *violated* upon any pretence whatever. And 2*d*, that administering *half a sacrament* is a *sacrilege*, which no necessity can excuse. From these two principles I infer, that it was the undoubted judgment of the *primitive church*, that administering the sacrament in *one* or *both kinds* is a matter of *discipline* only; whence it follows, that the *council* of *Constance* could legally forbid *lay communion* in *both kinds*, though the contrary was practised in the *primitive church*.

G.—But, my lord, how can we know the *judgment* of the *church* but from her *practice?* If therefore *lay-communion* in *both kinds* was generally practised, as you own it was, in the *primitive church*, must we not conclude she judged the practice of it *necessary?*

L.—Sir, you may conclude she judged it *lawful*, which

nobody denies. But the question is, whether she did not judge *communion* in *one kind* as *lawful* as in *both?* The question is, whether it was her judgment, that there is a *positive command* of *Christ*, which obliges *all* to receive the *sacrament* in *both kinds*, and that it is *mutilated* when it is received in *one kind* only? Finally the question is, whether it was not the judgment of the *primitive church*, that to receive in *one* or *both kinds* is a thing *indifferent* in itself? If so, then she could not judge both kinds *necessary*.

Now here you have her *judgment* positively against you, if that may be certainly known by her *practice*. For it appears from undoubted facts, that in the *primitive* ages the *sacrament* was received sometimes in *both kinds*, sometimes in *one*. I need not prove the *former*, and the *latter* is manifest from three undeniable instances: for I omit several others for brevity's sake.

1. In the communion of *infants*, who were allowed to drink of the *cup* without receiving the *consecrated host*. Cyp. L. de Lapsis, 2. In *domestic communions:* the faithful being permitted by reason of the persecutions to carry *consecrated hosts*, but not the *consecrated wine* to their own house for *private communions*. Tertul. L. 2. ad *Uxorem*. Cap. 5, and *Cyp. Lib. de Lapsis*, 3, in the manner frequently used of administering the *sacrament* to the *sick*. Eus. L. 6. Hist. C. 44, p. 246. St *Ambrose* himself received it in that manner when he was upon the point of death, as is recorded in the history of his life.

From these undeniable instances of *communions* in *one kind* practised in the *primitive church* I infer it was her judgment, 1*st*, That *communion* in *one kind* is not forbid by *Christ*, whose laws cannot be violated upon any pretence whatsoever; 2*d*, That the *sacrament* is not *mutilated* by it; for then it would be *sacrilege* to receive it in *one kind*, which the *primitive church* would not have suffered; 3*d*, That neither the *testament* of *Christ* is *violated*, nor the faithful deprived of any part of our Saviour's *legacy;* both which are *impieties*, which the *primitive church* would have abhorred. Whence I conclude again, that receiving in *one* or *both kinds* was regarded by the *primi-*

tive church as a point of *discipline* only; which therefore the *church* has full authority to change at any time for just reasons.

Now, if you desire to know the reasons, that induced the *church* to forbid the *cup* to the *laity*, you may find them in the *Catechism ad Parochos de Euch. Sacram.* Sect. 70. But the chief was to prevent even casual and involuntary *profanations* by spilling any *drops* of the *consecrated* wine: which was almost unavoidable in a great crowd of communicants.

" *G.*—My lord, I leave it to yourself, whether the reasons " in that *Catechism* be not *childish*; or are of weight to *maim* " the *institution* of *Christ*."—p. 172.

L.—Sir, your groundless clamour about our *maiming* the *institution* of *Christ* deserves that compliment much better, as I have sufficiently shewed. But the reasons given by the *Catechism* can only appear childish to those, who either believe not a word of *the body and blood of Christ being received verily and indeed in the sacrament*; or though they do believe it, have consciences of so large a size, as not to be much concerned about *profanations*.

One of the reasons given by the *Catechism* for taking away the cup is, because some constitutions can neither endure the smell nor taste of wine. This I presume you take to be a very *childish* one. But the *French protestants* did not think it so. For in their Synod at *Poitiers*, An. 1560, they decreed [Ch. 13, Art. 7. of the *Lord's supper*] *that the bread of our Lord's supper ought to be administered to those, who cannot drink wine.* This I think is a good *protestant testimony*, that receiving the communion in *one kind* is neither *sacrilege*, nor *mangling* the *sacrament*, nor a *violation* of any *divine precept*. For if it were, no necessity could excuse it; and they who could not receive *both kinds*, would be obliged to receive neither the *one* nor the *other*.

" *G.*—It is certain, my lord, there must be no comparison " made betwixt the *body* and *blood* of *Christ* as to preference, " or which is most valuable. But our *redemption* is oftener " attributed in holy scripture to his *blood* than to his *body*. " *We are saved by the blood——propitiation through his blood* " *——by the sprinkling of his blood——&c.*"—pp. 172, 173.

L.—Here again, Sir, who will not imagine you believe as firmly as any *papist* in the world, that the *body and blood of Christ* are really and truly present in the *sacrament?* For we must either suppose this to be your belief, or that you are the greatest dissembler imaginable of your faith. Either therefore you believe the *body and blood of Christ* to be present in the *sacrament*, or you do not. If not, all you say now is rank dissimulation and hypocrisy; since you both speak of it and argue from it as if you did. But if you do believe it, you must renounce common sense to say we can receive the *living body of Christ* without receiving his *blood:* and if his *living body* cannot be received without his *blood* (as surely it cannot) what can be more impertinently quoted than the abovesaid three texts, even though they had a reference to the *eucharist?* Whereas they are manifestly spoken of the *blood* of *Christ* as shed upon the *cross* for our *redemption.* But his attributing *life everlasting*, that is, the whole fruit of the sacrament to *eating* alone, *John* vi. 58, comes, I think, somewhat closer up to the purpose.

SECTION XLI.—SOME SOPHISTICAL REMARKS UPON THE 6TH OF ST JOHN ANSWERED.

" *G.*—My lord, we take not this as spoke of the *sacrament*, " but of *faith* in *Christ* here expressed by *eating;* that is " spiritually, as himself explains it, ver. 63, *it is the spirit that* " *quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I* " *speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.*"—p. 173.

L.—Sir, I have fully explained the true meaning of this text in our dispute concerning *transubstantiation* (Sect. 25.) so if you have any thing more to say, I am ready to give you full satisfaction.

" *G.*—But let us now suppose, those words, *if any man* " *eat this bread he shall live for ever.* And, *the bread I will* " *give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.* " Let us, I say, suppose them to be understood of the *sacra-* " *ment* as you do, you will find the *blood* joined with the " *flesh* in the next words, ver. 54, *except you eat the flesh of* " *the Son of man, and drink his blood*——as before quoted. " And again, ver. 55, *Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my*

" *blood*—— and ver. 56. *For my flesh is meat indeed, and my* " *blood is drink indeed,* and ver. 52, *he that eateth my flesh and* " *drinketh my blood.* Is not the *blood* here named with the " *flesh?* But if it were not, there are a hundred places, as " I now observed, where the *blood of Christ* is named as " *cleansing*, as *redeeming* us, &c., without any mention of his " *flesh* or *body*. Are they therefore *excluded?* This is such a " sort of reasoning, as if I invite you to eat with me you must " have no drink to your dinner, because it is not named."—*pp.* 173, 174.

L.—Pray, Sir, what *catholic divine* in the world ever said, that when the *flesh* or *body* of Christ is mentioned alone in holy scripture, his *blood* is *excluded?* Or that it is not necessary to receive his *blood* as well as *body?* On the contrary we maintain expressly, that Christ's *body* and *blood* are wholly inseparable; whence we conclude, that his *body* cannot possibly be received without his *blood*, nor his *blood* without his *body;* and that, by consequence, *whole Christ* is always received whether by a communion in *one* or *both kinds:* so far are we from excluding the necessity or obligation of receiving his *blood*. So pray, Sir, leave off beating the air, and fighting against your own shadow.

As to your pleasant parity of *inviting me to eat with you, and giving me no drink to my dinner, if you do not expressly name it;* I assure you, Sir, I shall take it very ill to be so used: unless you can contrive matters so, that eating alone shall be equivalent both to *eating* and *drinking;* which is the case in the *Lord's supper;* where our *spiritual meat* and *drink*, that is, the *body* and *blood* of Christ are inseparable, as I have fully proved. So that whoever eats his *body*, by the same action receives his sacred *blood* into his stomach. And so I hope that when I come to eat with you, you will not refuse me drink by way of argumentation.

" *G.*—But, my lord, if by eating we commonly mean the " *whole meal*, and *drinking* is likewise included, the criticism " upon the *Lord's Supper* will appear what it is, and not be " thought sufficient to exclude the *cup* in the *sacrament*, and " you have no other foundation in scripture."—*p.* 174.

L.—Sir, I grant that by *eating* is commonly meant

the *whole meal*, and that *drinking* is likewise included if we speak of ordinary meals, because in these the action of *eating* or *drinking* alone cannot convey both *meat* and *drink* into our stomachs. But the case is quite otherwise in the *Lord's supper*; where, as I told you just now, our *spiritual meat and drink*, that is, the *body and blood of Christ* being inseparable are conveyed into our stomachs either by the action of *eating* or *drinking* alone. And this is no *criticism*, but a solid truth; unless you will maintain this impious absurdity, that we receive *one half* of Christ by *eating* and the *other half* by *drinking*.

This therefore suffices to justify *communion in one kind*. Because whoever receives the *whole body and blood of Christ* cannot surely be said to be defrauded of any part of the *spiritual meal*, he has ordained for us.

But since you tell me, we have no other foundation in scripture, but what I have insisted upon from the 6th chapter of St *John* (though that might suffice), I think St *Paul* has laid a very solid foundation both of our *doctrine* and *discipline* in the two following texts: *First*, that *Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more*, Rom. vi. 9; and 2*dly*, that *whosoever shall eat this bread*, OR *drink this cup unworthily*, *shall be guilty of the body and blood of our Lord*, 1 Cor. xi. 27. Whence (besides a clear *innuendo*, that the primitive christians did sometimes either only *eat* the *bread*, or only *drink* the *cup*) it follows plainly, that as either *eating* OR *drinking* unworthily suffices to render us guilty both of the *body and blood of our Lord*, so either *eating* OR *drinking* worthily suffices to render us partakers both of his *body and blood*.

I know your translators have boldly falsified this text of St *Paul* by changing OR into AND, to avoid the force of this argument: and there is not a learned man amongst you but knows it. Yet it stands to this day uncorrected in your Bibles. So tender is your church of the purity of God's words.

" *G.*—But, my lord, if I once call it *eating* the *Lord's* " *Supper*, and several times call it both *eating and drinking*, " will not the latter explain the former? Or will *eating* " exclude *drinking*, though *drinking* be expressly named?

" To *eat* the *Lord's supper* is the only phrase we use, I never " heard any body call it *drinking* the *Lord's supper*. And " you may thence prove that we have not the *cup* in our " *sacrament* as well as that the apostles had it not; because " it is said, they *eat bread*, and *broke bread*. But I have " overlaboured this point, because you lay so much stress " upon it."—*p.* 174.

L.—You have indeed overlaboured it, and shewed yourself a most skilful puzzle-cause in darkening and perplexing the clearest truth. You ask, *if it be once called eating the Lord's supper, and several times both eating and drinking, whether the latter does not explain the former?* I answer the latter does so far explain the former as to render it manifest, that no man *eats* the *Lord's supper*, unless he receives both his *body* and *blood* into his stomach. But since I have demonstrated that this is done either by *eating* or *drinking only*, a man must renounce common sense to pretend, that the external form both of *eating* and *drinking* is necessary.

You ask again, *whether eating does exclude drinking, though drinking be expressly named?* I answer it does not; if by *drinking* be meant, *receiving the blood of Christ.* Because his *body* and *blood* being inseparable, we cannot *eat* his *body* without receiving his *blood.* But if you mean no more than the *external form of drinking*, it is neither *excluded* by the texts which mention *eating alone*, nor *commanded* by the texts which mention *them both.* But our Saviour's attributing the whole virtue and efficacy of the sacrament sometimes to *eating alone*, other times to *eating and drinking joined together*, shews very plainly that it is not the *external form*, or manner of receiving under *one* or *both kinds*, but the *thing received*, which bestows grace and life everlasting on the worthy receiver.

Finally, you tell me, you never call it otherwise than *eating the Lord's supper*, and *that I may prove thence that you have not the cup in the sacrament as well as that the apostles had it not, because it is said, they eat bread, and broke bread.* But pray Sir, when did I prove from *those words*, that the *apostles* had not the *cup?* I never said any such thing, and so you ought not to charge me with

it. I have indeed drawn an argument from the 6th chapter of St *John*, where our Saviour attributes the whole virtue of the sacrament to *eating alone*, as well as to *eating and drinking*. But can I therefore pretend to prove, that you have not the *cup* in the sacrament, because you call it *eating the Lord's supper?* No, Sir, I am not disposed to trifle thus with words; because I know your meaning both from your principles and constant practice: whereas I find the very reverse of those principles in the *word of God*. I find St *Paul* telling the Romans, *that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more*, Rom. vi. 9; the consequence whereof is, that his *body* and *blood* are now inseparable; and this is the very foundation of the doctrine of *concomitancy*. Whence it follows, that *communion in one kind* cannot be a *mangled sacrament*, as you pretend. I find the same apostle telling the *Corinthians*, that *whosoever shall eat the bread*, OR *drink the cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the body* AND *blood of our Lord*, 1 Cor. xi. 27. Now, if *either* eating *or* drinking unworthily suffices to render us *guilty both of the body and blood of our Lord*, it is manifest that *either* eating *or* drinking worthily suffices to render us *partakers* both of his *body and blood*. From these two principles clearly delivered in holy writ, we may legally infer, that our Saviour's often attributing the whole virtue and efficacy of the sacrament to *eating alone* is a solid proof, that when he mentions *both eating and drinking* it is not meant as a precept to oblige all to receive the sacrament *in both kinds*, but only to receive his *body and blood*, which is done by a communion *in one kind* as well as *both;* as I have fully demonstrated to any man, who believes the *body and blood* of Christ to be really and truly present in the *sacrament*.

But who are the persons appointed by *Christ* to be the *interpreters* of his sacred word? *He that heareth you* (says *Christ*) *heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me*, Luke x. 16. Again, who are the persons commissioned by him to *feed* and *govern* his flock, and prescribe the proper methods of *administering* the *sacraments?* St *Paul* resolves the question in these few

words: *Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and the stewards of the mysteries of God*, 1 Cor. iv. 1. From which two *texts* it is plain, that the *bishops* and *pastors* of the *church*, who are the *successors* of the *apostles*, and to whom *Christ* has promised his *perpetual assistance*, are the only persons authorized by him to *interpret* the *word* of *God*, and regulate the manner of *dispensing* the sacred *mysteries* to the people. And was it not then a most insolent madness (for St *Austin* speaking of a parallel case gives it no softer name) in a few private persons to pretend to understand *Scriptures* better than all the *bishops* and *pastors* of *God's church* had done for fifteen ages together, and prescribe laws for the *administration* of *sacraments* in opposition to all *ecclesiastical authority* upon earth?

If there were any *positive command* obliging *all* to receive *both kinds*, is it probable the *universal church* could have been so blind as not to see it? And if they saw it, what motive could her *bishops* and *pastors* have to combine together in a resolution to commit a damnable sin by *forbidding* what *Christ* had *commanded*, when there was neither *honour*, *interest*, nor *pleasure*, nor any visible human motive to induce them to it? It is certain therefore that when they took the *cup* from the *laity*, that is, when they made that a *law*, which had been the general practice long before, they were convinced in their hearts of two things: *First*, That the people were not injured by it, and *2dly*, that there was no *command*, that obliged them to receive it. And if neither they, nor the *great lights* of the *primitive church* could ever discover any *such command*, it looks like a *chimera* rather than a *probability*, that a set of obscure factious persons without *mission* or *authority* from any *lawful superior* should be more intelligent and clear-sighted in *divine matters* than they, and see things wholly unseen before. Truly, Sir, if *bedlam* should set up for a *school of learning*, *children* for *masters* to their *teachers*, and the *blind* for *guides* to their *leaders*, the thing would be as little surprising in itself as the *presumption* and *arrogance* of any set of men pretending to be *wiser* than the *universal church*. This

alone suffices to stop the mouth of any pretended *reformer*, who is not lost to all sense of *modesty*, as *Luther* certainly was, when he made this declaration, *that if a council should either appoint or permit communion in both kinds he would in spite of that council either receive it in one kind or in neither*. Hist. de Variat. C. 2. Sect. 10. This was speaking like a *true reformer*. But enough of this: so I desire you to proceed to some other matter.

SECTION XLII.—OF CELIBACY, OR THE SINGLE LIFE OF PRIESTS.

" *G.*—I shall now shew you another restriction, your " *church* has made upon the *institutions* of *God*. As she has " taken the *cup* from the *laity*, so she has taken another of " your *sacraments*, that is, *marriage* from the *clergy*."—p. 174.

L.—I perceive, Sir, you are now going to fight *pro aris et focis*. And methinks I see a formidable army, of all the *bishops*' and *parsons' wives* and *children* in *Great Britain* drawn up in battle against me. But I comfort myself, that I have St *Paul* of my side, who never *begot children* (for ought I ever heard of) *but in Jesus Christ through the gospel*, 1 Cor. iv. 15. Nay I have the practice of the *whole college* of *apostles* for me. I mean not the *apostles* of the *Reformation*, but the *apostles* of *Jesus Christ*, if St *Jerome* may be believed, who tell us, Epist. 50, *that they were either unmarried, or had no commerce with their wives:* meaning, after they were called to the *ministry* of the *gospel*.

But least I should be guilty of giving any disquiet to that part of the fair sex, who think themselves married to *true bishops* and *priests*, I assure them they may continue with a safe conscience to live with their husbands, at least they need to have no scruple about it, till their husbands can prove the *validity* of their *ordination* as fully as we can prove that persons *validly ordained* cannot *marry* according to the *ancient laws* of the *church*.

G.—I perceive then your *lordship* does us the favour to think, our *married bishops* and *parsons* live not in a state of *adultery*.

L.—Sir, I should wrong them very much, if I thought they did. For I see no manner of reason why *protestant bishops* and *parsons* may not marry as well as the *protestant* laity. So that whatever I say concerning the *celibacy* or *single life* of *bishops* and *priests* is no reflection upon *your church* as now established, but only a vindication of my own. And I think I may modestly say I plead the more honourable cause of the two. For *virginity* is commendable even in *laymen*. The *ancient fathers* have writ whole volumes in commendation of it, and St *Paul* recommends it preferably to *marriage*, 1 Cor. vii. 32, 33, 38. Nay he advises even married persons to abstain from the conjugal duty for a time, *that they may give themselves* (says he) *to prayer*, 1 Cor. vii. 5. Upon which words St *Jerome* writes thus against *Jovinian*, Lib. 1. C. 19. *If a layman* (says he) *cannot pray without abstaining sometimes from the conjugal duty, a priest who must always offer sacrifice, must always pray: and if he must always pray, he must always be unmarried.*

This *Jovinian* (whom St *Jerome* styles the *christian epicure*) was the *Martin Luther* of his time in openly opposing the *lawfulness* of *religious vows*, and the *celibacy* of *priests:* and, if the world had then been ripe for a *godly reformation*, he would have saved *Luther* some part of his trouble. But the *church* was then too *popishly* affected to suffer him to prevail. For he no sooner appeared upon the stage but was excommunicated, and his *heresy* condemned *first* by a *council* at *Rome* under Pope *Siricius*, St Ambr. Epist. 6.; and afterwards by a *council* at *Milan*, Epist. 7.; and by the writings of St *Ambrose*, St *Jerome*, and St *Austin*, who exhorted as many as they could, both men and women, to consecrate themselves to God by *religious vows*, though *Jovinian* urged the same *texts* of *scripture* against it as are now commonly made use of by *protestants*. But because he seduced some ignorant virgins by saying, *are you better than Abraham, Sarah, &c.*, St *Austin* bid them answer, *I am not better than Abraham, but the chastity of a single life is better than the chastity of marriage*. Lib. de bono Conjug. C. 28. How different was the *spirit* of those *eminent lights* of the *church* from that of our late *reformers!*

Now St *Paul's* recommending a *single life* as the *perfecter state* even to *laymen*, was doubtless the principal motive that induced the *church* to prohibit the *marriage* of *priests*. For, as their *priestly character* obliges them to a *greater perfection* than that of *laymen*, it is but reasonable they should embrace the *perfecter state*. And since the duties of the *married state* are looked upon by the same *apostle* as a *hindrance* to *prayer*, they whose office it is to assist at the altar, and pray not only for themselves but the people also, seem to be called and destined by God to no other *marriage* than that of the *Lamb*. Nothing certainly appears more congruous in itself than that a person, whose *functions* are wholly *spiritual*, and whose time ought to be divided between the duties of *study* and *prayer* and the *care* of *souls*, should be free from the concern of *wife* and *children*, and not embarked in all the *solicitudes* of this life like worldly persons.

This then is the *first rule*, on which I ground my justification of the *church's discipline* relating to the *celibacy* of *priests:* viz., *because a single life is of itself a more perfect state, and more becoming the clergy than the conjugal state.*

The second rule is, that though many *married persons* were in the *primitive ages* admitted or rather *compelled* to *holy orders* in consideration of their extraordinary merits, yet none were allowed to marry *after* their ordination. The *council* of *Nice* affords us a proof of this truth. For that council intending to make a decree to separate even *such bishops, priests*, and *deacons* from their *wives* as had been married *before* their ordination, was indeed dissuaded from it by St *Paphnucius:* yet it decreed that *such as came unmarried into the clergy, should always remain single according to the ancient tradition of the church*, Socrates Lib. 1. Hist. 8, *illud satis esse, ut qui in clerum ante adscripti erant quam duxissent uxores, hi secundum veterem ecclesiæ traditionem deinceps a nuptiis abstinerent.*

It is plain then that according to the *ancient discipline* of the *church* none were allowed to marry after their admission to *holy orders* even in the *Eastern* church, and as to the discipline of the *Western* church St *Jerome* writes

thus: *bishops, priests, and deacons are either chosen virgins or widowers; or at least abstain after priesthood from the use of marriage as long as they live.* Epist. 50.

This then is the *second rule* I go by, viz., that *according to the ancient discipline of the church, none were permitted to marry after they were once engaged in holy orders.*

The third rule is, *that all vows freely made to God are binding.* This none but *atheists* can deny, because *God* himself has declared it. *When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it——that which is gone out of thy lips thou shalt keep and perform,* Deut. xxiii. 21, 23. And St *Paul* says of *widows* consecrated to *God,* that *when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry, having damnation because they have cast off their first faith,* 1 Tim. v. 11, 12.

The *fourth* and last rule is, *that the single life of bishops and priests is a matter of ecclesiastical government or discipline only.* Whence I infer *first,* that the *church* had always *full authority* to make it a *law;* especially in regard of those who freely offer themselves to holy orders. For, if they be not disposed to perform the *conditions* upon which they are received, they ought not to engage themselves. I infer 2*dly,* that though the *primitive church* had made no such *law,* the *church* might lawfully have done it in *after ages,* at least in reference to such, as were not already engaged. Because the *church of Christ* has always the *same authority;* nor is there any reason why she should lose any part of it by *time* or *age.* Now Sir, you may put what objections you please.

SECTION XLIII.—OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

"*G.*—My lord, I pass by the politic views and advantages "the *court of Rome* has in this, as giving the pope the more "absolute command, and making him in effect heir of all the "great possessions of the clergy. For the *canon law* obliges "the *regular bishops* not to dispose of their estates, and the "other clergy not to be too liberal of their alms in their "sickness. And what they leave the pope disposes of as "grand treasurer of the church."—*pp.* 173, 174.

L.—Sir, I never heard the Pope was *heir* to the hereditary estates either of bishops or priests. And as to their benefices or ecclesiastical revenues, they pass of course to the next incumbents; and they may dispose of their ready cash as they judge fitting during their lives, without being accountable for it to any but God alone. So that it is beyond my comprehension how the *celibacy* of bishops and priests should make the pope in effect heir of all the great possessions of the clergy, as you are pleased to tell me.

"*G.*—My lord, I am content to waive this argument, and "will only insist upon what relates to conscience."—*p.* 175.

L.—Very well, Sir.

"*G.*—You reckon it a defilement in your church for a "*clergyman* to marry. No great compliment to the married "state, which yet was instituted by God in *Paradise*, whilst "man was in his innocence."—*p.* 175.

L.—Sir, we reckon it a defilement in a priest to be false to a solemn engagement made to God; and so does St *Paul* reckon it one even in the *laity*, 1 Tim. v. 11, 12. And I hope all true christians are of the same mind. Nor do I think a man is bound by any institution, though made in the state of innocence, to commit a *sacrilege* out of a compliment to the *married state*.

"*G.*—The apostle says, *marriage is honourable in all, and* "*the bed undefiled*, Heb. xiii. 4."—*p.* 175.

L.—But *sacrilege* is not honourable in any; nor is a *sacrilegious bed undefiled*, though coloured over with the name of marriage. The incestuous marriage of the *Corinthian* whom St *Paul* delivered up to Satan, 1 *Cor.* v. 5, was not very honourable. Nor the marriage of *widows* who *began to wax wanton against Christ*. And *Luther's* marriage with a *nun* was just as honourable as any of these. Lastly, though *marriage be honourable* according to St *Paul*, the state of *celibacy* is still more honourable according to the same apostle; and the more honourable state is surely best becoming the honourable character of bishops and priests; otherwise St *Paul* would not have made choice of it for himself.

"*G.*—But *forbidding to marry is reckoned one of the doctrines* "*of the devil*, 1 Tim. iv. 3."—*p.* 175.

L.—Forbidding to marry as a thing unlawful in itself (as the *Manichees* and *Marcionites* did) is *the doctrine of devils.* But forbidding particular persons (who have voluntarily consecrated themselves to God) to marry, is not the doctrine of *devils* but the doctrine of St *Paul*, in the very next chapter where he tells *widows* consecrated to God, that if they marry they gain *damnation* to themselves. Besides I never heard the *devil* was the author of forbidding marriages within the *prohibited degrees ;* in which your church is as much concerned as ours.

" *G.*—My lord, directions are given by St *Paul* how a " *bishop* should govern his *wife* and *children ;* for *if a man* " *knows not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care* " *of the house of God ?* 1 Tim. iii. 5. Yet your interpreters " would have this *wife* and this *house* to be the church."—*p.* 175.

L.—Sir, St *Paul's* words are clear enough to be their own interpreters. For they can mean nothing else than that a person, who suffers or countenances disorders in his own private family, is not fit to govern the *church* of *Christ.*

However, though in the chapter you have quoted I find directions both how a *bishop* is to govern his *children* and *deacons* their *wives*, yet I do not find the *directions* you speak of, *viz.*, how a *bishop* should govern his *wife :* which seems to be an insinuation that the bishops then chosen, though they were actually married, lived separated from their wives.

It is true St *Paul* tells us in the 2d verse of the same chapter, that *a bishop must be the husband of one wife ;* the meaning whereof cannot surely be that St *Paul* obliged bishops to be married ; for then he was bound to follow his own rule ; but that no man was fit to be a bishop who had been married oftener than *once.* And the reason which induced the apostle to prescribe that rule in the choice of *deacons* as well as *bishops* was, because though in his time virginity was so rare both amongst *Jews* and *Gentiles*, that if neither married men nor widowers had been promoted to holy orders, the church would have been destitute of necessary pastors, yet even then he would not have those taken to the altar who had been *married twice ;* because they appeared to have stronger

ties to the earth, than were suitable to so holy an employment.

" *G.*—My lord, St *Peter* was a married man and forsook " not his *wife* after he was an apostle, but led her about with " him as other apostles did, 1 Cor. ix. 5."—*p.* 175.

L.—Sir, this description of the *apostles* trailing about their *wives* and conversing with them as such, appears to me so dishonourable to their sacred character and unsuitable to their apostolic functions, that I wonder how any sober thinking man can give in to it. Did not St *Peter* say to Christ, *behold we have forsaken all and followed thee?* Matt. xix. 27. And were not their *wives* a part of the *all* they had forsaken?

G.—But does not St *Paul* say expressly, *have we not power to lead about a sister a wife as well as the other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas,* 1 Cor. ix. 5.

L.—Sir, the *English protestant Bible* says so, but not St *Paul*, who declaring himself to be *unmarried* chapter vii. 8, could not pretend to lead about a *wife*, chapter the 9th. Neither did St *Peter* nor the other apostles lead their wives about, since St *Jerome*, Epist. 50, declares positively, that the apostles who were married lived separated from their wives. And writing against *Jovinian* who quoted that very text of St *Paul*, tells him it ought to be translated, *have we not power to lead about a sister a woman? &c.*, meaning some ancient matron or *diaconissa* as attended St *Peter* and other apostles in their travels, and provided necessaries for them either out of their own subsistence or the alms of the faithful. Nay I perceive your own church begins to have some diffidence of their translation. For in the late edition of the Bible in two large *folios* at *Oxford;* though *wife* be kept in the text, *woman* is put in the margin. Which is at least one step towards an acknowledgment of the truth; and I pray God to improve it.

" *G.*—My lord, that in the primitive church the clergy did " marry is plain from *Socrates*, Hist. Eccles. L. 1. C. 11., and " L. 5. C. 22."—*p.* 175.

L.—Sir, it is plain not only from *Socrates* but all

ecclesiastical historians, that many of the primitive bishops and priests were married men. But it is no less plain from *Socrates*, as I have shewed before, that the *Council* of *Nice* made a decree to prohibit any bishop or priest to marry after his ordination.

" *G.*—My lord, the vows of single life were not imposed " upon the clergy till pope *Hildebrand*. See *Matt. Westm.* " ad An. 1074, *Vincent. Spec. Hist.* L. 24. C. 45. *Antoninus* " L. 16. C. 1. § 21. *And it was without precedent* (says " *Sigibert, Chron.* ad An. 1074), *and, as many thought, out of* " *an indiscreet zeal, contrary to the opinion of the holy fathers.* " But *Hildebrand* was not obeyed in this in *England* for " above a hundred years after. For our ancient records say " (*Hist. Petroburgh.* An. 1127, apud *Spelman*) *all these decrees* " *availed nothing. For the priests by the king's consent had* " *still their wives as formerly.*"—p. 176.

L.—Sir, it is not at all material, whether pope *Hildebrand* was or was not the first that imposed *vows* of a single life upon the clergy. For such a vow could only inforce the obligation they were already under by the ancient *canons* of the church, which had never been repealed; and so it obliged them to nothing, but what they were obliged to before. Just as if a vow to keep the *fast* of *Lent* were now imposed upon *Roman catholics*, no man could legally infer from it, that it was therefore a new thing, or a duty they were not strictly obliged to comply with independently of such a vow. All therefore we can gather from that fact and the other related by *Spelman* (if it be literally true, which may be questioned), all, I say, we can gather from it is, that in the 11th and 12th century great irregularities were practised by many of the inferior clergy, who kept their *concubines*, and called them *wives*, but were no more so, than *Kate Boren* was the lawful wife of *Martin Luther*. And to shew they were regarded by the church no otherwise than as *concubines*, besides many other synodal decrees against them in other places, there was a *general synod* held at *London* by the pope's legate in the very year mentioned by *Spelman*, in which *several canons were made for the reformation and celibacy of the clergy*, says Mr *Echard*

in his *History of England*, L. 2. C. 1. p. 174. But the same author adds, *that they were not much regarded* (as the very laws of God are but little regarded by libertines) *till some few years after, anno* 1129, *the king, desirous to settle the celibacy of the clergy in a synod called on purpose, through the weakness of the archbishop* (*as* Matthew Paris *expresses it*) *obtained power to have the sole execution of this law himself; but instead of restraining the pretended abuse, he punished them in their purses, and receiving sums from a great many of them he permitted them to enjoy their wives as formerly.*

Now this relation of Mr *Echard* gives a very different turn to the whole matter from that of *Spelman*. For what he calls *the king's consent*, is here fairly represented as a bare *connivance*, into which the king was bribed by large sums of money: and the severe laws made by the two synods, Mr *Echard* speaks of, against those of the clergy who kept *concubines* though they called them *wives*, is a proof, that the bishops assembled in those synods regarded it as a sinful abuse, which stood highly in need of a reformation: and in effect they who practised it were always branded with the infamous name of *concubinarians*, which is but a softer word for what we call in plain *English*, whoremasters.

"*G.*—My lord, *Gregory the Great* said, *that it was lawful* "*for such of the clergy, as could not contain, to marry.* (Resp. "ad Interrog. 2m. Aug. Cant.) and *Pius* II. said the same, "*that they may be allowed to marry.* Platina."—*p.* 176.

L.—Sir, I must here accuse you of very foul dealing in both these quotations. As to pope *Gregory*, you have falsified him by stifling that part of his words, which fully explain his meaning. They are these: *If there be any of the clergy*, WHO ARE NOT IN HOLY ORDERS, *and cannot contain, they ought to marry.* Now there are great numbers in our clergy, who are neither *priests*, *deacons*, nor *subdeacons*, but only in *lesser orders*; who therefore are free to return to the world and marry. And so St *Gregory's* words instead of allowing the marriage either of *priests*, *deacons*, nor *subdeacons*, who are all in *holy orders*, imply a prohibition of it according to this

maxim, *exceptio confirmat legem:* because it would be mere trifling to limit a law that is not in force.

As to the words of *Pius* II. (for which you quote *Platina* in his life) they seem to import no less, than that pope *Pius* being consulted as *head of the church*, whether *priests that could not contain might marry*, had answered *ex cathedra*, that *they might:* whereas I can find no such thing. It is true, *Platina* at the end of that pope's life entertains his reader with many pleasant sayings used by him in common conversation, amongst which this is one: *That there was great reason for the prohibiting of priests to marry, but greater for allowing it again*, p. 401, printed *London*, anno 1688. Now if the same pope in a pleasant mood had said, *that there was great reason for prohibiting the plurality of wives, but greater for allowing it again*, it would have been full as good an argument for *polygamy*, as his other saying is for the *marriage of priests.*

SECTION XLIV.—OTHER OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

" *G.*—My lord, your great canonist, *Panormitan*, says, " *there is a great reason to allow priests to marry now as ever* " *there was to restrain it.* Let St *Bernard* bear witness in " his time what reason there was for allowing it, he says, " *there are many who cannot be hid for their multitude, nor do* " *seek to be concealed for their impudence, who being restrained* " *from the nuptial remedies, run into all filthiness.* Bern. de " conv. ad Cler. C. 29. And another says, *that few in those* " *days were free from fornication:* Glos. ad Gratian. Dist. 82. " C. 5. And *Matthew Paris* tells, that the pope thought it " almost a miracle that a candidate for a bishopric was said " to be a pure virgin. Whence the *gloss ad Gratian*, in the " place just before quoted, calls *fornication* but a *venial sin;* " and it is tolerated, if not allowed, ibid. Dist. 34, C. 7. " However it was reckoned a less sin in a *priest* than *marriage.* " For this reason deadly sin is added to fornication in our " litany."—*pp.* 176, 177.

L.—Sir, as to *Matthew Paris's* tale of what a certain pope *thought*, and *Gratian's* saying, *that few were free from fornication;* I wonder you can lay a stress upon such

trifling stuff. But suppose the *thought* of the one, and the *saying* of the other deserved a serious regard, all that can be gathered from them, as likewise from the words of *Panormitan* and St *Bernard* is, that in the time they speak of, there was a great looseness and corruption amongst the *clergy*. But does it suffice to make a law unreasonable, because there are many transgressors against it? If so, I fear the *decalogue* will be thought unreasonable too, since millions transgress daily against its sacred laws. I own however there are inconveniences either in allowing or prohibiting the marriage of priests. But of two evils the lesser is to be chosen. And when our church is convinced, that it is a lesser evil to allow them to marry, I doubt not but she will change her *discipline* in this as she has sometimes done in other things.

But your representing it to be the doctrine of our church, that *fornication is but a venial sin*, nay *that it is tolerated, if not allowed by us*, is rank calumny. For though there were such a ridiculous gloss upon *Gratian*, a writer of no authority amongst us (which however I cannot find, though I have read over both the *distinctions* you refer me to), it will not excuse your slanderous suggestion, *that it is the doctrine of our church*. Nay I am sure you know this to be a calumny as well as myself. Or if you pretend ignorance, pray examine our Catechisms, or books of instruction upon the sixth commandment, and shew me one if you can, that calls *fornication* a *venial sin*, or says, *it is tolerated, if not allowed*.

As to what you add, *that fornication is reckoned by our church a less sin in a priest than marriage*, you utterly mistake the question in supposing, that our priests may be truly and validly married, which we deny. For it is our doctrine, that when a priest pretends to marry, he only makes *marriage* a cloak to cover *habitual sacrilege* and *adultery;* which doubtless is more grievous, than a sin casually committed with a single person.

This is the express doctrine of St *Chrysostom*, who writes thus to one *Theodore*, a fallen monk, that had married: *Marriage* (says he) *is a just and lawful thing*,

I grant it———but now it is not a thing in your power. For being once joined to your heavenly spouse, to leave him and fall into the embraces of a wife, is adultery. Give it a thousand times if you please the name of marriage, I say it is as much worse than adultery, as God is better and greater than womankind, ad Theod. lapsum.

" *G.*—But why was *celibacy* enjoined to priests? And " why is marriage a greater sin than *fornication?* Because " the first is a breach of the command of the *church,* and the " latter of the command of *God.* And the difference of the " punishment of these in your church shews that she thinks " so. For a priest committing *fornication* comes off for small " penance, whereas if he *marries,* he is degraded. May we " not then say to the *Church of Rome,* as Christ to the church " of the *Jews* in a parallel case, *full well ye reject the com-* " *mandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.* " Mark vii. 9."—*p.* 177.

L.—Sir, you may say to the *Church of Rome* whatever you please. For who can debar either you or any body else the privilege of talking impertinently? But when you speak of the *small penance* imposed for the sin of *fornication,* you either mean private or public *fornication.* If private only, I should be glad to know, how you come to be informed of what passes in the *sacred tribunal* betwixt our penitents and their confessors. For I never heard of any confessions in our church cried about the streets, as they are on every execution day in *London.* But if you speak of *fornication* publicly known, I assure you Sir, the party concerned passes some part of his days very uncomfortably: and the small penance you speak of is usually a good long confinement, where he is sometimes regaled with bread and water; which I believe would not please a *protestant* stomach.

But you ask, *why marriage is a greater sin than fornication?* Sir, true marriage is no sin at all, nor by consequence a breach of God's command. But in a priest it is no more true marriage, than it would be in a *layman* to marry a *second wife,* his former being yet alive. Your reason then why *marriage* in a priest is a greater sin than *fornication* is not only false but malicious. For in a *priest* they are both against the *church,* and both against

God. But with this difference, that the one may be the effect of a passing weakness; and the other cannot but be the effect of an obstinate and premeditated lust; which doubtless is more heinous in the sight of God.

" *G.*—But, my lord, if marriage be such a defilement, as is " unworthy of a priest, how came you to make a *sacrament* " of it? I suppose you cannot mean less by a *sacrament* " than a *means of grace.* You have made many less things " so, as I shewed before. And would you deprive the clergy " of any means of grace? Or is it your modesty to put " them upon the level with the laity for depriving them of " the *cup* in the *sacrament* of Christ's own *institution?*"—*p.* 177.

L.—Sir, I shall answer you very briefly to every point. *First,* you ask, *if marriage be such a defilement as is unworthy of a priest, how we came to make it a sacrament?* Sir, *Christ* made it a *sacrament* not we. Nor is true marriage a defilement; but the single life is perfecter, and more becoming a *priest.* 2. You say, *you suppose we cannot mean less by a sacrament than a means of grace.* That is very true: but you add, *we have made many less things so, as you have shewed;* both which are false, as I have shewed. 3. You ask, *whether we would deprive the clergy of any means of grace?* I answer, the *unmarried clergy* stand no more in need of the *grace* annexed to the *sacrament* of *marriage*, than the *married laity* stand in need of the *grace* annexed to the *sacrament* of *ordination.* Lastly you ask, *whether it be our modesty to put the clergy upon the level with the laity for depriving them of the cup in the sacrament of Christ's own institution?* I answer, the laity are deprived of no part of the *grace* or *efficacy* of the *sacrament* of *Christ's body and blood:* and so your question is impertinent.

" *G.*—*Marriage is honourable and undefiled in all,* says the " *apostle.* No, say you, it is *neither* in a *priest.*"—p. 178.

L.—And you say the very same of all such, as are within the *prohibited degrees.* Answer it if you can without limiting the meaning of St *Paul's* words.

" *G.*—He says, *if men cannot contain let them marry, for* " *it is better to marry than burn,* 1 Cor. vii. 9. No, say you, " it is better to *burn* than to *marry.* And this you must " say, unless you suppose that all the many thousands of

" your clergy, and many of them young men, are every one " of them endowed with the gift of continency, which would " be a miracle, if experience did not contradict it."—*p.* 178.

L.—Sir, I do not pretend that in such numbers all are endowed with the gift of continency: yet I am sure all may be, and doubt not but the greatest part are with the help of God's grace. However I hope you are not of *Martin Luther's* mind, whose admirable doctrine it is, *that it is impossible either for a man to live without a woman, or for a woman to live without a man* (Serm. de Matrim. Tom. 5. Fol. 11.), which methinks is but a coarse compliment to *bachelors*, *maids*, and *widows*; of which there are many thousands even in *Great Britain*. Do all these then, or most of them live in a sinful state? I have the charity to think they do not: and if they do not, I hope the many thousands of *priests* and *religious* in our church may be at least as good as they.

G.—But St *Paul* says, that *if men cannot contain let them marry*, 1 Cor. vii. 9.

L.—Pardon me Sir, St *Paul* says no such thing. His text is falsified in your Bible, and ought to be rendered thus: *If they do not contain, let them marry*: which still is to be understood of those, who may legally embrace the state of wedlock: for I do not find St *Paul* allowed it to *widows* consecrated to God. However there is a large difference between *not containing*, and *not being able* to contain. A thief does not contain from stealing: but I hope he can contain from it if he pleases, though his fingers itch never so much to be at it. So an adulterer does not contain from coveting his neighbour's wife; but St *Paul* will not tell him that he *cannot* contain. For if he cannot contain, he cannot be blamed if he does not contain: because *necessity has no law*.

G.—I am sure at least St *Paul* says, *it is better to marry than burn*.

L.—Very right, Sir, and St *Paul* teaches nothing but truth. But he does not say it is better to commit *adultery* or *sacrilege* than *burn*. Suppose a man should burn for his neighbour's wife, or a *married man* for another woman (the case is not uncommon), does St *Paul* tell

him, he had better *marry* her, than burn for her? No surely. The reason is, because *marriage* is not the only remedy against the *burnings* of concupiscence: but prayer and mortification joined with an ardent love of God will have the same effect, and that in a much nobler way. Nay St *Paul* himself had recourse to this excellent remedy instead of marriage against the most violent *buffets* of *Satan*; and he found it most effectual, as he owns in his epistles. And this is the very remedy our *clergy* and *religious* are bound to have recourse to in the like case. So that though it *be better to marry than burn*, when a man can do it lawfully, it is still much better to overcome the burnings of concupiscence by prayer and mortification, when he has engaged himself in a state, that is inconsistent with the lawfulness of marriage.

" *G.*—My lord, all sober *christians*, and even *heathens* " look upon marriage as a preserver, and not as a breach of " chastity. St *Peter* calls it a *chaste conversation*, 1 Pet. iii. 2. " If it were not so, we may presume that Christ would not " have honoured it with his presence and with his first miracle, " nor make it so frequently, as he does, the type and re- " presentation of *heaven*, and of his union with the church; " calling himself the *bridegroom*, and her his *spouse*."—*p.* 178.

L.—Sir, all this is undeniable of true and lawful marriage. But though it be a preserver of chastity, it is neither the only one, nor an infallible one, nor the best preserver of it. This at least I am sure of, that chastity is not preserved by *broken vows*, and *sacrilegious* embraces.

" *G.*—The *apostle* says, *to avoid fornication let every man* " *have his own wife, and every woman her own husband.* 1 " Cor. vii. 2. No, say you, we except all the *clergy*, the " *friars*, and the *nuns*, whom we have put under *vows* to the " contrary. And we will find other means for them to obtain " the *grace of continency*. Yes, and the world is full of the " effects of those means, and knows whether they are better " than those of God's appointment. It is strange that you, " who have so many *means of grace* of your own, should not " make those very few, which *Christ* has made, stand as he " left them."—*p.* 179.

L.—Sir, this Grub-Street stuff about *our means of grace*,

and making void the institutions of Christ, has already been repeated and answered so often, that I am perfectly nauseated with it. What, Sir! does not the institution of marriage *stand as Christ left it*, though St *Paul* excluded *widows* who had consecrated themselves to God from the privilege of it; and though your church as well as ours forbids it within the *prohibited degrees?* And if the institution of marriage *stands as Christ left it* notwithstanding these limitations, can a man of common sense pretend that our excluding the *clergy* from the privilege of it has altered the *institution of God?*

It is true, the *apostle* says, *to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband.* But does the *apostle* by those words oblige all to marry? Or does he mean that marriage is the only means to avoid *fornication?* If so, why did he not follow his own rule and marry? Or if this be his meaning, what opinion must we have of all the *widows* and *widowers, bachelors* and *maids* of *Great Britain?*

You say, we except the *clergy*, *friars*, and *nuns*. This is a terrible grievance indeed. But St *Paul* himself has set us the pattern by excepting *widows*, that had consecrated themselves to God. *Luther* indeed took another course, and by the plenitude of his power first absolved himself, then as being bound to love his neighbour as himself, and do by others as he would be done by, absolved both *priests*, *friars*, and *nuns*, of all their vows; who thus became fruitful fathers and mothers of children to propagate his church.

Ay, but *we put them under vows not to marry, and will find other means for them to obtain the grace of continency.* Sir, it is false that *we put them under vows.* For there is no force used, but their own free choice determines them to it. And the means we prescribe them to obtain *the grace of continency*, viz., *retirement*, *prayer*, *mortification*, and a serious application to the duties of their respective state, are means prescribed by the *gospel* itself; which in spite of your unhandsome reflection are never frustrated of their effect, when they are rightly used.

I shall conclude this subject with the words of an

eminent protestant. *A single life* (says Mr *Thorndike*) *is a safer way to perfection than marriage. So is the profession of the clergy, and all the means of former retirement from the world——And the grace, which our Lord, and St* Paul *after him, owns in them that do this, is not a peculiar temper of the body obliging him that has it to live single, and him that has it not to marry, but a singular zeal to waive that, which God makes lawful for us, that we may the better come to his kingdom; which when it proceeds from a single eye proposing to itself nothing in this world but the means of attaining the world to come, well may we be assured of God's help to perform it by virtue of that promise, which the common christianity challenges, intending nothing but the effect of it.* Just weights and measures. C. 11. *pp.* 74, 75.

This, Sir, may help to convince you, that the cause you have so stiffly maintained is not the most honourable, even *our enemies being judges.*

SECTION XLV.—OF PURGATORY.

" *G.*—But, my lord, you extend your means of grace " farther than Christ did his. For he appointed none to be " used for those in the other world. But you have *offices* to " deliver souls out of *purgatory.*"—p. 179.

L.—Sir, Christ himself has instituted the holy *sacrifice* of his *body and blood*, the use of *prayers, alms, fasting, &c.*, and I find no prohibition in *holy writ*, that forbids the application of them to the *souls departed.* So that our offering them up for the delivery of *souls* out of *purgatory* cannot but be a very charitable *office.*

" *G.*—But it is a very dark one. We have not a word " in *scripture* of any such state of the dead, where souls are " put under pains equal to those of hell, except for their " duration."—*p.* 179.

L.—Nor have we it in any profession of faith; for all we are bound to believe concerning *purgatory* is what the *Council* of *Trent* has defined: viz., *that there is a purgatory* (or middle state of souls) *and that the souls detained in it are helped by the prayers of the faithful, especially by*

the acceptable sacrifice of the altar. But in what manner they are tormented, what sort of place it is, how great their torments are, or how long they are to last; these are points, in which the faith of the church is not the least concerned, and you only beat the air, if you dispute against these.

You say, *there is not a word in scripture of any such state.* If you mean that the word *purgatory* is not in scripture, I easily grant it. But the doctrine of *purgatory* (as I have stated it) is deduced by a clear and necessary consequence from several scriptural texts.

First, It is said *Matt.* xii. 32, that *whosoever speaketh against the holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him neither in this world, nor in the world to come.* Upon which text St *Austin* discourses thus: *It would not be truly said of some sins that they shall neither be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come, unless there were others, which though not forgiven in this life, may yet be forgiven in the next.* L. 21, de Civ. Dei. C. 24.

2*dly*, It is said, *Rom.* xi. 6, that *God will render to every man according to his deeds.* Whence it follows, that if a man dies either without having done *worthy fruits of penance* for sins, of which he has sincerely repented; or with sins which are not *deadly*, of which he has not repented; since God is *infinitely just*, and a certain measure of punishment is due to every sin, it follows I say, that he must be punished after his death.

3*dly*, It is said, *Rev.* xxi. 27, *that no unclean thing shall enter into heaven.* The undeniable consequence whereof is, that a person guilty of the very smallest *sin* cannot enter into heaven, because he is rendered *unclean* by it in some degree. Neither can he be damned for it, because nothing but *deadly sin* is punished with eternal flames. There must therefore be a *middle state* between *heaven* and *hell*, where some sins are both punished and expiated; and this we call *purgatory*, because in *heaven* there is neither punishment nor sins capable of it, and *in hell there is no redemption.* Job.

" *G.*—But is not the *blood of Christ* sufficient to cleanse " us from all unrighteousness?"—*p.* 179.

L.—Yes, Sir; but if that proves any thing, it will prove a great deal too much; and *hell* will become useless as well as *purgatory.*

G.—Hold, my lord: though *Christ* has shed his *blood* for all, yet he requires a sincere *repentance* on our part as an indispensable duty to have it applied to us.

L.—Very right, Sir. And therefore as it does not cleanse us of mortal sin without repentance on our part, so neither of venial sin but upon the same condition. Besides there may remain a *temporal punishment* due to sins, even after we have sincerely repented of them: and if this debt be not fully discharged in this life, it remains to be paid hereafter.

" *G.*—Then the guilt is not fully forgiven."—*p.* 179.

L.—Pardon me, Sir, there may be a *temporal punishment* due for sins, whereof the *guilt* is fully forgiven. God said to *David, I have put away thy sin, but the child shall die.*" 2 Sam. xii.

" *G.*—And the reason is given in the next words, *because* " *by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the* " *Lord to blaspheme;* as if God did countenance such wicked- " ness. Therefore *David* was punished so, as his enemies " might perceive it. God punishes here either to vindicate " his own honour before men, or for a trial of our faith, as in " the case of *Job*, and to set forth such as examples to others: " or for a proof and confirmation of our religion; as in the " case of the *prophets, apostles, confessors,* and *martyrs:* or to " correct and recall obstinate sinners. Many have been re- " formed by this means. But all these reasons respect this " life only. For you say not that souls are made *better* in " *purgatory.* For you suppose them to die in the *love of* " *God*, and to be in his *favour* before they go thither. And " why then are they punished, since they are not *purified* by " it?"—*pp.* 179, 180.

L.—Sir, I have hitherto had this notion of *purgatory*, that it is a place, where souls are *purged* or *purified*, and by consequence *made better*, and fitted for heaven. But, pray, what *Roman catholic* ever told you the contrary? A person may in this world *love God* above all things, and be in his *favour.* Yet I hope this will not hinder him from being *made better* and *purer* than he is already:

and so he may be made *better* and *purer* in *purgatory*, by being cleansed from the stains his soul has contracted by *venial offences*. For surely a soul cleansed from all defilements of sin is *purer* and *better*, than whilst she continues tainted with them.

As to the several reasons you give, why God visits us with afflictions in this life, they are undeniable, but not the only ones. Do sins deserve no punishment? Must not the *vindicative justice* of God be satisfied?

" *G.*—That is satisfied before they are forgiven, and the " sinners received into the favour of God. Unless you mean " by *vindicative* such a *spite* and *revenge*, as is seen amongst the " most ignoble part of mankind to say, *I will forgive, but I* " *will at the same time be revenged for what is past.* Which " indeed is not *forgiveness*, but a plain unwillingness to for- " give."—*p.* 180.

L.—Sir, this is such a blasphemous imagination, as, God be praised, I never heard of before. Was not *Adam's* sin, and the eternal punishment due to it for given him before he died? I never heard doubted of by any body. Yet heaven was shut against him in punishment of it till mankind was redeemed: and God demanded an *infinite satisfaction* for it: which was paid to the full by his only Son becoming man, and dying for us. And is this to be called *such a spite and revenge, as is seen amongst the most ignoble part of mankind?* For shame, Sir!

" *G.*—My lord, a generous forgiveness upon a sincere " repentance, loves and embraces, and rejoices to comfort, " and heap favours like the father of the returning *prodigal*." —p. 180.

L.—And does not God love and comfort repenting sinners? And heap spiritual favours upon them, though he chastises them temporally for their past sins? It is true, there is no mention of punishment in the *parable*, you have quoted: because the whole drift of it is to set forth the divine mercies to sinners that repent sincerely; and it is not necessary that all truths should be mentioned in all parts of scripture.

" *G.*—God says, *he will not remember our sins, that they* " *shall not be mentioned to us in the day when we turn from*

" *our wickedness*, *Isa.* iv. 25; *Jer.* xxxi. 34; *Ezek.* xviii. 22. " And how is that consistent with enduring the pains of hell " for a hundred, perhaps a thousand years for ought we " know?"—*p.* 180.

L.—Sir, all we know of the pains of *purgatory* is, that they are a temporal punishment justly inflicted; and a *temporal punishment* of sin is as consistent with *forgiveness*, as God's *justice* is with his *mercy*. Thus *Adam's* sin, as soon as he repented of it, was not *remembered* in the sense meant by *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*. That is, God entirely forgave him both the *guilt* and *eternal punishment* due to it. Yet the gates of heaven were shut for near 4000 years after in punishment of it; and *Adam* himself performed the penance of *eating his bread in the sweat of his brow* enjoined him by God for above 900 years. In like manner God forgave *David* as soon as he confessed his sin to *Nathan*. But the temporal punishment of it lasted for many years after.

G.—Yes, my lord, by reason of the *scandal*, as I told you.

L.—The scandal, Sir, was a part of his sin, and a very considerable part of it, because *it made the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme*. Yet though the *whole sin* was forgiven (for God forgives not *by halves*) that part of it, as you own yourself, was punished for many years after; which demonstrates the falsehood of what you said just now, viz., *that the justice of God is satisfied before the sins are forgiven, and the parties concerned received into favour.*

" *G.*—But, my lord, how do we know what souls go to " purgatory? How long they remain there? And which " of them are released? Can prayers then for the release " of such and such be made *in faith?* Otherwise they are " *sin* by the *apostle's* determination."—*p.* 181.

L.—I am surprised, Sir, how you can propose your last question with a serious countenance. However since you have set me the example, I shall ask one very like it if you will promise not to laugh at me for it, *viz.*, How you can *pray in faith* for the safety of an absent friend, who you know not whether he be alive or dead? Will not this also be *a sin by St* Paul's *determination?* Yes surely full as heinous a one as our praying for souls,

whose state we know nothing of. But I should rather think that though such prayers have not always their effect as to the parties we pray for, they who offer them up will not be deprived of the reward of their pious and charitable intention.

" *G.*—Yes, my lord, all *superstition* is very *pious*, and that " is it which deceives. But God has required that our zeal " to him be according to *knowledge*, and that we intrude not " into things we have not seen. We have not seen any " *revelation* for *purgatory* or the state of souls there."—*p.* 181.

L.—Sir, they who will not see, will not see; and are blind not for want of eyes, but for want of *will* to use them. I have already quoted texts of *scripture* enough, wherein the *revelation* of *purgatory* is as clearly to be seen as a consequence in its principle. And so it is neither *superstition* nor *zeal contrary to knowledge* to pray for the relief of souls supposed to be in that state of suffering. But besides its foundation in scriptures it has as uninterrupted a *tradition* on its side as any article of faith; as I shall shew before we have done with this subject.

SECTION XLVI.—OF TRADITION.

" *G.*—My lord, there are *good* and *bad traditions*, and they " are much oftener taken in the bad sense throughout the New " Testament. *Ye have made the commandment of God of no* " *effect by your tradition*, Matt. xvii. 6. *Holding the tradition* " *of the elders*, Mark vii. 3. *Laying aside the commandment* " *of God, that ye may keep your own tradition*, 9. *Vain deceit* " *after the tradition of men*, Col. ii. 8. *Your vain conversation* " *received by tradition from your fathers, &c.*, Pet. i. 18."—p. 181.

L.—Sir, all these texts prove very solidly what you said first, viz., *that there are both good and bad traditions.* But are *apostolical traditions* in the number of *bad ones?* St *Paul* thought not. *Therefore* (says he) *brethren stand fast, and hold the traditions, which you have been taught, whether by word or our epistle*, 2 Thess. ii. 15. This, Sir, was St *Paul's* doctrine to the *Thessalonians.* And I presume it regarded not them alone, but the whole *church of Christ* both then and in after ages. I am sure

the holy fathers understood it so. Hear what St *Irenæus* says: *Suppose* (says he) *the apostles had left us no scriptures, ought we not to have followed the rule of tradition, which they delivered to them to whose care they committed the churches?* L. 3, C. 3.

G.—It seems then that *tradition* has the same authority with you as the *scripture* itself.

L.—Sir, if you speak of *tradition* derived from *Christ* and his *apostles*, it has so: and St *Paul* is my voucher for it. Nay whosoever will give himself leisure to think must be of the same mind. Because whatever *Christ* and his *apostles* taught by *word of mouth* was without all dispute as truly the *word of God*, as what the apostles have delivered to us in their writings. So that though scriptures rightly understood be a *rule of faith* to the church, yet since *Christ* laid the foundation of it by preaching only, and the *apostles* preached several years before they wrote any of the *canonical books*, it follows that the *unwritten word* was the first rule of christian belief, which could not lose its authority by the after-writing of the apostles.

G.—My lord, all that the apostles taught by *word of mouth* was afterwards set down in the *canonical books.*

L.—Pray what authority either of *scripture* or *fathers* have you for this? St *Chrysostom* is positive for the contrary. *It is clear*, says he, *that the apostles did not deliver all things in writing, but many things without it: and these too deserve to be believed. Let us then give credit to the tradition of the church. It is tradition, seek no farther.* L. de Spirit. Sancto, C. 29.

St *Epiphanius* says the same. *Tradition too* (says he) *is necessary. For all things cannot be had from the scripture. Therefore the blessed apostles left some things in writing, and others by tradition.* Thus St *Epiphanius.* Hær. 61. Nay St *Paul* himself directed the *Thessalonians* to the *unwritten word*, as has been shewed; and in the only epistle he wrote to the *Galatians* he refers them to what he had taught them by word of mouth. *Though we*, says he, *or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.* Gal. i. 8.

" *G.*—My lord, there is a *tradition*, which for the evidence " of it we are willing to admit. That is, according to the " rule of *Vincentius Lirinensis, that which was always received,* " *everywhere, and by all.* And we are willing to join issue " with you upon this tradition as to *purgatory*, that is, *uni-* " *versal tradition.* And you would not desire we should be " convinced by any *particular tradition* of this or that church " or place. For you know there are many deceits in such." —*pp.* 181, 182.

L.—Sir, if I do not mistake your meaning, the *universal tradition* upon which you are willing to join issue with us is of so large a size, that not one single article of the *creed* can come up to it. For every article of it, particularly that of the *divinity of Christ*, has been denied by *many.* It has not therefore been received *by all.* And since those many had a being in *some time*, and in *some place*, it has not been received *always*, and *every where.* You may therefore safely join issue with me even as to *purgatory* upon this pretty notion of *universal tradition* without approaching one step nearer to it. For *Arius* an *ancient reformer* in the 4th century denied it, and was writ against by the fathers of that and the following age; and you yourself, who deny it now, are *somebody*, and existent in some *time* and *place;* which I suppose suffices to prove that it has not been received *always*, *every where*, and *by all.*

But to be more serious upon the matter, those truths are said to have an *universal tradition*, even according to the true meaning of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, which though they have been or are still opposed by *heretics*, are derived from the *apostles* themselves, and have been always acknowledged as such by the *Catholic Church* and all true members of it throughout the whole world: which *Vincentius Lirinensis* calls *being received always, everywhere, and by all.* And this *universal tradition* we have for *purgatory*, though not the chimerical one upon which I presume you are willing to join issue with us.

" *G.*—My lord, *Veron* in his *rule of faith* (a book much " applauded in *France*, and put into *English* for the use of " *Roman catholics* here) sets out in the beginning with a " definition of the rule of faith, of which he makes the first

" requisite to be for an article of faith, *that it be clearly re-*
" *vealed in scripture* (and by no pretended *revelation* to any
" whatsoever) *in express words*, or thence to be deduced by
" necessary consequence. Which when made appear as to
" *purgatory* or any other doctrines in dispute, we shall
" readily allow it; and till then we cannot be arraigned of
" *heresy* for not professing to believe it.

" *This intruding into things we have not seen proceeds*, as
" the *apostle* observes, Col. ii. 18, from a *fleshly mind*
" measuring *spiritual* things by *carnal*. We see it takes
" time to purge the flesh of diseases and defilements it has
" contracted. And it takes a great deal of filing and scrub-
" bing to cleanse iron, that has been long rusted. Hence
" you conjecture the same as to souls departed, that they
" must be purged by *fire*. But the work of God upon the
" *soul*, when he grants true repentance, operates far otherwise.
" It effects the cure all at once, as with those who looked
" upon the *brazen serpent*. Our Saviour himself makes the
" comparison, *John* iii. 14, 15. And he gave us an example
" of it in the thief upon the cross, who was translated to
" paradise the same day he died: and yet he had been a
" grievous sinner, and suffered justly for his offences. His
" repentance was late, and he had made no restitution: yet
" he did no penance in *purgatory*.—pp. 182, 183.

SECTION XLVII.—THE SUBJECT OF PURGATORY RESUMED.

L.—Sir, according to your laudable custom you have made some commodious alterations in *Veron's* words. For his true words are these [Englished by E. S. Esq. Paris. Anno 1660, p. 1] *the total and only rule of the Catholic faith is divine revelation delivered to the prophets and apostles*, PROPOSED BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH *in her general councils, or by her universal practice to be believed as an article of catholic faith.* And pray, Sir, is it the same thing *to be revealed to the apostles*, and *to be clearly written by them?* Did they *write* every thing that was *revealed* to them? The contrary is most certain, as has been fully shewed. So that if *Veron* had set out with the definition of his rule of faith, as you have cooked

it for him, instead of being applauded as he now is, he would have been condemned for an *heretic.*

However suppose you had made no change in his words, you would be bound to believe the *doctrine of purgatory* according to the latter part of his rule, as quoted by you. Because the *doctrine of purgatory* is *deduced by a necessary consequence* from several texts of scripture, as I have fully proved.

You say, *souls are not gradually cured like bodies but all at once, when God grants true grace and repentance.* Sir, if you mean that the *guilt* of *mortal* or *venial* sin is not pardoned *by halves* but all at once: or, that when a soul is tainted with many *mortal sins*, one cannot be pardoned without the other: or finally, that God conveys a soul in an instant from the state of *sin* to that of *sanctifying grace*, what you say is very true, but nothing to your purpose. Because, when the whole *guilt* of sin is pardoned, the *temporal punishment* is not always remitted with it, as has been proved to a demonstration. And if the Divine justice be not fully satisfied in this life, there must be a state in the life to come wherein full satisfaction may be made, and the debt that has been contracted *paid to the last farthing.*

Besides a soul cleansed from the guilt of mortal sin may still be stained with many lesser offences or even affections to them, which are all blemishes and must be washed off before she can be admitted into heaven, where nothing that is unclean can enter. And where then will you find in *scripture* or indeed any where but in your own imagination, that all souls are perfectly cured in a trice, and stand in no need of having their cure perfected hereafter? This indeed is properly *intruding into things we have not seen.*

You mention the *brazen serpent*, at the sight whereof bodies were cured; and you add, *that Christ himself made the comparison.* So he did; but the comparison he made is this, viz.: *That as* Moses *lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him may not perish, but have life everlasting*, John iii. 14, 15 Whence you conclude,

therefore *all souls are perfectly cured at once.* Is not this trifling with the words of Christ instead of treating them with a serious regard to their true meaning?

But the *thief* on the cross, *though he had been a grievous sinner, and repented late, and made no restitution, yet* (say you) *he did no penance in purgatory.* I hope, Sir, you do not mean this as an *innuendo*, that the way to go strait to heaven is to *sin grievously, repent late*, and *make no restitution.* But let that pass: whosoever suffers as much, and with the same *humility, patience, resignation, faith*, and *zeal* as the good thief did on the cross, needs not be afraid of *purgatory.* But I fear there are but few death-bed penitents in the world like him.

" *G.*—My lord, it is more than we know whether he might " not have been converted before. But however it shews " there is no necessity of *purgatory* even for very great " offenders."—*p.* 183.

L.—Very true, Sir, not for any offenders that become such penitents as the good thief was.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*To these last words of the* gentleman *in his* Case Stated *his* lordship *gives this childish answer:* No doubt but God may excuse whom he pleases. *To which the* gentleman *replies thus:—*

" *G.*—How then do we know whom he excuses and whom " not? And how can we pray *in faith*, that is, *without sin* to " deliver such a particular person from *purgatory?*"—p. 183.

L.—In the same manner, Sir, as you pray *in faith* and *without sin* for the safety of a friend in the *army* or at *sea*, who you know not whether he be alive or dead.

As to your question, *how we know whom God excuses and whom not?* Sir, God might have forgiven if he had pleased all our sins without subjecting us to any temporal punishment for them. But this is not the order his infinite wisdom has established. And therefore, as he excuses no sinner from *repentance*, so he excuses none that we know from *doing worthy fruits of penance:* and punishing our sins is one of those *worthy fruits.* Which if we have not fully performed in this life, the deficiency must be made good in the next.

" *G.*—But if there was no necessity of *purgatory*, as you " have granted, in the case of the *thief*, how is it to be ima-

" gined that God should keep so many thousand souls for " many years and ages in the most extreme torments, when " there is no necessity for it?"—*p.* 183.

L.—Sir, neither you nor I can know, how long souls are detained in purgatory. But there is always a necessity that God's will be accomplished, and we are very sure that none are punished longer than they deserve. And the reason why the good thief had no *purgatory* was, because the *Divine justice* was satisfied before he died: and if all died as he did, the necessity of *purgatory* would cease.

" *G.*—My lord, if the *pope* has power to release out of " purgatory, he must be a very cruel father, who keeps one " soul there an hour longer."—*p.* 183.

L.—You may as well call him a very cruel father for not hindering *plagues*, *wars*, *famines*, *hurricanes*, *earthquakes*, and other such punishments of sin. Sir, there are about twenty reasons more or less, why the pope does not release all souls out of *purgatory*. And the first of these reasons is, because he *cannot*. For if he could, he certainly would do it. I omit the rest for brevity's sake.

But has it not been the discipline of the church in all ages to impose penances for sins by the power of the keys? And are then all her bishops and pastors cruel fathers for not remitting the *penalty* together with the *guilt?* Are they not the ministers of God's *justice* as well as *mercy?* Or do they not act by commission from him?

" *G.*—My lord, the church knows not the heart, and must " judge by outward signs, which yet secure not from hy- " pocrisy. But this is all foreign to God, who searches the " heart, and knows all that is in man."—*p.* 184.

L.—But as the church can absolve from *sins* without an infallible knowledge of the disposition of men's hearts, why might she not also without that infallible knowledge absolve them from all *penalty* whatsoever, were she not certain that in so doing she would act contrary to the *order* established by God? So that it is manifest it always was the church's faith, that there is a *temporal* punishment due to sin even after the *guilt* together with the *eternal* punishment is remitted.

" *G.*—My lord, though our physic of discipline works by " degrees, and the issue is uncertain, yet God never cures " imperfectly. *Christ* never *half-healed* any man. And so " it is when he pardons sinners. *Thy sins are forgiven thee,* " it is not said *shall* be forgiven, or when thou hast performed " such or such a penance; but the forgiveness of his sins " was as immediately wrought as the cure of his body. And " God gives us all the assurances that can be in the strongest " expressions of our sins being absolutely and totally forgiven. " As *being all blotted out, and cast into the depths of the sea.* " *Never to be remembered or mentioned unto us any more,* as " before quoted. *I will heal their backsliding, I will love thee* " *freely. He is ready to forgive, he waiteth to have mercy, he* " *earnestly remembereth, his bowels are troubled for sinners, that* " *they may repent; and in the day they turn from their wicked-* " *ness he forgiveth. For he doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve* " *the children of man.* It is for their repentance and reforma- " tion. But this consideration is not in *purgatory.*"—pp. 184, 185.

L.—What a strange profusion of texts have we here again to no manner of purpose! Any one of them suffices to prove that the *guilt of sin* with the *eternal punishment* due to it is never pardoned imperfectly or *by halves*, and a thousand of them can prove no more. Why then are they thus multiplied but for a shew to impose upon the ignorant. Hear what St *Austin* says concerning the temporal punishment of sin after the guilt is pardoned: *The punishment of sin*, says he, *continues after the guilt is pardoned least the guilt should be thought little, if the punishment ended with it.* Trac. 124, in *Joanem.* Hence it is even conducing to our salvation, that God does not always remit at once both the temporal and eternal punishment: that we may feel sensibly the effects both of his *mercy* and *justice*, and not abuse by repeated crimes the facility of his pardon: as St *Austin* also observes upon the 8th verse of the 50th Psalm.

SECTION XLVIII.—OF MERITS.

" *G.*—But my lord, how will the poor souls in *purgatory* " (if any be there) be deluded, if the stock of *supererogation*

"should fail them; that is, the *merits* of *saints* for their good "works which they have done over and above their duty, and "what they were obliged to for their salvation; and therefore "are applied to others, who have come short of their duty "to supply their deficiencies, which is the *fund* provided for "the discharge of prisoners out of *purgatory?* and this is "dispended by the *pope* to whom he thinks fit, as being the "grand *treasurer* of the church, and consequently of those "superabundant merits of the saints. But we want a *text*, "where St *Peter* was constituted such a *treasurer*, or that "there is or can be such a treasury."—*p.* 185.

L.—Sir, I am as much a stranger to any such text as yourself. And as I am not bound in a dispute about religion to maintain mere *school-opinions*, in which the church's faith is not concerned, so neither am I bound to produce any *scripture texts* for them. However thus far is certain, that the *saints* pray for all their fellow-members who stand in need of it; and their prayers are acceptable to God, and available in behalf of those they pray for in proportion to the degree of holiness, they attained to in this life. And in this sense their past *merits* and *sufferings* may be said to be applicable to others: *viz.*, in as much as they give an efficacy to their prayers to move God to have compassion on those they pray for. As the prayer of *Moses* appeased God's wrath against the *Israelites;* and as *Job's* praying for his three friends had the same effect. And finally, as the prayers and extraordinary mortifications of God's special servants upon earth often move him to bestow the grace of a sincere conversion on sinners, who deserve nothing but to be abandoned by him.

But since the *merits* and *prayers* of God's saints either in heaven or on earth have no other value, than what they derive from the *merits of Christ*, I must here bring you acqainted with a *fund* for the discharge of the *prisoners* in *purgatory*, which I presume you will not venture to burlesque for your diversion. I mean, the *infinite price* of the *sacred blood of Christ*, and the *inexhaustible treasure* of his *merits:* which fund I hope is secure, and in no danger of failing. So that your mighty concern least

the poor souls in *purgatory* should find themselves left in the lurch, *if their stock of supererogation should fail them*, is wholly owing either to your real, or affected misunderstanding of the most essential part of our doctrine. For it cannot be doubted, but that the *infinite merits* and *satisfaction* of *Christ* will always be a sufficient *fund* to release the prisoners.

But I know not, whether I must ascribe it to a want of charity, or judgment, or both; when you express our doctrine of *merit* and *supererogation* in these improper and equivocal terms, viz., *that the saints are obliged for their salvation to the merits of their own good works, which they have done over and above their duty.* Every word whereof carries a double meaning; but the bad one is uppermost, and offers itself at first sight.

Wherefore to prevent all mistakes, I desire you to observe, that it is our doctrine that all, who are saved, owe their salvation (if we will speak properly) purely to the *mercy* and *grace* of God through the *infinite merits* and *mediation* of *Jesus Christ*. *First*, Because no man can merit the first *justifying grace:* as is expressly taught by the *Council* of *Trent* in the following words: *It is therefore said, that we are justified gratis, because none of the acts which precede justification, whether they be faith, or good works, can merit this grace*, Sess. vi. c. 6. As therefore we owe that which is the ground-work and foundation of our eternal happiness to the pure liberality of God, so are we by consequence indebted to him for that happiness, which cannot be attained without it.

2*dly*, Though the virtues which we practise, and the good works which we perform in the state of grace be most certainly conducing to salvation, and even merit an increase of grace, yet since those very *virtues* and *good works* are not only the *gifts of God*, but derive all the merit they have from his *sanctifying grace* and the *merits of Christ*, it follows, that we have the same obligation to God for our eternal happiness, as if he bestowed it upon us without any concurrence or co-operation on our part. Nay our obligation is rather the greater, because that very *concurrence* or *co-operation* on our part is an additional

favour we receive of him, and so entirely the fruit of his holy grace, that we cannot (independently of it) without presumption ascribe it to ourselves according to these words of St *Paul, What hast thou that thou didst not receive? and if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?* 1 Cor. iv. 7; and again, *for it is God, who worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure.* Phil. ii. 13.

Yet all this notwithstanding it is undoubtedly true, that our salvation depends upon the practice of virtue and good works: because the word of God declares positively, that we cannot be saved without it. *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments* says *Christ*, Matt. xix. 17; and St *James* tells us, that *faith if it hath not works is dead*, James ii. 17. If then we cannot be saved without keeping the commandments, and the practice of good works, our salvation is owing to it in the same sense as it depends upon it. Nor does this derogate in the least from the *glory* due to *God:* because owing our salvation to the *virtues* and *good works* we practise is in effect owing it to the *gifts of God:* because we can neither practise any virtue, nor perform any good work without the assistance of his grace, *who worketh in us both to will and to do, of his good pleasure*, Phil. ii. 13.

G.—But, my lord, how does all this consist with your doctrine of *merits?*

L.—Not at all, Sir, as *protestants* will needs understand it for us: but as we understand it nothing is more easy. I shall therefore explain it briefly to you. The *Council* of *Trent* speaks thus of it: *To those, who place their confidence in God, and continue in the practise of good works, eternal life ought to be proposed both as a grace mercifully promised to the children of God through Jesus Christ, and as a reward faithfully to be rendered by virtue of that promise to their good works and merits.* Sess. 6, C. 16.

Here is all that is of faith relating to the article of *merit;* concerning which *protestants* have taken the utmost pains to poison the people with false notions of our doctrine. And I do not wonder at it. Because mis-

tating a doctrine is the most expedite way to confute it. For it costs no labour of the brain; but with a little pliableness of conscience makes truth and falsehood shift sides in a trice. I shall put a question or two to clear the matter. Pray, Sir, has not God promised *eternal life* to such as perform the conditions required of them?

G.—Who doubts it?

L.—And is not this a *covenant*, or a kind of *contract* or *bargain* betwixt God and man?

G.—I cannot deny it.

L.—Well, and are not all *contracts* or *bargains* binding on both sides, so that if the conditions stipulated be performed by the one, the other is bound to make good his part? I am sensible this question presses somewhat hard upon you. For it follows from it, that if we perform our part of the *covenant* God has made with us, we deserve the promised reward, and have a *just title* to it by virtue of his *promise*. And this is that frightful bugbear, which we call *merits*.

G.—But, my lord, are our works then in this life *equal* to the reward?

L.—No, Sir, they are not *equal* to it. Nay though we did ten thousand times more, they would bear no proportion to it: because God has been so bountiful as to promise a reward infinitely surpassing our works. But still they are a *reward*, and a reward *promised* upon such and such conditions, as he thought fit to impose. And if God's sacred promise be sufficient to ground a sure and just title, they who perform the conditions upon which heaven is promised, have the surest and justest title to it, that a man can have to any thing.

G.—But does not *Christ* say, that *when we have done all we are commanded, we are unprofitable servants?* Luke xvii. 10, and how then can we pretend to any *merits*, or works of *supererogation?*

L.—Sir, when *we have done all we are commanded*, we are wholly *unprofitable to God*; for he cannot receive any profit by us. Neither does he stand in need of his servants, but his servants stand in need of him. Yet since we are his *servants*, when we have done what we

are commanded, we have a title to the *wages* he has promised us. For a *covenant, contract,* or *bargain* holds between God and man, as well as between man and man. And God who is just will certainly pay us our *wages* according to the work we have done.

But we are over and above *unprofitable servants* in another sense even when we have done all we are commanded. Because *we are insufficient of ourselves even to think any thing as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God,* 2 Cor. iii. 5. So that we can do nothing of what we are commanded in order to salvation, unless we be enabled by God's grace to do it. And can any thing be more unprofitable than a servant, that can do nothing without the help of his master?

Hence St *Austin* has left us these excellent words, which contain a full defence of the doctrine of *merits,* and shew what the church's faith was in his time: *Eternal life* (says he) *is called by the apostle the gift of God.* NOT THAT IT IS NOT GIVEN TO MERITS, BUT BECAUSE THE MERITS THEMSELVES, TO WHICH IT IS GIVEN, *are likewise his gifts.* And again, *when God crowns our merits, what else does he crown but his own gifts?* L. de Gratia et lib. Arb., and so we are always *unprofitable servants.*

Neither is this inconsistent with what we call works of *supererogation,* if you will but vouchsafe to understand the word as we do. A question or two will lead us to the true meaning of it. I ask then, whether there be not *counsels* as well as *precepts?*

G.—Who doubts it?

L.—Well, Sir, and are we bound in conscience to practise the *evangelical counsels?* Are we bound, for example, *to sell all we have and give it to the poor?*

G.—No surely.

L.—He then that practises this or any other *evangelical counsel,* does a work of *supererogation.* That is, he does a thing he is not bound to do. And this is precisely our meaning of that word. But if you fix another meaning upon it, and tell the people, *that we pretend to do all we are commanded and more,* i. e., *to be wholly free from sin,* I must accuse you either of ignorance, or wilful slander.

For we utterly deny it, as being contrary to God's word, which tells us, that *in many things we all offend*, James iii. 2. And, that *if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us*, 1 John i. 8. Now Sir, you may put what objections you please.

SECTION XLIX.—OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

" *G.*—My lord, can a creature merit at the hands of God " for ever so great endowments bestowed upon him? Is it " a *merit* to receive great gifts?"—*p.* 185.

L.—Sir, God can reward nothing but *his own gifts.* But since he has promised to reward them, they certainly deserve their reward in virtue of that *promise*, and must by consequence be a *merit* in his sight. Which made St *Austin* say, that *God has made himself a debtor to us not by receiving, but by promising*, Psalm lxxxiii. You ask, *if it be a merit to receive great gifts?* I answer it is no *merit*, if we abuse them. But to employ as we ought the *gifts* we receive, is certainly a *merit* through God's goodness, who has promised to reward them.

" *G.*—But if we employ them to the best advantage, is it " more than is our duty to do?"—*p.* 185.

L.—No, Sir, but God rewards his servants for doing their duty, and we merit heaven by it.

" *G.*—And we are still *unprofitable servants*, as *Christ* " himself has told us."—*p.* 185.

L.—We are so. But still we are *servants*, and work for *wages.* And the wages promised us is *eternal life.*

" *G.*—But was there ever a man (*Christ* alone excepted) " *who did all his duty?* Are not all *sinners?* And if their " repentance entitles them to pardon, this is far from *merit:* " my doing my duty to day makes no amends for my having " neglected it yesterday."—*pp.* 185, 186.

L.—Sir, you seem to make no difference between *venial offences* and *deadly sin.* This deprives us of *sanctifying grace*, which constitutes us the *adoptive sons* of God, his *heirs* and *coheirs of Christ;* and is the interior foundation of *merit* in the soul, to which God has promised *eternal life*, and an increase of glory in proportion

to the meritorious works, whereof it is the source and principle through the *merits* of *Jesus Christ.* But *venial offences* destroy not this foundation; though they suffice to denominate all men *sinners*, even the greatest *saints*, who *all offend in many things*, *James* iii. 2. And so your questions are fully answered. And it is manifest, that though all be *sinners*, in the sense meant by St *James*, yet this hinders not, but that there are many, who being free from *deadly sin* are properly called *just* or *righteous* according to *scripture language:* and these are in a state of *meriting* the pardon of their *daily failings*, and atoning or *making amends* for them by the practice of good works joined with repentance.

"*G.*—We find the greatest saints applying to the mercy "of God, and not pleading their own *merits. Jacob* said, *I* "*am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies.* And *Job*, who "had *none like him in the earth, a perfect and upright man*, "*&c.*, said *I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.* And "*Daniel* the man *greatly beloved*, confessed his own sins as "well as the sins of the people. And St *Paul* called himself "the *chief of sinners*, not worthy to be an *apostle.*"—p. 186.

L.—What wonder is it, that the *saints* on earth (who had the deepest sense of their own natural corruption, and the offences they had committed against God) both thought and spoke thus humbly of themselves? For they would not have been *saints* without it; and their humility was their *brightest merit*, and a most special *gift of God.* Nay they would have acted very presumptuously, had they *pleaded their own merits*, and not applied themselves to the *mercy of God.* 1*stly*, Because no man knows what *merits* he has, or whether he be worthy of God's *love* or *hatred.* And 2*dly*, Because all *merits* are the *mercies* and *gifts* of God through *Jesus Christ.*

"*G.*—But if the *saints* own no *merit* in themselves, then "surely they will disown all those, who apply to their *merits:* "and as I said before concerning the *worship* and *invocation* "of them, by which you hope to gain them to be *intercessors* "for you, they must become your *accusers* by the denial of "their acceptance of such worship from you, which if they "should accept, it would make them *evil spirits*, as I have "quoted out St *Austin.*"—p. 186.

L.—Sir, the saints on earth see nothing of their own *merits*. Their humility is industrious to hide every thing from them but their *faults*. But in heaven, where there is no danger of *vanity*, they are happy in the experimental knowledge of their past virtues and *merits* by the degree of *glory*, whereof they are securely in possession: and therefore we need not fear their displeasure by our honouring those merits, which have raised them to that glory: especially since they are not ignorant, that honouring their *merit* is but honouring the *gifts of God*.

But, Sir, as to your quotation from St *Austin* against our *honouring* and *invoking* the *saints*, I am sorry you give me so often occasion to reproach you with your shameful falsification of that father. For it obliges me to an ungrateful task; and I blush for you as often as I am forced to do it.

" *G.*—But, my lord, what creature dares plead purity " before God? *Behold he chargeth his angels with folly, and* " *he putteth no trust in his saints. Yea the heavens are not* " *clean in his sight. How much more abominable and filthy* " *is man, who drinketh iniquity like water? And what is man,* " *that he should be clean? And he that is born of a woman,* " *that he should be righteous?* Job iv. 18. And if *all our* " *righteousness are as filthy rags*, Isa. xliv. 6; if there be " iniquity in our *holy things*, in the *holy sanctuary and altar*, " what then is clean?"—*pp.* 186, 187.

L.—Sir, your first question is, *what creature dares plead purity before God?* And all the texts you have produced are to prove, that no man can without presumption make this plea: which I readily grant. *Because we all offend in many things.* But amongst those who *offend in many things*, it is to be hoped there are many who do not offend God *mortally*. And these are in a state of *meriting* the reward, which God promised to those, who live and die in his holy grace. Nay you owned just now that *Job* was a *perfect and upright man*. So that all that can be concluded from the texts you have quoted is that man of himself, and without the grace of *Jesus Christ* is nothing but weakness, corruption, and sin.

" *G.*—My lord, if *the righteous themselves shall scarcely be*

" *saved,* as St *Peter* tells us, iv. 18, what *merits* have they " to spare for others, especially when they are not saved " even by their own works? For *by grace ye are saved, not* " *by works, least any man should boast,* Eph. ii. 8, 9. Can " any man then boast of his works as not only sufficient for " his own salvation, but over and above as *meritorious* to be " applied to others, and to deliver souls out of *Purgatory?* " No, my lord, the *saints* make no such *boasts,* and will dis- " own all those, who make them in their name. For they " know that *all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God* " *being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that* " *is in* Jesus Christ——*where is boasting then? It is excluded.* " *By what law? Of works? Nay, but by the law of faith.* " Rom. iii. 23, 24, 27."—*p.* 187.

L.—Really, Sir, one would think you had read the scripture for nothing else, but to misapply and abuse it. Your first text from St *Peter* speaks of the difficulty of being saved, and the severity of God's judgment; which no man surely doubts of. Yet for all that, it is certain the *saints* are saved; and it is no less certain, that the *virtues* and *good works,* which through *God's grace* they have practised in this life, were a means to bring them to that happy state. Unless you will say, that *good works* are not *necessary* nor *conducing* to salvation: which I presume is not the doctrine of your church.

The subject of the whole chapter to the *Ephesians,* whence you have taken your second text, is to render them sensible, that their being converted from *idolatry* to the *faith of Christ* was not in the least owing to any preceding merit of good works, but wholly to the *goodness of God,* and the *grace* and *merits of Jesus Christ.* And is not this wonderfully to the purpose? Your argument runs thus: *Idolaters wallowing in all sorts of sins, do not merit the grace of their conversion;* therefore *christians that live well, do not deserve to go to heaven.* Fine stuff indeed!

Your third text from St *Paul* to the *Romans* is immediately followed by these words: *Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law,* iii. 28; which shews that the apostle's main scope in that chapter was to convince the converted *Jews* at

Rome, that they were to be saved not by the *works of the law*, but by their *faith* in *Jesus Christ*. And that therefore they had no reason to *boast*, as they did, of the *works of the law*. But does *faith in Christ* exclude the necessity of *good works?*

G.—But can a man then *boast* of his *good works?* I believe the *saints* make no such boast, nor desire others to make it for them.

L.—Sir, no man can boast of his *good works* or *merits*, let them be never so great: *but he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord*, says St *Paul*, 2 Cor. x. 7, because all *merits* are the *gifts of God:* and *when God crowns our merits, he only rewards his own gifts:* as St *Austin* has already told us. So that I am wholly of your mind, that *the saints make no such boasts.* Nor do I know any who make them in their name: though we all *praise God in his saints;* as we are directed by the *psalmist*, Psalm cl. 1. And desire them to intercede both for ourselves and the souls departed; not doubting but their past *merits* render their prayers acceptable to God, and available for the relief of others. But that the saints have *any merits to spare*, or that their *merits* are *applicable* to others any other way than that of *intercession* or *impetration*, as I have explained it, is a doctrine I am utterly a stranger to.

" *G.*—Every man, my lord, is saved by his own faith, " not by the faith of others. And God will *reward every* " *man according to his works*, not the works of others, *Matt.* " xvi. 27."—p. 187.

L.—That is very certain. God will reward none for other men's works; but *he will reward every man according to his own works.* Pray remember that; for those very words decide the question against you. Because if *salvation* be the *reward of good works*, as it most certainly is, nay a reward stipulated between God and man by virtue of his *promise*, it follows, that when the *works* to which *heaven* is promised as a *reward*, are performed, we *deserve* or *merit* the reward.

" *G.*—But then, my lord, how miserable is the condition " of the souls supposed to be in *purgatory*, if they must not

" be delivered thence but by the *works of supererogation*, " when no man can be saved by his own works!"—*p.* 187.

L.—What, Sir! Are not a man's own works conducing to salvation? Did you not just now tell me, that *God will reward every one according to his works?* Or are not the *saints*, who are already in heaven, *rewarded according to their works?* And is not *salvation* the *reward* they have received? If then *salvation* be a *reward*, and this reward is given them for their *works*, we may in a true sense say their works have saved them. But if you only mean, that no man can be saved by his own works *considered nakedly in themselves*, and *independently* of the *merits of Christ*, I know not any Christian that will oppose you.

But pray, Sir, who ever told you, *that the souls in purgatory are not to be delivered thence but by the works of supererogation practised by the saints?* They pray indeed incessantly for their suffering brethren. But their prayers are all offered up through the *mediation of Jesus Christ*, whose treasure of *infinite merits* can never be exhausted; and is a fund the souls in *purgatory* can securely rely upon for their deliverance from their pains. So that as long as this subsists, they can never be destitute of the helps their condition is capable of. I repeat what I said before, *viz.*, that though the *saints* have received the full recompence of all their *merits*, this hinders not but that the greater their merits are, the more acceptable to God are their prayers on the one hand, and the more available on the other for the relief of those, who stand in need of them.

" *G.*—My lord, the *apostle* tells us, *we are saved not ac-* " *cording to our works, but according to the grace of God in* " *Christ Jesus*, 2 Tim. i. 9. And again, *not by the works of* " *righteousness, which we have done, but according to his mercy* " *he has saved us——through Jesus Christ our Saviour*, Tit. " iii. 5, 6."—*pp.* 187, 188.

L.—Sir, you have mangled both the texts, and omitted that part which helps to explain them. St *Paul's* words to *Timothy* are thus: *Who has delivered us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according*

to his holy purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began. Where it is plain he speaks of the grace of *predestination*, which no man can merit. His words to *Titus* are as follow: *But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man appeared, not by the works of righteousness, which we had done, but according to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour.* Whence it appears, that St *Paul* speaks here of the *first grace* of *justification* by *baptism*, which likewise no man can merit.

" *G.*—My lord, we have but one *Saviour*, nor can we " be saved by the *merits* of any other. None other can merit " from God. The greatest *saint* that ever was is only saved " by *mercy*, and the forgiveness of his sins. Let us therefore " not trust to the *supererogated* works of those, who were not " able to save themselves. *That every mouth may be stopped,* " *and all the world may become guilty before God,* Rom. iii. " 9. *For in his sight shall no man living be justified, there* " *is none righteous, no not one,* Psalm cxiv. 2."—*p.* 188.

L.—Sir, all men in the world are *sinners*, which suffices to verify the texts you have quoted. However it is certain there are many in the world free from *mortal sin*, and these are in a state of *meriting* through the *grace* and *merits* of *Jesus Christ* notwithstanding their daily failings.

You say, *we have but one Saviour, nor can we be saved by the merits of any other.* Very right Sir, because our own good works have no *merit* or *value*, but what they derive from the *merits of Christ*, which must be applied to us to render our works conducible to salvation. But God has been pleased to establish things upon this footing, *viz.*, that though he has *redeemed* us without us, he will not *save* us without our *co-operation;* and heaven must be the *reward* of our perseverance in *good works.*

You add, *that none but Christ can merit of God.* Sir, none but *Christ* can merit *independently* and of himself: but *dependently* of him and with the assistance of his *holy grace* all men can *merit:* and all that pretend to salvation, must merit it by *good works:* because *God will reward every man according to his works*

Lastly you say, *the greatest saint that ever was is saved only by mercy and the forgiveness of sins.* Sir, the *grace of repentance*, by which we obtain the forgiveness of our *sins* is a *pure mercy*, and all *merit* is a *gift of God.* Whence it follows, that though they who are saved are *rewarded according to their merits*, yet they are saved by *mercy.* And this is entirely conformable to the doctrine of the *council* of *Trent* teaching, *that eternal life ought to be proposed both as a grace mercifully proposed to the children of God, and as a reward faithfully to be rendered to their good works and merits.* Sess. 6, C. 16. In effect, Sir, this whole dispute is about a *mere word;* on which you will needs fasten a bad sense in spite of our protesting continually against it, and explaining it in such an orthodox meaning, as in your hearts you cannot but allow of.

" *G.*—But, my lord, besides all I have said, there are " *degrees of glory* in heaven. So that if any could *supererogate*, " yet has he nothing to spare for others, because he has " received the full of his *reward* himself."—*p.* 188.

L.—Sir, I am glad to hear you speak some sense at last. For if there be *degrees of glory* in heaven, and every saint has received his *full reward*, it follows that every saint has received for reward a degree of glory proportioned to his *works* or *deserts* in this life. And does not that demonstrate the doctrine of *merits?*

" *G.*—But, my lord, this shuts up *purgatory* for ever by " exhausting every penny of that *treasury* reserved for their " redemption from thence."—*p.* 188.

L.—I hope, Sir, that as long as the infinite treasure of the *merits* and *satisfaction* of Christ is not exhausted, there will always be a sufficient fund for the redemption of souls out of *purgatory:* and so there will be no danger of its being *shut up.*

G.—But I have another argument against your doctrine both of *venial sins* and *purgatory*, viz.: " That the expectation " of having those many sins called *venial* with you remitted " after death, does naturally make men more careless in their " life. And trusting to the merits of others will abate their " diligence in being *nicely righteous* themselves."—*p.* 188.

L.—Really, Sir, you make me smile. For if believing

a *purgatory* hinders men from endeavouring to be *nicely righteous*, then I am bound in good manners to suppose, that they, who believe no *purgatory* (and you are one of those) study to be most *nicely righteous*. Well, Sir, I hope at least that trusting in the *merits of Christ* will not abate our diligence in being *nicely righteous*.

You speak of *venial sin*, as if you believed no such thing. What mean then these words of St *James*, *in many things we all offend?* For I presume he does not mean, that *himself* and the other *apostles* were guilty of many *mortal sins*.

But you think *their being remitted after death makes men more careless in this life*. Yes, Sir, if they were remitted without punishment we might grow careless of them. But, as you have already described *purgatory* for us, viz., *that it is a place of fire, where souls are put under pains equal to those of hell except their duration*, I think the temptation to slight them is not like to be very great, till men grow fonder of being burnt, than we yet find they are.

ADVERTISEMENT.—*His* lordship *having been silent for five whole pages together in the* former conversation, *opens his mouth at last, and out comes this wise saying:* We find some instances among the fathers of prayers for the dead. *To which the* gentleman *answers in the following manner:—*

"*G.*—Some *few* among the fathers you may, but none in "*scripture.*"—p. 188.

SECTION L.—PRAYING FOR THE RELIEF OF THE DEAD HAS BEEN THE CONSTANT PRACTICE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

L.—But is there any thing in scripture against it? No, you cannot so much as strain a text to make a flourish with; though you are as good at it as any man living. And if there be no scripture against it, its not being mentioned in scripture can no more prove it to be no article of faith, than it proves the *validity* of *infant baptism* to be no article of faith; for there is not the least instance or mention of it in scripture.

However we read in the book of *Machabees*, that *Judas Machabeus* sent to *Jerusalem* to have sacrifice offered for his dead soldiers. I know your church does not allow that book to be *canonical*. But St *Cyprian* called them *divine scripture*. Epist. 55. *ad Corn. Papam.* So did St *Ambrose*, L. 2. *de Jacob. &c.* C. 10, 11; and St *Isidore* of *Seville*, who writes thus: *Though the Jews reject the books of Machabees, yet the church honours them as divine books*, L. 6. *Originum.* St *Austin* was of the same opinion. *The church*, says he, *reckons them among the canonical books, though the Jews do not*, L. 18. de Civit. Dei. C. 36. But his words L. *de cura pro mortuis.* C. 1. are remarkable: *We read*, says he, *in the book of Machabees, that sacrifice was offered for the dead. But though this were not to be found in the ancient scriptures, the authority of the universal church, which is eminent for this practice, is of no small weight.* Here, Sir, you see St *Austin* insists upon the *public practice* of the *universal church* in offering up prayers for the dead. So that you must have a good assurance to tell me, that *some few* fathers speak of it, as if the thing were doubtful.

" *G.*—But, my lord, what were these prayers? They were " for *peace* and *rest* to those, who were supposed to be in " peace, yet might receive an *increase* of happiness even before " the resurrection; as some suppose heaven itself to consist " in an *eternal increase* of bliss. But without this we may " pray for the continuation of peace to those who are in peace, " though we know it will surely be, as when we pray, *thy* " *kingdom come, thy will be done:* we know it must be, but " this shews our assent and wishes for it. And in this sense " we also pray for the dead, that it would please God *shortly* " *to accomplish the number of the elect, and to hasten his kingdom,* " *that we with all those who are departed in the true faith of* " *his holy name may have the perfect consummation and bliss* " *both in body and soul in his eternal and everlasting glory.* " And we bless him *for all his servants departed this life* " *in his faith and fear, beseeching him to give us grace so to* " *follow their good example, that with them we may be partakers* " *of his heavenly kingdom.* So that we pray for them as " well as ourselves, that we may with them be partakers, " &c. But neither these prayers of ours, nor those of the

" ancients have any relation to *purgatory*, or delivering souls " from thence as a place of torments."—*p.* 189.

L.—Sir, I cannot but say, the prayer you have recited is cunningly enough contrived; for it may serve either for the *living* or the *dead.* However there is one thing very singular in it; *viz.*, that (for example) a *son*, who goes to his *father's* burial thanks God for having taken him out of this life. Which I think is not very *instructive* or *edifying.* But let that be as it will, since you own, that you pray for the *dead* as well as we, I doubt you will find it a hard task to piece up this *rag* of *popery* by saying *that your prayers have no relation to purgatory.* For according to my dull notion, to pray for others is to beg something they either *want*, or may *lose;* and to pray that those, who are *secure of eternal rest*, may continue to have it, is as great a *solecism* as to pray that a man may continue to be a man, and a woman a woman: or that the *saints* in heaven may never be *damned.*

As to the two petitions, you quote from the *Lord's prayer*, by the first we ask to become *partakers of God's kingdom*, and by the second that we may always *accomplish his holy will*, which I think are of the number of things, we are not sure of.

But if the subject of our prayers for the *souls departed* be, that they who are in heaven may receive a *continual increase of bliss*, then I presume the *blessed virgin Mary* is principally remembered in your good *protestant prayers.* For no saint in heaven deserves a *continual increase of bliss* more than she. And I hope the *apostles* and *martyrs* will not be forgot; though St *Austin* was of opinion that to pray for a *martyr* was to put an affront upon him. And indeed I cannot but think that recommending ourselves to the prayers of the *saints* is far more congruous to good sense than praying for them.

However you have my free consent to order your own prayers as incongruously as you please. But I cannot brook your drawing the *ancient fathers* into the same absurdity by asserting that their prayers for the souls departed were only offered up *for peace and rest to those, who were supposed to be in peace.* This is a bold contra-

diction to plain fact, and obliges me to prove you guilty either of *ignorance* or *insincerity* in advancing so notorious a falsehood. A few chosen passages of the fathers will fully make good this charge against you.

Tertullian says of a faithful widow: *she both prays for the soul of her husband, and begs a* REFRESHMENT *for him in the mean time——and keeps his anniversaries. For unless she does these things, she has repudiated her husband as far as in her lies.* L. de Monogam. C. 10.

One of *Arius's* heresies in the fourth century, according to St *Epiphanius*, was, that *the prayers and alms of the living did the dead no good.* Hær. 75. Sect. 3. T. 1. *p.* 908. Against whom he writes, that the church has this *tradition* from Christ, that *prayers are profitable, though they do not extinguish* ALL SINS. Sect. 8, *p.* 912, and that we mention the *saints* and others in a quite different manner. *The saints, that we may give Christ a singular honour; and others, that we may obtain* MERCY *for them.*

St *Chrysostom* writes thus: *The apostle* (says he) *did not in vain command these things, that in the venerable and dreadful mysteries* (that is, the holy *sacrifice* of the *mass*) *the dead should be remembered. For they knew they would derive a considerable advantage from it.* Hom. 3. in Epist. ad Phil.

And again: *Hom.* 41. in *Epist.* 1. *ad Cor.* he writes thus: *The dead may be helped by prayers, and alms, and offerings; because they were not instituted in vain.* And concludes, *let us therefore help them. For we have before us the expiatory sacrifice of the world——it may happen that we may obtain* A TOTAL PARDON *for them by prayers, by oblations, by the saints, who are named with them.*

St *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* writes thus: *Lastly, we pray for all that die amongst us: thinking it to be the greatest help that can be to their souls to have the holy and dreadful sacrifice of the altar offered in supplication for them.* Cat. Mystag. 5, *p.* 241.

We also find St *Austin* writing in the same manner: *By the prayers of the holy church* (says he), *and the wholesome sacrifice and alms, it is not to be doubted but the dead are assisted; so that God deals* MORE MERCIFULLY *with*

them than their sins have deserved. Which he proves thus: *Because it is the practice of the whole church to offer sacrifice for them.* But he adds, *these are not beneficial to all the dead, but only to those, that lived so before their death, that they might be a help to them after it. And therefore we do not say the dead have any new merits, but that they reap this fruit from their good actions before. Serm.* 172, (*olim* 32. *de verbis Apost.)* Sect. 2.

Here, Sir, we have *fathers* of the third, fourth, and fifth century positively maintaining a *state of souls* in the other world, wherein they are *refreshed, helped, favoured with the pardon of some sins, receiving considerable advantage, and more mercifully dealt with than their sins deserved* in consideration of the *prayers, alms,* and *holy sacrifice of the altar* offered up for them by the faithful upon earth: and this is represented by them as a practice commanded by the *apostles* themselves. So that I leave any one to judge, whether any credit is to be given to what you say, even when you assert things with the most positive assurance; as *that there are some few instances among the fathers of prayers for the dead;* and that *they were only offered up for peace and rest to those, who were supposed to be in peace.* Unhappy ignorant people, who are imposed upon and misled by such faithless and deceitful guides!

" *G.*—My lord, some of the ancients had an imagination " of *purging fire,* through which sinners were to pass. But " they meant the *general conflagration* at the last day, which " comes not at all to your notion of *purgatory.*"—pp. 189, 190.

L.—Nor is it any thing to the purpose. But did the *fathers* I have quoted, when they exhorted the people to offer up *prayers, alms,* and the *holy sacrifice of the altar* for the relief of their friends already deceased, did they, I say, speak of the *general conflagration?* Nay, does it not demonstrate, that they believed there was *then a state,* in which the souls departed were capable of receiving *help, refreshment, the pardon of some sins,* and (as St *Chrysostom* expresses it) a *considerable advantage* from them?

SECTION LI.—SOME REMARKS UPON THE GENTLEMAN'S PERFORMANCE.

" *G.*—My lord, I will not trouble you with many ex-
" cursions, or debating every branch of these disputes. I have
" only given you a *summary view of the heart of the cause* to
" let you see where the matter *pinches*. And indeed my
" endeavour with your lordship is rather to *state the case*,
" than to *argue upon it*. For *truth* needs no more than to
" be fairly shewed, it convinces of itself, and best when it is
" *naked*, without the *fucus* of *philosophy* and *distinctions*, which
" are endless. These will put a colour upon *implicit faith*
" itself, and make you believe you understand what you know
" nothing of. My lord, give me leave to say, your whole
" religion is *implicit*, not only as to the particular points we
" have discoursed; but your whole public worship is such,
" while your prayers are in a language not understood by
" the people. How then can they pray with the *understanding*,
" as the *apostle* requires? 1 *Cor.* xiv. 15, 16. And how
" can they say *Amen?* Seeing they understood not what is
" said."—*p.* 190.

L.—I perceive, Sir, we are at length got out of *purgatory*, and this fine speech is only meant as a prologue to something else. However I shall beg leave to make a few remarks upon it, because it contains some sly insinuations, which may easily be misunderstood. You tell me, *you have only given me a summary of the heart of the cause to let me see where the matter pinches: and you have rather stated the case than argued upon it.* Very true Sir. For though you have *said* much, you have *argued* but little, and *proved* much less. Which is perhaps the reason, why I do not see *where the matter pinches.* However, I presume this is to let me understand how favourably I have been used, and what a world of fine things more you could have said upon the several subjects we have handled. I assure you Sir, I will not be ungrateful, but freely own the favour you have done me. For I question not, but you might have said a thousand things more, full as *pertinent* and *true* as those you have said.

As, for instance, instead of half a dozen texts of *scripture* at a time, you might as easily have produced a dozen

more, full as much to the purpose: and instead of p tricks of legerdemain with some *fathers* only, you might have cut out for me much more work by quoting all the rest with the same sincerity. And your not having given me this trouble is doubtless a favour I am bound to acknowledge.

You say, *truth needs no more than to be fairly shewn; it convinces of itself, and best when it is naked.* This maxim is very good if meant of *natural truths* or the *first principles of reason*, which convince of themselves, and are best seen by their own light. But I do not see how *revealed truths* can come within the application of this rule. For I never heard of a man convinced of the *mysteries* of the *trinity* and *incarnation* by the evidence of these truths; or by any *reasons* that could serve as a light to see them by. These therefore, and indeed all other mysteries, that are above the reach of our understanding, can be believed no otherwise than by *captivating ourselves unto the obedience of faith.*

But waiving this argument, *if truth needs but to be fairly shewed to convince*, and *convinces best when it is naked*, I must conclude that *naked truth* is either no *protestant* ware, or you take no delight to deal in it. For I assure you faithfully, there is but one thing you have convinced me of since we conversed together, to wit, that you are no *papist:* for you have not established the positive principles of any one particular religion in the world; nor have you offered an argument of any note but what would have the same force in the mouth of an *Anabaptist* or *Quaker* as it has in yours. So that supposing I were now disposed to abjure *popery*, you have not furnished me with one single motive to become a member of the *Church of England* rather than any other *protestant* communion. And is it not then pleasant to hear you talk of nothing but *naked truths*, of *the heart of the cause*, of *shewing where the matter pinches*, and such other *gasconading* stuff! As if every thing you have said carried *conviction*, *evidence*, and *demonstration* with it. Whereas I have scarce had any other business upon my hands than to rectify mistakes or wilful misrepresentations of our

doctrine: to be upon my guard against the most studied and imposing sophistry, to confute bold calumnies and falsehoods, and deliver both *fathers* and *scriptures* from the torture. This, Sir, is a faithful summary of the *naked truths* I have had to deal with: this is your method of shewing *the heart of the cause*, and where the matter *pinches*.

I need not say any thing to the passing flirt, you had just now at *implicit faith;* of which I have said enough in our dispute concerning *transubstantiation* [Part II. Sect. 31.], where I shewed our faith to be no more *implicit* than St *Peter's* was, when he said to Christ, *thou hast the words of eternal life, and we believe, &c.*, John vi. 68; or than your faith is when you believe the *whole Bible*, a considerable part whereof you neither know nor understand.

SECTION LII.—OF THE LITURGY IN LATIN.

Let us therefore now come to the trivial question about our *liturgy*, the mention whereof has made you just now say, that *our whole religion is implicit*. But I see no great occasion for *implicit faith* to approve of the church's discipline in saying *mass in Latin*.

1*st*, There is no need of *implicit faith* to believe, that the common people (of *England*, for example) understand *English*, into which the *mass* is translated, as it is into other languages.

2*d*, There is no need of *implicit faith* to believe the common people have eyes and can see. Now the *mass* being a *sacrifice* is more an *action* than prayer: and actions are known by *seeing* as words are by *hearing*. In effect, the people know that our Saviour's sacred *body* and *blood* are offered up in the *mass;* and if they can but bring their hearts filled with *faith, hope, love, repentance, thanksgiving*, and other such acts of devotion, they cannot fail of receiving the benefit of this holy sacrifice.

It was God's command, Lev. xvi. 17, that the people should not be in the tabernacle, when the priest went in to make *an atonement for all the congregation of Israel*.

And in the gospel we find *the whole multitude of the people praying without in the time of the incense*, Luke i. 10. Yet this was a public prayer and *liturgy* of God's own appointment. Whence I conclude, that there is no need of implicit faith to believe, that the people may *join in prayer* with the priest, though their prayer be not the same as his.

3*d*, There is no need of *implicit faith* to believe, that the *Catholic Church* professed in the *creed* was, by God's help and the experience of about 900 years, wise enough to know what language *mass* was to be said in.

4*th*, There is no need of *implicit faith* to believe, that nothing could be more absurd in the *first reformers*, than to make that a pretence of breaking communion with their *mother church*. And,

5*th*, There is no need of *implicit faith* to believe, that the desire of the heart is the principal prayer: whence it follows that he, who in his heart begs of God whatever is contained in the prayer he recites, though he does not understand it, prays as truly as another that understands it.

These, Sir, are the preliminaries I insist upon in this weighty dispute, and of which I will not bate you an ace: because they are *naked truths without the fucus of philosophy or distinctions, and convince of themselves*. Now then you may put what objections you please.

" *G.*—My lord, the people's saying their own private " prayers is not *joining* with the priest."—*p.* 190.

L.—No, Sir? Then the people's *praying without in the time of the incense*, Luke i. 10, was much less joining with the priest. For they could not even see him in the *tabernacle*: whereas ours see him at the *altar* offering the *sacrifice*. What then should hinder them from offering it up jointly with him?

" *G.*—They cannot say *Amen* to his prayers. What then " have they to do in the church? For this is not *communion*." —p. 191.

L.—Is it not so? I think joining prayers together is communion: and that is precisely the business they have to do in the church. But I cannot forbear smiling at your excessive scrupulosity. You say *the people cannot*

say amen *to the prayers of the priest.* Pray, what should hinder them? Do they fear he is *cursing* them, or conjuring up some *evil spirit?* Do they not know he is praying for them? And why then should they scruple to say *amen* to his prayers?

" *G.*—All he does is purely *implicit,* and nothing else but " *opus operatum.*"—p. 191.

L.—Really, Sir, this *implicit,* and *opus operatum* run away so entirely with your reason and judgment, that they make you forget to speak common sense.

" *G.*—My lord, a *liturgy* in a tongue unknown to the " people is an invention without precedent. For it never " entered into the head of *man* or *church* since the creation, " except only in the *Church of Rome:* and of which the " *apostle* gives this character, *will they not say ye are mad?* " 1 Cor. xiv. 16, 17."—*p.* 191.

L.—Sir, turn the question homewards, and I will not scruple to resolve it in the *affirmative.* For nothing but one labouring under a more than ordinary *delirium* can be capable of asserting as you do, *that a liturgy in a tongue not known to the people is an invention without precedent, and never entered into the head of man or church since the creation, except only the Church of Rome.* This I presume Sir, is one of your *naked truths, which convince of themselves.*

But the learned Dr *Walton* in the *Prologomena* upon his *Polyglot* will inform you better, and let you know, *first,* that whole churches in the *east* have this custom. *So that* (says he) *the common people do not understand the liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom, which are read publicly in the churches,* C. 5, Sect. 1, 16; and 2*dly,* that not only *Christians,* but *Jews* and *Mahometans* have the same custom in the east. *Officia divina linguis non vulgaribus hodie celebrantur apud Judæos, Christianos, et Mahumedanos,* C. 5, Sect. 3; see also Cap. 13, Sect. 18.

Mr *Brerewood,* another *protestant* author, in his *Enquiries,* Chap. ii. p. 12, agrees exactly with Dr *Walton.* For speaking of the *Greek church, the difference* (says he) *is become so great between the present and the ancient Greek, that their liturgy, yet read in the ancient Greek*

tongue, namely, that of Basil on the Sabbaths and solemn days, and that of Chrysostom on common days, is not understood, or but little of it by the vulgar people.

Mons. *Tavernier* tells us of the *Nestorians*, p. 69, that they perform the divine office in the *Chaldaic:* to which the learned author of *the Guide in Controversies* adds, p. 289, that *divine service* is celebrated in the corrupt *Chaldaic* or *Syriac* amongst the *Maronites, Cophtes, Nestorians, Assyrians* or *Jacobites:* and in the *Greek* amongst the *Melchites* and *Georgians:* the *vulgar* to all these being the *Arabic;* or, to some more *easterly*, the *Persian tongue.*

But to come nearer home, Dr *Heylin* tells us in his history of the *Reformation*, p. 128: That in queen *Elizabeth's* time the *Irish parliament passed an act for uniformity in common prayer with permission of saying the same in Latin, where the minister had not the knowledge of the English tongue. But for translating it into Irish there was no care taken. The people were required by that statute under several penalties to frequent their churches, and to be present at the reading of the English liturgy, which they understood no more than they do the mass.*

Now, Sir, if you had lived in queen *Elizabeth's* days, I doubt whether your zeal would have carried you so far, as to have addressed her thus in St *Paul's* words: *will they not say you are mad* for passing such an act, and furnishing the *papists* with stones to throw back at us?

But since you assert, *it never entered into the head of man, &c. Martin Luther*, Sir, as great a man as he was (for he was certainly a *man*) did not think it absurd to have the *liturgy* in *Latin.* For in the first part of his book writ against *Carlostadius* and the *fanatics*, Ann. 1525. (*apud Hospin.*) he grants *first*, that the name of *mass* may still be kept; and 2*dly*, that it is an indifferent thing, whether it be said in a *foreign* or the *vulgar tongue.* And pray Sir, what will all men of knowledge and sincerity now think of your noble assertion, that a *liturgy in a tongue unknown to the people is an invention without precedent! and that it never entered into the head of man or church since the creation, except only in the Church of Rome!* Sir, to return your own compliment in St *Paul's* words, *will they not say you are mad?*

I add, that in the primitive ages the *liturgy* was performed in the same language it is now both in the *Eastern* and *Western* churches; and if our *liturgy* be not as commonly understood now as it was formerly, it is not because the church has made any alteration in its former language, or desires that her *public service* should not be understood by the common people; but because all *vulgar tongues* are subject to perpetual changes; as is manifest from the difference there is between our *modern English*, and what was spoken in the days of *Chaucer*. So that if every nation had laid aside the *Latin*, and performed the *liturgy* in its own language, the public service of every national church must have undergone as many changes as there have been in those languages. Besides that such *priests* and *bishops*, as are obliged to travel abroad, would have been rendered utterly incapable by it of performing their functions in foreign countries; which is a very considerable inconvenience, and was doubtless a consideration of weight to induce the *Western* church to adhere to the *ancient Latin*, and the *Greek* church to their ancient *Greek* in their public service, rather than suffer any innovation to be made in it.

But I cannot imagine, what reason you should have to quote the 14th chapter of St *Paul* to the *Corinthians* unless it be because it is nothing to the purpose. For our dispute is about the *liturgy*, that is, the *public office* established by the church; and St *Paul* speaks not a word in the whole chapter of any thing like a *liturgy*, or *public office*, or *set form* of prayers, but only of sudden extemporary exhortations and prayers, which even lay-persons by a miraculous gift of unknown tongues uttered to the people in public assemblies, but many times without any *interpretation* of what they said. And this St *Paul* disapproves of, and censures in that chapter particularly ver. 11, 16, 17.

G.—But, my lord, his arguments are of equal force against your practice. For his reasons against it are *first*, because the unlearned cannot say *amen* to prayers they do not understand, ver. 16; and 2*dly*, because they cannot be *edified* by exhortations and prayers in a foreign tongue, ver. 17.

L.—Very right, Sir, if there be not an *interpreter* to

explain them: which is the very supposition, upon which the *apostle's* arguments are grounded. But is that our case? You must shut both your eyes to see no difference. For *first*, the common people can *see* as well as scholars; and when they are once taught what every part of the *mass* means, they can never want *interpreters* as long as they can see. But 2*dly*, the translation of the *mass*, as likewise of *vespers*, *litanies*, *hymns* and *prayers* into the vulgar languages of every country is I think a very good *interpretation* of them, and takes away all the weighty scruples of saying *amen*. I add, that in relation to the *public office*, or any *set form* of prayers ordained by the church, no man surely in his right senses can hesitate to say *amen* to it, though he understands not a word of it, for the reasons already given.

Now since St *Paul* speaks not of any *public office*, or *set form* of prayers ordained by the church, but only of extemporary prayers or exhortations pronounced by private persons in a *tongue unknown*, and without any *interpreter* to explain them nothing can be wider from the purpose, than to object his words against our *liturgy* in *Latin*. But a weak cause can have nothing but weak arguments to support it.

"*G.*—I must own, my lord, your doctrine suits well with "what *Suarez* says, (de Orat. L. 3. C. 14.) *that it is* "*not necessary to prayer, that the person praying should think* "*of what he speaks.* This is *opus operatum* with a witness; "and a *parrot* may be taught thus to pray. And how do "they pray with the priest, who are talking of business, or "chatting of news, whilst he is offering up their prayers to "God in a language, of which they do not understand one "word, and therefore cannot give attention to it? And "these are the greatest number, *viz.*, of the common people, "who cannot read, and so cannot carry private books of "devotion with them. Though if they did, it would not be "joining with the priest, nor could these be called *common* "*prayer*, which are offered up *with one accord*, pursuant to "saint *Chrysostom's* prayer, with which our daily public "prayers do conclude."—*p.* 191.

L.—Sir, though a man were both *deaf* and *blind*, and could say nothing but the *Lord's prayer*, yet the constant repeating of that prayer in *union* with the prayers of the

congregation is truly praying *with one accord* in the judgment of any man, that has not abjured common sense; for it is the prayer of the heart, that God regards, and the heart of such a one is as much united in devotion with the whole assembly, as if he repeated the same prayers literally with them. This, Sir, answers your curious observation concerning those in our communion who cannot read: whom by an *hyperbole* of a more than ordinary size you have rendered at least fifty to one more numerous than they really are.

As to what you have quoted from *Suarez*, I may reasonably presume his meaning is either; that *involuntary* dissipations of the mind (during which no man *thinks of what he speaks*) do not hinder the effect or fruit of prayer; and this is the doctrine of all spiritual writers; or that the *mind may be raised to God*, and by consequence perform the essential duty of prayer, without an actual attention to the words that are pronounced. And does this deserve to be ridiculed with your senseless common topic of *opus operatum?* Is this praying like a *parrot*, or like those, who are *talking of business, or chatting of news*, who only deserve to be driven out of the church? However I suppose you intended this for a charitable insinuation to all good *protestants*, that this is the common way of praying amongst *papists:* for which I return you my most hearty thanks; and so take my leave of you, since we have now gone through all the points disputed between the two churches.

G.—I hope, my lord, we shall one day meet together in the *unity of faith.*

L.—I heartily wish the same. But then it must be in the *faith* of that *one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church;* which St *Paul* calls *the pillar and ground of truth*, 1 Tim. iii. 15; to which Christ has promised his *perpetual assistance;* Matt. xxviii. 20, and against which *the gates of hell will never prevail*, Matt. xvi. 16. For this is the church established by Christ to be our *guide* to *heaven;* and he, who will not follow this guide, runs into everlasting perdition, and will have his portion with *heathens* and *publicans*, Matt. xviii. 17.

THE POSTSCRIPT,

CONTAINING

SOME REMARKS UPON THE GENTLEMAN'S CONCLUSION IN THE FORMER CONVERSATION.

HAVING followed the *gentleman* step by step for a hundred and ninety one pages, I did not think myself bound to continue the conversation any longer. For the dispute in the *Gentleman's Case Stated* ends p. 191, and the twenty last pages contain little more than a recapitulation of what he has said against the *pope's supremacy*, the *church's unity*, and in defence of *private judgment* against the authority of the *church*. To speak properly, the main subject of those twenty pages is a triumphant recital of the great feats the *gentleman* has done. He appears big with the success of his performance, and gives himself the airs of a conqueror returning loaden with the spoils of a vanquished foe: whilst his *lordship* is remarkable for nothing but his *stupid silence*, and might, for ought I know, have been condemned to be pressed to death for a *mute*, were it not for about half a dozen lines of nonsense uttered by him in the whole twenty pages. I may indeed justly compare him to a criminal conscious of his guilt, standing at the bar with eyes cast down to the ground, whilst the judge is summing up the evidence against him, and giving directions to the jury to bring in their verdict. Nay we have nothing less than the *gentleman's* own word to assure us (and the word of a *gentleman* will surely not be questioned) that he has all the *fathers* on his side against the *pope's supremacy*, and all the reason in the world on his side against submitting to the *authority* of the *church*. He reminds his *lordship* of his having proved *this* and *that*, and the Lord knows what. He has *put such a thing out of all dispute*; and *made other things plain to a demonstration*. And what then had his *lordship* else to

do but to submit to his hard fate with a *respectful silence!* I shall however venture to make some remarks upon this piece, which the *gentleman* introduces in the following manner: *And now, my lord, upon the whole, if the advantage does not seem to your lordship to lie on our side in all the particulars before mentioned, yet can you have any doubt of the safety of your soul in our way? Since all our danger is in omitting some things that might be profitable, but cannot be called necessary. Whereas if the error lies of your side, you are involved in manifold superstitions, and of adding to, and substracting from the word of God,* pp. 191, 192.

Here the *gentleman* either speaks of *particulars* relating to *faith*, or *discipline* only (for he is a great dealer in *double meanings*); if he speaks of the former, his question *how his lordship can have any doubt of the safety of his soul in the protestant way*, answers itself. Because his *lordship* has already informed him, that the belief of *all articles of faith* is necessary to salvation, when they are duly proposed by the *church*. And he is sure that many of the articles denied by the *gentleman* are of this nature.

But if he speaks of matters of *discipline* only, though they be not in themselves *necessary to salvation*, yet *obedience* to the commands of the church even in things that are of themselves indifferent is necessary to salvation, as his *lordship* has fully shewed in his answer to the *gentleman's* preliminary questions in the *introduction*.

Let us suppose a *puritan* should argue thus against the *gentleman* in his own language: *Baptizing with the sign of the cross, using the common prayer book, and keeping holy days for saints and angels, &c., may be profitable, but cannot be called necessary: whereas if the error lies on your side, you are involved in manifold superstitions, by adding to the word of God.* Suppose, I say, a *puritan* should argue thus against the *gentleman*, he would either be put to a non-plus, or forced to give him this *popish* answer; *that the church is wise enough to regulate her own discipline. That her children are bound in conscience to conform to it. That schism is a most grievous sin, and to break communion under pretence of understanding scriptures*

better than the church is but adding presumption to disobedience. This I think would be a solid answer to the *puritan*, and the *gentleman* is desired to accept of this answer as abundantly sufficient for all objections he can make against *communion in one kind*, the *liturgy in Latin*, the *single life of the clergy*, the *use of images* in our churches, of the *sign of the cross*, of *holy water*, *benedictions*, *&c.* All these being purely matters of *discipline.*

But suppose an *Arian* should take the advantage of the *gentleman's* argument, and retort it thus upon him. *All our danger is in omitting* consubstantiality, *the belief whereof is not necessary. Whereas if the error lies on your side, you are involved in manifest blasphemy and idolatry.* I leave the *gentleman* to consider, what answer he would give; and whether his answer would not be a cap to fit his own block.

OF SUPREMACY.

The two next pages after the *gentleman's* last words quoted by me contain nothing but a repetition of objections against the *pope's supremacy* already answered in our dispute upon that subject: after which he continues thus: *No kingdom of the earth will content him. He will be universal monarch of the whole world. And why so?* p. 194.

In good truth I cannot tell. For I cannot give a good reason for a *chimera.* And I dare swear the pope himself knows nothing of the matter. But the gentleman knows better things, and answers the question thus for the pope. *Because Christ is the head of all churches, and therefore must have an universal vicar.* This the *gentleman* will needs have to be the reason, why the *pope*, as he tells us, pretends to be *universal monarch of the whole world.* And I cannot but say, the reason is as nonsensical as the *chimera*, that is built upon it. But as the same *art magic*, which conjures up *spirits*, can conjure them down again; so the *gentleman* shews he can as easily confute *chimeras*, as invent them: which he has done with great skill by saying, *that from the same parity of reason it would follow, that because God is the king of all the earth,*

therefore he must have an universal vicar in temporals. I allow the parity to be good, and the aforesaid wise reason fully confuted by it.

But I shall give him another reason for the pope's *supremacy* (by whatever ridiculous name he is pleased to call it) which I hope will not be so easily confuted. It is grounded upon three plain facts: 1*st*, That Christ gave to St *Peter* by a *special commission* the government of his *whole flock*. 2*d*, That this power of governing his whole flock was not to die with St *Peter*, but like *episcopacy* and *priesthood* continue in his church for ever by passing to his successors. And 3*d*, That the successors of St *Peter* have always been bishops of *Rome*, whom we call *popes* in our language. The two first are of *divine institution*, and all three are as incontestable, as that the *see* of *Canterbury* is the ecclesiastical *metropolis* of *England*. At least I flatter myself they will appear so to any unbiassed reader, who will but give himself the trouble to peruse, what his *lordship* has said in defence of the *supremacy*, Part I. Sect. 2—10, and 55, of the same part.

Nor can I see how the *gentleman* and his *protestant* brethren will escape being convicted of *heresy* and *schism* by his own confession, since he tells us pp. 194, 195. *That they will own themselves heretics and schismatics, and pay their obedience to the pope, if it can be shewed that Christ has appointed an universal vicar in his church;* unless by *universal vicar* he means a great deal more than we do, and then he fights against his own shadow. For we mean no more than that St *Peter* was, and his *successor* is next under *Christ* the *supreme head* or *governor* of his church in *spirituals*. And he who cannot find this in the text of St *Matthew* xvi. 18, and St *John* xxi. 15, where all antiquity clearly found it, is wilfully blind.

I therefore cannot doubt but the reader will be extremely surprised at the *gentleman's* exorbitant *rhodomontado*, p. 195, where he speaks thus: *We are verily persuaded, that there is not the least ground for this universal supremacy either in holy scriptures, or in antiquity, or in the reason of the thing, or in fact since the first foundation of christianity to this day, or that it ever was acknow-*

ledged, or is now by the majority of christian churches. Was there ever such a complication of falsehoods uttered with such a confident air! What! Not the *least ground* for the supremacy either in *scriptures*, or *antiquity*, or *reason*, or *fact*, from the first foundation of christianity to this day! And is the *gentleman* verily persuaded of this! Then he must be verily persuaded, that the whole island of *Great Britain* (for its share alone) was mad for nine hundred years together: since it acknowledged (as he owns himself, *Case Stated*, p. 108) the pope's *spiritual supremacy* for so many ages: which none but a people void of sense would have done upon a principle of conscience, if there were not *the least ground for it either in scriptures, or antiquity, or reason, or fact from the first foundation of christianity*, as the *gentleman* has the assurance to tell us. But when he wrote this he was sole master of the field. His *lordship* was under *tutelage*, and could not contradict his *tutor* without his allowance, who took effectual care to tie up his tongue, and doubted not but any *Tale of a Tub* would pass for current truth with the bubbles he chiefly wrote for. And this he calls *stating the case.* But I hope the case of *supremacy* is somewhat more fairly stated by his *lordship* in the several *sections*, to which I have just now referred the reader. And as to what the *gentleman* says, that *the supremacy never was acknowledged by the majority of christian churches*, the reader is desired to turn back to Sect. 16, 17, of the *First Part*, where he will be fully convinced of the notorious falsehood of this assertion.

Pp. 195, 196, the *gentleman* entertains us with a fine flourish upon the inconvenience of *appeals* to *Rome*, where, he says, *causes last from age to age.* This (says he) *made the Reformation even necessary for the preservation of the people as well laity as clergy, who groaned under the burden, which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear.* However I must take the liberty to tell the *gentleman*, that *England* was as flourishing a kingdom, and the people, both *laity* and *clergy*, lived as comfortably under the pope's *spiritual supremacy*, as they have done since it was thrown off. But let that be as it will, are there no ways

and means to put a stop to abuses without affronting, or pulling down the authority, that commits them? Are there not lawsuits in *Great Britain* entailed upon families from generation to generation? And must we then conclude, that the *court of Chancery* and other *courts of judicature* ought to be suppressed, because frequent abuses are committed in them? Nay I fear the *supreme tribunal* itself, which is the *bulwark* of the *English liberties*, will not be secure against the destructive force of this *logic*.

But the *gentleman's* argument strikes yet much deeper: for the question between us is precisely, whether the pope's *supremacy* be of *divine institution?* We maintain it is; and it is his business to disprove it. Now I appeal to any man, whether *real* or *supposed abuses* of any *authority* be an argument of any force to prove it not to be of *divine institution?* If not, all arguing against it from such abuses is wholly frivolous. But if it be a solid argument, and if it be true that such abuses (as the *gentleman* tells us) *make a reformation* which annuls that institution *necessary*, then the *blessed sacrament* which is abused by thousands to their own damnation, is the first thing that ought to be *reformed away*, and discarded as well as the *pope's supremacy*.

But besides all this, what a frightful list of enormous abuses committed by *secular magistrates* and *parents* in relation to their *subjects* and *children* might a man produce, if it were worth his pains? And would this be a good argument to prove that their power and authority is not of God, or that a *reformation* is necessary to abolish all power upon earth? Thus the *gentleman's* arguing from real or supposed abuses of the *pope's supremacy* to justify an absolute denial or abolishing of it, would make one suspect him to be neither *divine*, nor a *good christian*, nor *good subject*. For it plainly tends to subvert the institutions of God, and cuts down all *power* root and branch: since all these are liable to be abused.

I come now to a piece of slander, which for its boldness is hard to be matched. It is worded thus, *pp.* 197, 198. *The pope's supremacy*, (upon which the discourse runs) *is the only article in your creed* (speaking to his

lordship) *to be believed explicitly. As for others, implicit will do for them all. That is, it is no matter, whether you believe them or not: so the sovereignty of the universal bishop be maintained inviolably.* I cannot imagine what the *gentleman* proposed to himself, when he wrote this extraordinary piece. Was he asleep or awake? Or was his head seized with a fit of the gout, which hindered him from thinking? Could he imagine that any man of sense in the world would believe him? Or did he think his reputation so well established, that if he should tell people, that *light* is *darkness*, they would take it for a truth upon his bare word?

Surely the *gentleman's* overshooting himself in so exorbitant a manner must be attributed to some such cause. He says *the pope's supremacy is the only article we are bound to believe explicitly; as to others, it is no matter, whether we believe them or not.* What, is it no matter with us, whether we do or do not believe in *God the Father*, or in *Jesus Christ his only Son?* Is it no matter with us whether we do or do not believe the *blessed trinity*, or the *incarnation*, *death*, and *resurrection* of our Saviour Christ? Why then do we teach children the *Apostles' creed* as soon as they can speak, and tell them they must believe every article of it under pain of eternal damnation, if it be no matter whether they believe it or not? But the calumny is too gross to deserve a serious answer.

P. 198, the *gentleman* tells us, *there never was a church called catholic in the sense of Rome; that is, which was owned by all other churches as their head.* If he means, which was owned by *heretics* and *schismatics;* I grant there never was such a *Catholic Church.* But where will he find this to be the *sense of Rome?* When did the *Church of Rome* pretend to be a ridiculous compound of all sects? Or declare, either that the *Catholic Church* was ever owned by *heretical* or *schismatical* churches, or that she ever owned them as a part of her communion? The *gentleman* forgot here what he said before, viz., *that the Church of Rome by her principles cannot communicate with any, who will not own her supremacy.* Which utterly spoils his pretty comparison of the *Church of Rome* to the

bed of *Procrustes*, to which some were made fit by being stretched out, and others by being cut shorter. For I do not see by what contrivance either of *cutting off*, or *stretching out* he will ever make *heretics*, *schismatics*, or persons *really excommunicated* become members of the *Church of Rome:* and if he does not, his comparison is void of sense.

OF UNITY.

P. 199, the *gentleman* begins to speak of *unity*, and accuses us *first* of not having *unity of faith.* But how does he prove it? He tells us *first:* we know not *where to place the infallibility.* It is very true his *lordship* in the former conversation knew no more than the *gentleman* would let him: but he has now fully satisfied him in that point, and marked out very plainly to him, where it is to be placed [Part I. Sect. 51.] But *2dly*, he says, *we do not agree, which articles of our creed are to be believed explicitly.* Yet he told us just now, that *the pope's supremacy is the only article in our creed to be believed explicitly.* How necessary is it for some persons to have good memories?

However to satisfy him as far as is necessary; we teach unanimously, that all are bound to do what they can to learn the *Apostle's creed*, and have it explained to them; and then they are bound to believe every article *explicitly.* Nor do I know any writer, that excuses any one come to the use of reason from the necessity of believing *explicitly*, that there is *one God in three persons:* that the *second person became man and died for us:* and that God is the *rewarder of virtue*, and *punisher of sin.* But over and above, we oblige them to believe in general all truths revealed to the *Catholic Church:* which I think suffices to a perfect *unity in faith.* For otherwise, whoever has not an *explicit* knowledge of all truths whatsoever contained in the *whole Bible*, cannot be said to have an *entire faith*, which is absurd. And the bsurdity of it shews, that the *gentleman* himself as great an enemy as he is to believing *implicitly*, must sit down content with an *implicit faith* of numberless revealed truths.

But 2*dly*, he taxes us, p. 200, with want of *unity* in *love* and *charity:* and proves it because there are *disputes among religious orders*, and between *national and national churches*. Whence he concludes, *that unity in outward communion will avail us nothing, nay it will not so much as denominate us christians, far less to be the only christians in the world, or the Catholic Church.*

What a number of mistakes are here to be rectified? *First*, he supposes that disputes about private opinions must of necessity cause a breach of *love* and *charity;* which is a gross mistake. For the *apostles* themselves were not free from disputes, yet I hope they were in charity with one another. 2*dly*, He supposes that our *unity* consists merely in an *outward communion;* which is a grosser mistake than the former. Because *inward faith* is somewhat more than a mere *outward communion:* and we admit none into the church but such as declare they believe truly and sincerely the *whole faith* revealed by God. 3*dly*, He supposes a church to be *unchristianed* (if I may be allowed to speak so) by some of her members being void of *love* and *charity* to one another. Which if it be true, there will not be such a thing as a *christian church* in the world. But 4*thly*, he supposes we think ourselves the *only christians in the world;* which is a downright blunder. But to stave off from himself the imputation of it, and be at full liberty to confute it, he fathers it upon his *lordship* in the *two lines* of *nonsense* attributed to him, *p.* 198, where the noble peer after a long silence comes out with this wise saying. *But we admit none others to be christian churches, who do not own it* (meaning the *supremacy*), which is both false and absurd. For, though it be true that we esteem ourselves the *only catholics* in the world, because the *Catholic Church* is essentially *one*, that is, in *one communion* (or the *Nicene Creed* is false) yet we are far from esteeming ourselves to be the *only christians* in the world: and so we own that *heretics* and *schismatics* baptized and believing the Divinity of Christ are *christians;* yet we deny them to be *catholics*. As I own the *gentleman* to be a *christian*, but I will never own him to be a *catholic* unless he renounces his errors.

Here then let us see, what account the *gentleman* gives of the *church's unity*. He distinguishes between a *perfect unity*, and such a one as we are capable of in this our imperfect state. *Perfect unity* (says he, *p.* 199) *is not only in outward communion, that is, in being within the same walls together, or in subscribing to a formula of articles of faith, half of which must be believed implicitly; but an unity likewise in saving and damning principles, and practices of love and charity, for which chiefly we shall be judged at the last day. If these be wanting the unity will be very imperfect, and stand us in little stead.*

If by these last words the *gentleman* means no more, than that an *outward communion*, and *profession of the same faith* suffices not to save the members of that communion, unless they be likewise united in *love* and *charity*, I am wholly of his mind: because *faith alone* or being a member of the true church suffices not to salvation without the observance of the *commandments:* and the principal commandment is that of *charity;* without which we may be members of the *true church*, but not true *disciples* of *Christ:* that is, we may be *found in faith*, but very *bad christians.*

But there lies a snake in the grass. For the *gentleman* has dressed up for us this fine system of *unity* for no other end, than to explode the belief of ONE *holy Catholic Church upon earth*, and run down all pretensions to it *amongst men.* Because it is certain a church cannot be *one* without *unity:* and the *unity* he has described is such, as can only be found in *heaven*, where there are no *disputes*, and where all the members of that happy society are united in *perfect love* and *charity.* Whereas there is no church upon earth without disputes about particular opinions; and it is morally impossible, that in so vast a body as the *Catholic Church* is upon earth, all her members should be united in *perfect love* and *charity.* Nay the contrary is manifest from daily experience.

Now that this was the *gentleman's* main drift in his description of the *church's unity* is plain from his words, *p.* 202, where he tells us, 1*st*, That the article of *one holy Catholic Church was put but late into the creed.* Which

he could not say for any other end than to vilify and discredit the authority of that article. 2*nd*, That the next article (as he calls it, though he owns it may be called a part of the former), viz., *The Communion of Saints*, must *be referred to heaven, where only is the communion of saints.* And the reason he gives for this is, because in heaven alone there is no mixture of *reprobates, who* (as he tells us) *are but in appearance members of the church.*

From these two principles he draws the following conclusion. *Therefore the truly Catholic Church in heaven is chiefly and principally meant by the* holy Catholic Church, *and the* communion of saints *in the creed.* THERE (says he) *is the great body of the church. There are but few at a time upon earth; and of them we know not, which belong to that truly Catholic Church or not*, pp. 202, 203. But who then are the *few*, that are allowed by him to belong to the *Catholic Church?* He tells us, *p.* 202, *they are only the* ELECT, *who are not visible upon earth.*

This is the *gentleman's* explanation of that article of the *creed*, which is concerning the *Catholic Church.* But to detect as briefly as is possible the falsehood and venom of it, I shall content myself with setting down two consequences, which follow manifestly from it. The *first* is, That the *true church of Christ upon earth* has always been *invisible* to us: since the *elect*, of whom alone he says it is composed, *are not visible upon earth*, according to his own words.

Whence it follows, 2*dly*, That it has always been impossible for any man to apply himself to *the true church* either for *instruction*, or *ordination*, or any of the *sacraments;* which evacuates all *episcopal* and *pastoral* authority. Because no man can know, whether the *bishops* or *pastors*, to whom he would apply himself, be of the number of the *elect:* nor by consequence, whether they be members of the *true church.* And is not this most curious doctrine!

But the ancient fathers never taught it. For they always understood the *parable* proposed by *Christ* of the *field*, wherein the *wheat* and *tares* grew, and were *to grow together till the harvest*, Matt. xiii. 30. I say they always

understood this parable as a faithful representation of the *present state* of the church, wherein the *good* and the *wicked*, *saints*, and *sinners*, *elect* and *reprobate* live mixed together, and will do so till the day of judgment. And therefore when the *Catholic Church* on earth is called *the communion of saints*, the meaning of it is not, that all the members of it are *saints*, but that she is the only communion upon earth, in which there are *saints*.

But the *gentleman* asks, *what unity has that church, wherein the elect and reprobate are mixed together?* I answer, she has the *unity of faith*, the *unity* of *sacraments*, and the *communion* of all her members united under one *head*. And this is absolutely necessary to constitute *one church*. Though this alone suffices not to salvation, but the leading a good life, being united in charity, and keeping the commandments is likewise required.

However since the *gentleman* has already given us a description of such a *perfect unity*, as the church on earth can never be capable of; let us now see, what sort of *unity* he will allow her. It is all reduced to this one single point, viz. *That as all the nations in the world, though at war together, are one kingdom to God, so all christian churches upon earth, though not one of them should communicate with the other, are one church to Christ*, pp. 200, 201. This is the substance of his discourse in the two pages quoted; and this is all the *unity* he allows as essential to the *Catholic Church* in her present imperfect state. The true meaning whereof is this, *viz.*, that as *Christians*, *Jews*, *Pagans*, *Mahometans*, make *one world*, so *Catholics*, *heretics*, and *schismatics* (provided they be *christians*, for he makes no difference between *christians* and *catholics*) make *one church*. Or thus: *As all nations in the world, though at war together, are one kingdom to God; so all churches in the world, though they be heretics or schismatics, though they disagree in all things but the belief of common christianity, and excommunicate and bite and devour one another, are that one Catholic Church upon earth, which we profess in the creed.* If this be not monstrous doctrine, I know not what is.

But what was it, that made the *gentleman* give into

this extravagant notion of the *unity* of the *Catholic Church* upon earth? He had two reasons for it to the best of my conjecture. *First*, Because he could not sufficiently enlarge the bounds of his own church, but by incorporating it with the whole riffraff of *heretical christians* upon earth in such a manner, as to make them all appear to be but *one church*, or *mystical body of Christ*. And 2*dly*, Because he could not make his own communion be a part of the *Catholic Church* by any other stratagem, than by making the belief of *common christianity* sufficient to render any upstart *heretical* or *schismatical* communion a branch of that church.

But the *gentleman* objects, *p.* 203, that if the aforesaid article relating to the *Catholic Church* had been meant in our sense, it must have been worded, *the Roman Catholic Church*. And since it is only called the *Catholic Church*, he concludes, *it extends to all christian churches, which make up the Catholic Church upon earth in such an unity, as our fallen state will bear*. Here then all *heretics* and *schismatics* whatsoever are, by the *gentleman's* comprehensive charity, once more adopted members of the *Catholic Church*, as being united together *as well as our fallen state will bear*. That is to say (according to the *gentleman's* true system of *church unity*) like nations that are at war, and cutting one another's throats as fast as they can.

But the grand difficulty is yet unanswered; *viz.*, why the church is not called the *Roman Catholic Church* in the *creed?* I hope the reader will not take it ill, if I answer this frivolous objection seriously. For if I did not, it might, for ought I know, be adopted into the number of *protestant unanswerables;* and it deserves it as well as many more that have been cried up for such.

The reason therefore why the word *Roman* is not inserted into the article concerning the *church* is, because nothing but the *essential attributes* of the church are mentioned in the *creed*. Now, though *Catholic* and *Roman Catholic* be synonymous *de facto*, it is not essential to the *Catholic Church*, that her supreme *head* and *governor* should have his episcopal see fixed at *Rome*. For, if St

Peter had fixed his episcopal see immoveably at *Antioch*, then instead of *Roman*, she might have been called the *Antiochean Catholic Church*. So that the word *Roman* expresses no *essential attribute* of the church: but only marks out the place, where her *visible head*, with whom all are bound to communicate, has his episcopal seat.

OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

Pp. 204—207, contain a summary of every thing the *gentleman* has said against submitting our private reason to *church authority*. The reader will find it fully answered [Part I. Sect. 26, 33, 37, 51.] where he will see the reasons, why a person thoroughly convinced that he has found the *true church of Christ*, cannot act rationally but in submitting his *private reason* to her decisions in things, which are above the reach of his understanding. This the *gentleman* has taken a world of pains to ridicule. He calls it *putting out our eyes, extinguishing the lamp of reason*, and what not? As if a man acted contrary to reason in not thinking himself wiser than the whole *Catholic Church*, and paying a submission when reason itself obliges him to it.

Thus has he set up the standard of perpetual *schism* and *rebellion* against the church of God, by authorizing each man's private reason to control her decisions and ordinances, whenever he shall be vain enough to think her in the wrong and himself in the right. Nay he says positively, *p.* 205, that to do otherwise *will condemn us at the last day*. And does not this subject the church of God to the caprice of every private person? Does it not pervert the whole order of ecclesiastical government, and render both *faith* and *discipline* precarious? Can such doctrine have any other tendency than to establish *deism* and *free-thinking* upon the ruins of all *revealed religion?* Truly if *popery* cannot be attacked but with such pernicious principles as these, an unprejudiced reader must conclude whether he will or not, that it has truth on its side.

But can any doctrine have *truth on its side*, that has

reason against it? No, it cannot. But it may have *truth on its side*, though it be *above reason:* and he, who sees no difference betwixt a thing being *against* and *above* reason, is ignorant of the very alphabet of *revealed* religion. As for example, I hope the *gentleman* will not question, but that the mystery of the *blessed trinity* has *truth on its side.* Yet it is infinitely *above* the comprehension of all human reason. But has it then *reason against it?* No surely. For *reason* can never be *against truth.* And hence it follows, that though this mystery be *above reason*, a man must be void of sense and reason not to submit his *private judgment* to a firm belief of it. And this alone is a full confutation of every thing the *gentleman* has said to lampoon and ridicule our submitting to the decisions of the *Catholic Church* in things that are above our reason. Nay I challenge any man, that either believes the *blessed trinity*, or the *incarnation and death of Christ*, or the *propagation of original sin*, or any other such *incomprehensible mystery*, to give a solid answer to it.

What the *gentleman* says, *p.* 205, is remarkable. *To refuse* (says he) *the assistance of a church, because she is not infallible, is depriving ourselves of a means, which God has appointed; and is the same perverseness, as if we should refuse to consult a lawyer or physician, because it is possible he may err in his judgment.*

How extremely tender and wary is this expression, *to refuse the assistance of a church?* Surely the *gentleman* had some check of conscience upon him, when he wrote this piece. For why would he not speak out boldly? Why would he thus mince the matter instead of saying, *to refuse to* HEAR THE CHURCH? I presume the reason was, because it would have put the reader in mind of our Saviour's saying, *If he does not* HEAR THE CHURCH, *let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican*, Matt. xviii. 17. Which imports nothing less, than that we are bound under pain of eternal damnation to hearken to the voice of the church, and learn the truth of her: and this would have spoiled his darling maxim; that *we must trust to private judgment in every thing without exception.*

But let that be as it will: I ask the *gentleman*, which

of all the *fallible churches* it is, to whose assistance we must have recourse *as a means which God has appointed?* The reason of my question is, because his principles of *private judgment* and *common christianity* make one church as good as another as to the business of salvation, provided it be but a *christian church.* However since I cannot question, but he gives the preference to the *Church of England*, as being not only a member, but minister of it; suppose now I should make choice of this church to have recourse to for *assistance*, I ask how far I must trust her? To be sure, if his principle of *private judgment* be worth a rush, I must trust her no farther than my eyes can see, or my reason can understand; which is but a coarse compliment to his church: for I will trust a *porter* or *cartman* as far as that comes to. And if we trust her any farther, if we believe upon her *authority* things, we cannot *understand* or *comprehend* (which the *gentleman* calls *implicit faith*) then he tells us, *p.* 205, *That this is abandoning both sense and reason which God gave us as a guide, and therefore will require it of us. And this only is that, which will render us self-condemned, and bear witness against us at the last day.* The true *English* whereof is, that whoever does not follow his own *private reason* preferably to the judgment of the church, will be damned for it. Most excellent doctrine!

However, to justify this dreadful sentence, having told us before that *to refuse the assistance of a church because she is not infallible is the same as refusing to consult a lawyer or physician because it is possible he may err*, he continues thus: *But though I allow their skill to be better than mine in their several professions, yet we still keep to ourselves so much use of our reason, that if it were poison the physician were going to give me, I would not take it: and there are things so plain, that no lawyer shall persuade me. Much more ought we to be careful in our eternal concerns, and not to give ourselves up implicitly to any whatsoever. That if they should direct us against the express commands in scriptures, or the dictates of reason and common morality, or bid us deny all our senses, we must acquiesce without examining*, p. 205.

It is not to be doubted, but this piece is to be understood with relation to any church upon earth: so that the *true church of Christ* (in whatever communion it be) is comprehended in the caution it contains; and we are here most pathetically exhorted to beware of placing too great a confidence in the *wisdom* even of that church, which *Christ* has established to be our *guide to heaven*, to which he has promised his *perpetual assistance*, and which St *Paul* calls *the pillar and ground of truth.*

It is true indeed the *gentleman* is so modest as to suppose her to be a *fallible church*, to give some colour both to the mistrust we ought to have of her, and to this sly insinuation, *viz.*, that she is capable of *directing us against the most express commands in scriptures, of teaching a doctrine contrary to the dictates of reason and common morality and bidding us to deny all our senses;* by which he means, *obliging us not to use them according to the established order of providence.* And the result of all is, that whensoever our *private reason* (which to be sure is more clear sighted than the *church of Christ*) has the presumption to tell us, that she is guilty of any of these *impious absurdities*, we are then bound under pain of eternal damnation not to give ourselves up to her, but to follow our *private judgment* in opposition to her.

And will the *gentleman* after this pretend to bring either a *Jew* or *deist* over to the *Catholic Church?* If he does, they need but read to him his own *Case Stated*, wherever he stands up in defence of *private judgment* against *church authority*, and they will maintain their ground in spite of him, and run him down with his own principles. For they will both tell him, that according to his own rule they cannot in conscience embrace the *catholic faith:* because their own *reason*, which he says they are bound to follow under pain of eternal damnation, convinces them that *his church* and the *New Testament*, the authority of both which they equally despise, teaches a doctrine *contrary to all the dictates of common sense and reason;* As, that *the immortal God became a mortal man and died an ignominious death:* and that *three are one.*

Nay the *Jew* will moreover tell him, that his church

directs her children against the express commands of God in holy scriptures, by obliging them to keep the *Sunday* holy instead of *Saturday*, which is the day peremptorily commanded in *scripture* to be kept holy: and I defy the *gentleman* to give a satisfactory answer to the *Jew's* objection against this point of *discipline*, unless he first retracts all he has said to vilify the *church's authority*, and pulls down the *proud idol* of *private judgment*, he has set up against her. Whence it appears, that a member of the *Church of England* can neither argue against *popery* without furnishing *Jews* and *deists* with arms against *christianity*, nor argue solidly for *christianity* against *Jews* and *deists* but from the very principles he ridicules, when *popery* is the question.

I cannot quit this subject without taking notice of the pretty colouring the *gentleman* gives to the presumption of one opposing his *private reason* against the solemn decisions of the *Catholic Church*. He compares it with the rational conduct of a man, that refuses to take the *poison* his *physician* is going to give him. Which is both a charitable insinuation, that the *Church of Rome* is this unskilful or wicked physician, and a general caution to all men not to trust the *church* too far; because she may give them *poison* instead of *wholesome food*. A most noble character of the *church of God!*

But, to retort his own comparison upon him, suppose a patient should have a strong fancy, that the *potion* his physician is going to give him is *poison*, and a thousand skilful experienced and conscientious physicians should assure him, that it is not poison but a most excellent remedy, which will certainly cure him; would not such an obstinate and conceited coxcomb be a self-murderer, if he should die for want of taking it?

Now this is a faithful representation of the case between the *Catholic Church*, and a single person opposing his *private judgment* against her solemn decisions. And this was the very case in the beginning of the pretended reformation between the *Church of Rome* on the one hand, and the *first reformer* on the other. Only with this difference, that instead of a thousand, he had millions

against him. For all the world knows, that the faith he opposed was then, and had been professed by whole Christendom for many ages; that it had been attested by undoubted miracles in all the converted nations under the sun, and watered with the blood of innumerable martyrs. So that the whole question between the *Church of Rome* and the *reformed churches* may be reduced to this one single point: *viz.*, whether it be more probable, that *whole Christendom* had been under a continual dotage for many ages together, or that the *first reformer* was in the wrong? I think the decision of this question is obvious to common sense: and the consequence of it is, that the *reformed churches* have no better security for their eternal salvation, than a man has, who has the odds of millions to one against him. Because their religion can be no better now than it was at first: and it had millions to one against it at first; as both *Luther* and *Calvin* owned, when they first set up for *reformers*. Let the *gentleman* judge by this how good a cause he is embarked in, and how safe the bottom is, upon which he ventures his soul's salvation.

He tells us, *p.* 207, *that truth is never afraid: for the more it is canvassed, the brighter it appears.* But I doubt whether this will hold even in all *natural truths*. For I think it is pretty clear, that there is such a thing as *motion*. Yet *Zeno* canvassed the nature of it so long till it turned his head, and he denied the very possibility of it: which plainly shews the narrow compass of man's understanding.

Now if this be so even in some *natural truths*, it is impossible it should be otherwise in *mysteries*, which are most certainly above the reach of our understanding. Have not *Toland* and *Whiston* canvassed the *Trinity*, till they have canvassed themselves out of all belief of it? And have not the *Arians* and *Socinians* also canvassed the *divinity of Christ*, till they have canvassed themselves into downright *blasphemy* against it? Yet I presume these are very certain *truths*: but they are truths of such a nature, as are not to be attained to by the canvassing of *human reason*, but by an humble submission.

The *gentleman* adds, *it is strange to see those, who pretend to such an assurance as is infallible, and yet seek to avoid the light of reason, as if afraid of being detected.* He might as well say, it is strange that they, who have a *bright sunshine* to see by, should not trust to the deceitful light of an *ignis fatuus*, as if *afraid of being detected:* which insinuation is both groundless and malicious. For though the *Catholic Church* be *infallible* under the directions of the *divine spirit*, she knows that a man, who follows his own *private judgment* in matters of religion, has a *fool* for his guide. Which makes her afraid not of the *light*, but of the *weakness* of *human reason:* as men are afraid to look at the sun, not out of mistrust of its brightness, but for fear of hurting their own eyes by gazing at it. Though, to speak properly, submitting our *private judgment* to an authority, which God himself has appointed to be our *guide*, is not *avoiding*, but *following the light of reason* in the manner we are directed to do And therefore *faith* is always *rational.* Because nothing can be more *rational*, than to follow a guide of God's own appointment; and to submit our *private reason*, when he requires it of us. [Vide Part I. Sect. 51.]

However the *gentleman* will needs have it, that we *are afraid of being detected.* And why so? *Because the canon law forbids laics to dispute about religion.* Ibid. But what is it we should fear to be detected in? What secrets would such disputes discover, which cannot be made known otherwise? Has the *gentleman* in his *Case Stated*, where he was master of the field, discovered any secrets we knew not before? Surely he affects to be mysterious, and drop ambiguous words in hopes the ignorant will mistake them for profound sense. For who will suspect he should not have penetration enough to see, that a just diffidence of the incapacity of the *laity* to manage controversial disputes is a much better reason for the prohibition he speaks of, than a chimerical fear of I know not what; and I dare say he knows not what he means himself? Unless he means that the common laity may be more easily imposed upon by *misrepresentations*, *forgery*, and *slander* than our learned clergy. He was certainly

at a very great *plunge*, when he was forced to pick up such stuff as this.

But let us see, if what follows be any thing better. *If reason could be heard, it would make it very obvious to you* (speaking to his *lordship*) *that in all the points before mentioned the certainty is on our side, and the doubt at least on yours*, p. 207. Most stoutly said! Just so spoke *Martin Luther*, when he stood alone against millions. *It is certain* (said he) *I have my doctrine from heaven.* Tom. 2, Fol. 333. And he had the same foundation to build his certainty upon, as the *gentleman* has: *viz.*, his own *private reason*. For all the visible authority upon earth was against him.

But what is it, that makes the *gentleman* so very uppish, as to think it obvious to any, that the *certainty* of salvation is on his side? *For example* (says he) *none make a doubt, but that we may lawfully pray to God, and not before an image of him, or without the worship or invocation of any saint joined with him: and so of all the rest. But on your part, if what I have said makes them not appear unlawful to your lordship, yet they must remain at least doubtful, till some stronger evidence be produced for them, than has hitherto been given.*

This, with the *gentleman's* good leave, is begging the question: for I can faithfully assure him, that all he has said against any article either of our *faith* or *discipline* is of so little weight, that his *lordship's* certainty of having the truth on his side is not in the least diminished by it.

But (says he) *they must remain at least doubtful, till some stronger evidence be produced for them, than has hitherto been given.* If he means *some stronger evidence*, than has been given in the *Case Stated* of his own cooking; I grant he has all the reason in the world to complain, that the evidence his *lordship* has there produced for the *doctrine* and *discipline* of his church, is not at all satisfactory. But I hope he has given him some better satisfaction in the present conversation. And if the *gentleman* will not shut his eyes, nor despise his adversary, because he had him once in *leading-strings*, he may now find that *stronger evidence*, for which he seems to be in quest.

Now as to the example he produces to prove the certainty of salvation to be on his side, viz., *that none can make a doubt, but that we may lawfully pray to God, and not before an image of him, or without the worship or invocation of any saint joined with him, and so of the rest,*— I answer, this is the third repetition of the same argument. Though (as fond as the *gentleman* appears to be of it) it serves only to cut the throat of his own church; as I have fully shewed in my former answers to it. But since he is resolved to give an air of importance to it by the mere dint of repetition (for who will suspect a *doctor* in *Israel* should be capable of repeating insignificant trifles) I must beg the reader's leave to trouble him also with a repetition of my answer to it.

Let us then see, whether the *gentleman* has not by this argument furnished the *dissenters* with stones to throw at him. For suppose a *presbyterian* or *fanatic* should argue thus: *None can make a doubt but that we may lawfully baptize without the sign of the cross, or receive the communion sitting: or that it is lawful for us neither to use the common prayer book, nor surplices, nor organs, nor consecrate churches, nor keep holy days for saints and angels, and so of the rest,*—suppose, I say, a *dissenter* should argue in this manner, must not the *gentleman* (unless he will renounce his argument against us) allow him to conclude from it, that *presbyterians* and *fanatics*, who abhor all the aforesaid *popish ceremonies*, and think they have unanswerable reasons against them, have the *certainty of salvation on their side?* However I appeal to his own judgment, whether he would not have a very ill opinion of the religion of any of his *bishops* or *parsons*, who should baptize without the *sign of the cross*, or lay aside the common *prayer book*, or abolish the aforesaid *holy days*, and so of the rest? And why so? Let him give a reason for it if he can, that will not likewise condemn at first *English reformers*, and utterly spoil the *certainty* he pretends to on account, that his church neither uses *images*, nor *prays before them*, nor *invokes the saints*, and so of the rest.

Wherefore my direct answer to the example produced

by the *gentleman* is this, *viz.*, that though *it be lawful to pray to God and not before an image of him, or without the worship or invocation of any saints joined with him*, yet it is always unlawful to set up the standard of rebellion against the church. It is unlawful to disobey *superior powers*, when they command nothing that is contrary to the law of God. For *they who resist powers resist God, and acquire damnation to themselves*, if St *Paul* is to be believed. Finally, it is unlawful to raise *schisms* for things that are indifferent in themselves; and to omit any public duty in contempt of the authority that commands it, is always a criminal omission. And these are the crimes, with which the *first reformers* stand charged before God: as likewise they, who walk in the footsteps of such rebellious forefathers, and continue the *schism* which they began upon the same frivolous and unjust pretexts. Yet it is upon this rotten foundation the *certainty*, the *gentleman* boasts of, is built. Much good may it do him.

I find nothing in the four last pages of his *Case Stated* but a repetition of repetitions relating to the *supremacy* and *private judgment*. It seems he had it not in his power to take leave of his *lordship* without giving the *pope* a parting blow, and complimenting once more his own dear *private reason*. I hope however I have said some things, that may help to cure him of his fondness of it.

THE END.

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